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J. Gonda

THE VISION OF THE
VEDIC POETS

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THE VISION OF THE VEDIC POETS



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ORIENTALES
DOCENDAS ATQUE INVESTIGANDAS
IN UNIVERSITATE RHENO-TRAJECTINA
CONDITI

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J. GONDA

VIII

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THE VISION
OF THE
VEDIC POETS

BY

J. GONDA

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I

INTRODUCTION

The methodological difficulties awaiting those who make an attempt at examining the religious vocabulary of the ancient Indians have not rarely been underrated.¹ Too often scholars have contented themselves with more or less felicitous translations into a modern European language and more or less incidental observations on the contents of the ideas hiding themselves behind these translations and the original Sanskrit terms for which they stand. The translations were moreover often suggested by the authors' knowledge of Western religions and were therefore frequently apt to create serious misunderstandings. They were, in a frequency of cases, far from consistent, based on misinterpretations or influenced by an inadequate insight into the sphere of thought and Weltanschauung of Vedic man. Not rarely also a more or less vague and seemingly passe-partout translation was for convenience adopted, which was apt to create the impression that a single and usual German or English word was the exact equivalent of an ancient Sanskrit term. Notwithstanding Macdonell's² easy translation "thought", a Vedic term such as *dhī-* is however no Indian counterpart of that modern English term.

It is indeed somewhat strange that scholars should have acquiesced for nearly a century in the translational and interpretative methods of Rudolph Roth³ and Hermann Grassmann.⁴ To them the meaning of an ancient Indian religious term practically speaking resolves itself into an often rather large number of German or English terms. Thus *dhīh*, the main term with which this publication is concerned, was, in the eyes of the former savant: "1) Gedanke, Vorstellung; Absicht; 2) Einsicht, Erkenntnis, Intelligenz, Geist; 3) Verständnis, Kenntnis; Kunst; 4) reli-

¹ For a more ample discussion see my article "Some notes on the study of Ancient-Indian religious terminology", in *History of Religion*, I (Chicago, 1962). — It may be observed at the outset that in writing this book it has not been the author's intention to address himself exclusively to Sanskrit scholars; a considerable part of the translations, notes and other explications are on the contrary intended for students of the comparative history of religions and others who might be interested in the subject.

² A. A. Macdonell, *A Vedic reader for students* (Oxford, 1928), p. 237.

³ R. Roth, in O. Böhtlingk und R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, esp. vol. III (St. Petersburg, 1861), 964 f.

⁴ H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda* (1872; Neudruck, Leipzig, 1936).

gißes Nachdenken, Andacht; Bitte, Gebet", according to the latter: "1) Gedanke, Absicht; 2) heiliges Nachdenken, Andacht, andächtige Stimmung; 3) Andachtswerk, Gebet; 4) Achtsamkeit, von den Göttern, sofern sie auf die heiligen Werke der Menschen achten, auch mit dem Nebengriffs des Wohlwollens, der Fürsorge; 5) Weisheit, insofern sie befähigt, Kunstwerke zu ersinnen, namentlich auch Lieder zu schaffen, oder Opferwerke richtig auszuführen, Kunstverstand; 6) Einsicht, Weisheit". In principle, Geldner's⁵ much later work adopts the same translational technique: the word *dhī-* is sometimes rendered by "Denken", "Gedanke" or "frommer Gedanke", sometimes by "Gedicht", "Lied" or "Dichtung", now by "Kunst", then by "Verständnis", here by "Bedacht", elsewhere by "Andacht" etc. Geldner's note: "*dhī-* ist vieldeutig und nicht durch ein Wort wiederzugeben: das Denken bald als Wunsch, Absicht, bald als Bedacht, Weisheit, Andacht, Dichtung"⁶ is, though in so far correct as the noun cannot be translated by a single German word and may therefore impress us as 'vieldeutig', very inadequate, because most of these German translations are in the passages exhibiting *dhīh* not applicable. In his former publication⁷ the same scholar had however understood that one of the aspects of *dhīh* can be indicated by such words as "Sehergabe, die Intuition des Sehers..." (to which he adds: "Meditation etc."); the words "Gedanke; Kenntnis, Verständnis, Kunst, Kennerschaft, Geisteskraft" are, as primary meanings, less felicitous.⁸

What is surprising, is that these numerous rather different translations, even if they are intended to be no more than contextual senses, did not bring the authors to see that the very frequency and variety of the translations proposed is closely connected with the impossibility of rendering

⁵ K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt*, 3 vol. (Cambridge, Mass., 1951) (consistently quoted as Geldner, *o.c.*).

⁶ K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt* (Cambridge, Mass.), I², p. 3.

⁷ Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, I, *Glossar* (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 94.

⁸ Hertel's suggestion (*Indog. Forsch.*, 41, p. 202 ff.) to explain *dhī-*, *dhīti-* etc. as properly meaning "Flamme, Strahl, Licht" is utterly improbable; his interpretation of texts such as R.V. 2, 3, 10; 10, 110, 2 wrong. His opinion with regard to other words which were used to denote the Vedic verses ("man sagte also "mein Feuer", "meine Glut", "mein Licht", meinte damit aber das Erzeugnis dieses im Herzen strahlenden und das Denken bewirkenden Feuers") is untenable. It is true that the Petr. Dict. assumed, in some cases, an interchange of *dhī-* and *dī-* "to shine, be bright", but it would be a more acceptable hypothesis to consider the meaning "brightness, splendour" a reinterpretation (cf. also L. Renou, in *Journ. asiat.*, 1939, p. 362 f.). The dependence of sight upon light is moreover reflected in several Indo-European words for "seeing" or "looking" which are cognate with others for "being light, shining"; the root *leuk-* for "light, bright" is ultimately the same as *λευκ-* in Gr. **λευκ-ιω* > *λεῖσσω* "to see".

these ancient Indian concepts into a modern language, that it did not lead them to conclude that these long enumerations of German or English "equivalents" or, rather: this distribution of aspects of the total meaning of a term over a number of "senses" or supposed equivalents arranged in an order which though impressing the reader as reflecting an historical development, is mainly a product of the ancient and antiquated procedure of "logical" classification of meanings.

Yet our knowledge of, and insight into, Vedic religion largely depends on a correct understanding of a considerable number of ancient Indian words and phrases, many of which, though debated for nearly a century, have not yet been satisfactorily investigated into. It is a deplorable fact that scholars – e.g. lexicographers in arranging various "meanings" of the same "word", philologists in discussing the connections between different connotations of the same terms and historians in attempting to discover the "original" use of a term of social, economic or religious import – have often failed to realize the considerable semantic difficulties with which they are confronted. Study of meaning and change of meaning of terms, names or phrases occurring in ancient literatures requires not only a thorough philological and historical understanding of the contexts and situations in which the terms occur, and – if they are of religious import – a knowledge of the fundamentals of the "phenomenology" of religion – or comparative study of religions –, but also an insight into semantic possibilities and intricacies and a readiness systematically to investigate the "semantic fields" to which the terms belong and the cultural systems to which they are related. Too often the, often superficial, discussion of semantic problems was – probably as a rule unconsciously – founded on preconceived opinions or suppositions anachronistically derived from modern conditions of life, our own Western traditions or age-long habits of thought.⁹

⁹ It will perhaps strike some readers that the interpretations given by Sāyaṇa are, in this book, not systematically studied. Some examples may serve to illustrate their character: 1, 3, 12 *anuṣṭhāṭṭṛprajñāna-*; 14, 2 *karman-*; 23, 3 *dhiyas pati: karmaṇaḥ buddher vā pālakau*; 61, 16 *dhiyā labhyatvāt dhīh dhanam ucyate* (which though in itself not beyond semantic possibilities does not seem to be right); 90, 5 is a good example of explanation by a special rite which is or may be suggested by the context; 95, 8 *dhīh: sarveṣāṃ dhārakaḥ so 'gniḥ* (which is completely wrong); 109, 1 *dhyānena niṣpannām stutim* "a eulogy brought about by concentration" (which is a very good definition); 112, 2 *dhyātṛ- viṣṭajñānopeta-* (not to be adopted); 139, 2 *dhībhiḥ: tvaduddeśyaiḥ karmabhir yajñādirūpaiḥ*; we also find *dhiyaḥ: karmāṇi stutirūpāṇi* (7, 66, 3); 143, 6 *dhiyā: stutirūpayā prajñayā* ("with wisdom in the form of a eulogy" which is much to the point); 7 *prajñā yāgādviṣaya-* ("knowledge (wisdom) in the sphere of sacrifices etc."); 144, 1 *dhiyam: prajñāṃ*; 185, 8 *stutirūpaṃ karma*; 2, 2, 9 *dhīh: buddhiḥ stutiḥ*

Returning now to the term *dhī-* mention must be made of two attempts

karma vā (all three "synonyms" being indeed to a certain extent admissible); 11, 12 *tvaduddeśena* (Indra is addressed) *kriyamāṇam karma*; 18, 7 *stuti-*; 38, 10 *dhyātavya-*; 3, 34, 5 *dhiyaḥ: uśasaḥ, dhyāyanty āsu manuṣyā iti*; 38, 5 *dhībhiḥ: stutibhiḥ*; 60, 2 *dhiyā: prajñayā* (not incorrect); 4, 1, 14 *dhībhiḥ: buddhibhiḥ*; 18, *dhiye: karmaṇām kartre stotre vā yajamānāya* (!); 17, 21 *dhiyā: prajñārūpayā stutyā*; 6, 3, 3 *dhārayitṛi jvālā*; 18, 6 *dhībhir havyaḥ: stotrbhiḥ stutibhir vā jayārthibhir āhlātavyaḥ* (context!); 50, 10 *dhībhiḥ: paricaranakair karmabhiḥ*; 7, 94, 4 *karman-*; 8, 3, 1 *dhiyaḥ: buddhaya nugrahātmikāḥ* (not completely incorrect); 24, 7 *manas-*; 86, 2 *buddhi-*; 101, 16 *dhībhiḥ: vāgbhiḥ* (suggested by the context); 10, 172, 2 *dhiyā: anugrahabuddhyā karmaṇā*.

Special attention may be invited to the fact that later commentators often disagree with one another as to the exact sense of the term under discussion. Some places collected at random may be adduced in illustration. In enumerating the tenfold obligatory virtues of an ascetic Manu 6, 92 also mentions *dhīr vidyā satyam...* "wisdom, higher knowledge, truthfulness..." According to Kullūka and Rāghavānanda *dhīh* means *śāstrāditattvajñānam* "knowledge of the true meaning of the authoritative works", which comes to "insight into the 'religious truth' which is based on the 'revelation'", according to Medhātithi and Govindarāga, however, it stands for "freedom from doubts and errors". Although these interpretations are not mutually exclusive, they emphasize at least different aspects of the concept.

There is also a considerable degree of disagreement among the commentators on the R̥gveda. Thus RV. 1, 23, 3 *dhiyaspatī* is explained, by Sāyaṇa, as *karmaṇo buddher vā pālakai*, by Skandasvāmin as *karmaṇaḥ prajñayā vā pālayitārau svāminau vā*, by Mādhyama as *karmapatī*: 1, 3, 12, *dhiyo viśvā vi rājati: sarvāṇy anuṣṭhātṛprajñānāni viśeṣeṇa dīpayati, anuṣṭhānaviśayā buddhiḥ sarvadotpādayatīty arthaḥ*, Sāy.; *karmāṇi prajñā vā*, Skand.; *karmāṇi*, Mādhyama; in 1, 14, 2 Sāy. however explains the words *gṛṇanti vipra te dhiyaḥ* as *tvadīyāni karmāṇi kathayanti*, but in 1, 34, 5 *avatam dhiyaḥ* as *asmadbuddhiḥ rakṣatam*, whereas Skand. prefers *prajñā vāsmadīyā bahukṛtvo rakṣatam* and Mādhyama *karmāṇi*. The interpretation given of 1, 90, 5 is: *aptoryāma-lakṣaṇāni karmāṇi* "(ritual) activities relating to the performance of the Aptoryāma (i.e. a particular way of offering the Soma sacrifice)" (Sāy.), *karmāṇi* (Mādhyama), *karmāṇi yāgākhyāni* (Skand.). Similar associations of the term *dhīh* with the performance of special rites occur e.g., in Sāyaṇa's commentary on 1, 94, 3 *dhiyaḥ asmadīyāni darśapūrnāmāsādini karmāṇi* (with the addition *tvayā*, i.e. by Agni, *hi sarve yāgā niṣpādyante*); ibid. 4 *karmāṇy agnihotrādini*. Cf. also 1, 46, 8 *abhiśavādīsaṃskārakarmaṇā* (Skand.); 1, 139, 1 *pranayanādikarman-* (Sāy.). With regard to 1, 117, 23 Sāy. and Mādhyama agree: *karmāṇi*, Skand. gives us the option between *prajñāḥ* or *karmāṇi*. Elsewhere however the meaning "buddhiḥ" or "prajñā" is preferred: 1, 3, 2 *ādarayuktayā buddhyā* (Sāy.); ibid. 5 where Sāy. and Skand. give *prajñayā* and Mādhyama *karmaṇā*; 1, 46, 2 *karmaṇā* Sāy. and Mādhyama, *prajñayā* Skand.; 1, 52, 3 *buddhyā* Sāy. and Mādhyama. To what extent the commentators sometimes disagree may appear from their notes on 1, 112, 2 *yābhir* (sc. *ūtibhir*) *dhiyo vathaḥ karman...*: *dhyātṛṇ viśiṣṭajñānopetān* "contemplators endowed with special (or, excellent) knowledge", Sāy.; *svabhūtāni yāga-lakṣaṇāni*, Skand.; *stotrāṇi*, Mādhyama.

The sense of *buddhiḥ* is for instance also adopted by Kullūka in Manu 2, 161 *na paradroha-karmadhīh: parasya droho pakāras tadarthaṃ karma buddhiḥ ca na kartavyā* ("let him not injure others in thought or deed"). [The interesting passage Manu 12, 122 was however misunderstood by Bühler (G. Bühler, *The laws of Manu*, Oxford, 1886, p. 512): *svapnadhigamyam vidyāt tam puruṣam param* does not mean: "let him know the Supreme Male... perceptible by the intellect (only when) in (a state of)

to establish its meaning.¹⁰ Dandekar while studying some terms illustrating the "Selbstauffassung des Inders in R̥g- und Atharvaveda"¹¹ defends the thesis that "weder die Sinneskräfte (*tanūḥ*) allein, noch das

sleep-like abstraction", but rather "by visionary sight such as comes to us in a dream": *svapnadhīsadṛṣajñānagrāhyam; yathā svapnadhīḥ cakṣurādibāhyendriyoparame mano-mātreṇa janyata evam ātmadhīr api*, Kullūka.]

Now there is no denying that both the interpretation *buddhi-* (see also the Petr. Dict. III, 964) "intelligence, understanding, discernment, the power of forming and retaining notions" and *prajñā-* "intelligence, knowledge" or *jñāna-* (Petr. Dict. III, 965) "knowledge, esp. the higher knowledge, derived from meditation (also *jñāna-bheda-* "a variety of knowledge") can easily be understood as referring to particular aspects of the "concept" indicated by the term *dhīh*. The same remark applies to *stotra-* "eulogy, (hymn of) praise". As to the places collected in the Petrograd Dict. under *buddhiḥ* ("Einsicht, Erkenntnis; Intelligenz, Geist") Hemacandra, Abhidh. 310 f. is of some interest because it enumerates the various aspects of *dhīh* in a rather detailed way: *śūśrūṣā śravaṇam caiva grahaṇam dhāraṇam tathā | ūho 'poho 'rthavijñānam tattvajñānam ca dhiguṇāḥ* "the characteristic properties of *dhīh* are the desire to hear and the hearing (of instruction), perception and apprehension of the instruction and the ability to keep it in remembrance – consideration and arguing, comprehension of the meaning and insight into the truth". The stanza occurs also in Mallinātha's commentary on Kāl. Ragh. 3, 30 *dhiyaḥ samagraiḥ sa guṇair udāradhīḥ kramāc catarāś... | tatāra vidyāḥ...* As to *karman-* which seems, at first sight, to present some difficulty, it may be remembered that this word does not only refer to "actions", but to any "performance, office, duty, or obligation", and that in the ritual sphere with which the commentators were very familiar, it was used to indicate any religious act or rite.

[Bhagavadgītā 2, 56 gives, in a sense, a definition of a *muniḥ sthitadhīḥ: duḥkheṣv anudvignamanāḥ sukheṣu vīgarasprhaḥ vītarāgabhayakrodhaḥ*: "his mind is not disturbed in the midst of sorrows and is free from eager desire amid pleasures; passion, fear and wrath have left him". Translations such as "man of steadfast thought, a saint" (Hill.); "a stable-minded holy man" (Edgerton); "a sage of settled intelligence (Radhakrishnan) are in any case better than "andächtig, ein Asket" (L. von Schroeder, Bhagavadgita, Jena 1922, p. 14). I would prefer "a sage of stable insight." In any case this passage and the context give us an idea of the implications of the compound *sthitadhīḥ* and of the characteristics of the man who has prepared himself to come into touch with the Higher Truth.]

The term *dhī-* has also when occurring in epic or classical texts been often misunderstood. In the address put by Kālidāsa into the mouth of the ascetics while revering Śiva (Kum. 6, 22) the god is for instance besought to reveal himself to those speaking: *prasīda kathayātmānam na dhiyām pathi vartase*; "nicht weilst Du auf den Wegen, die Gedanken gehen" (O. Walter, *Der Kumārasambhava...*, München, 1913, p. 54) does not seem convincing. The concept of *dhī-sphuṭatā* discussed in the Rāmānuja school of thought is "clearness of insight or awareness"; it was a problem whether it could serve to define "perception" (S. Dasgupta, *A history of Indian philosophy*, III, Cambridge, 1940, p. 216 f.).

¹⁰ For etymological relatives of *dhī-* the reader may consult the following chapters. The etymologically and semantically difficult *dhēnā-* (for literature see M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Heidelberg, 1953, II, p. 113) will, in this publication, be left out of consideration. So is *dhiṣaṇā*: see J. Wackernagel – A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2 (Göttingen, 1954), p. 925.

¹¹ R. N. Dandekar, *Der vedische Mensch* (Heidelberg, 1938), see esp. p. 65 f.

Geistige (*manah*) auf der anderen Seite allein zur Leistung des menschlichen Lebensvorganges hinreichend sind. *Kratuh* verbindet die Betätigung beider; aber über diesen Dreien existiert noch eine höhere Funktion, die allein dem Menschen ermöglicht, die verborgene Wahrheit oder Wirklichkeit in allen Erscheinungen zu ergreifen. Sie überragt alle genannten Begriffe und wird *dhīh* genannt: die innere Schaukraft". Passing over, for the moment, the question as to how far the translation proposed by the Indian author for the other three terms hits the mark and admitting on the other hand that the rendering "die innere Schaukraft" for *dhīh* is to be preferred to the interpretations given by Roth, Grassmann, Geldner etc., I ask however myself whether the implication that the function called *dhīh* was, in any human being, simply co-ordinated with or superposed on the three other functions, that it was a normal psychical faculty proper also to ordinary men can be convincingly substantiated. The other observations made by Dandekar though far from exhaustive contain much that is substantially correct. They have however failed to attract the attention of those who wrote afterwards. Whereas Wackernagel-Debrunner¹² take the word to mean "Gedanke", Coomaraswamy¹³ while studying the meaning of the *ātmayajña* or "self-sacrifice" interpreted this as an exhaustive series of symbolic acts to be treated as support of what he considered to be "contemplation" (*dhiyālambhah*). According to H. P. Schmidt¹⁴ *dhīh* admits of the translation (German) "Lied", to Bhawe¹⁵ the word may be translated by "hymn, song or prayer". In this he mainly follows Renou who while justly rejecting translations such as "Kunst" (Geldner), always attempts to "restore" the initial sense "(poetic) intuition" or simply "parole, poème" ...: "on demande à la divinité d'allouer le don poétique, *dhiyam dhāt* RV. 6, 49, 7 ... De manière analogue, le dieu Pūṣan – le frayer de chemins, aussi dans l'ordre intellectuel... est appelé *dhiyamjinva* – ou *dhījavana* – "l'animateur" ou "l'accélérateur des pensées"."¹⁶ Here however the risk is not imaginary of over-estimating the element of "poetry" and of viewing this concept through modern, or at least traditionally European spectacles, and to overlook the decidedly religious and psychological elements of the idea expressed

¹² J. Wackernagel – A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2 (Göttingen, 1954), p. 39.

¹³ A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Ātmayajña", in *Harvard Journ. Or. Stud.*, 1942, p. 174 ff.

¹⁴ H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch vratā und awestisch urvāta* (Hamburg, 1958), p. 60.

¹⁵ S. S. Bhawe, *The Soma-hymns of the Rgveda*, II (Baroda, 1960), p. 46.

¹⁶ L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, I (Paris, 1955), p. 3 f.

by the term under examination.¹⁷ We should avoid the Scylla of considering the Rgveda a collection of magico-ritualistic texts produced by self-interested priests as well as the Charybdis of secularizing that ancient corpus; we should steer between the devil of regarding it as idyllic Urzeit poetry and the deep sea of underrating its "archaic" or "semi-primitive"¹⁸ character.

What is especially difficult is a comparative study of the meanings of the "half-synonyms" belonging to the same semantic field. What is for instance the difference between *dhī-*, *mati-*, *manīṣā-* and the other words which may in definite contexts admit of the same translation? While no doubt right in signalizing this difficulty an Indian scholar¹⁹ recently assumed – and I have my doubts with regard to this suggestion – that *mati-* in certain phrases can stand for personified "poetry", whereas *dhī-* is just "well-meditated song". Renou²⁰ on the other hand ventured the opinion that "*dhī-* semble se dire de l'intuition, *mati-* de l'aboutissement concret en poème". I for one am inclined to adopt the hypothesis that generally speaking these words on the one hand retain a definite – though often not easily definable – "central meaning" or semantic nucleus which they also have in "non-technical" or otherwise different contexts, and on the other denote what would appear to us to be complex ideas from different points of view, whilst emphasizing different aspects, different stages of development, different functions, different connotations.

In attempting to gain an insight in the meaning and function of "concepts" such as *dhīh*²¹ which may a priori be said to belong to the vocab-

¹⁷ I am afraid I cannot agree with the view pronounced by P. S. Shastri, "The Rgvedic theory of poetry," in *Proc. Transact. XIIth All-India Orient. Conf. 1943-44*, II (Benares, 1946), p. 232 ff., who likes to view the Rgvedasamhitā as "primarily an anthology of beautiful poems devoted to the lyrical outburst of the poets in those times", the poets themselves regarding "their compositions as works of art and not as having religious importance". "Art itself was their religion": this is true so far as no hard-and-fast lines existed between both provinces of culture; that then these were not distinguished in our way. The author's remarks on the function of the 'seer' (poet) come however more into the line adopted in this book.

¹⁸ As this term is often misunderstood I repeat what I have already often observed in other publications: I admit the term "primitive" only in the scientific and technical sense given to it for instance by my compatriot G. van der Leeuw (see for instance *L'homme primitif et la religion*, Paris, 1940), who did not tire of arguing that "primitiveness" refers to an "anthropological structure", from which the "civilized" and "educated" also in Western countries are not completely free.

¹⁹ Bhawe, *The Soma-hymns of the Rgveda*, p. 88 f.

²⁰ L. Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII (Paris, 1961), p. 95. See also the same in *Études sur le vocabulaire du Rgveda* (Paris, 1958), p. 52 ff.

²¹ It must be repeated here that this publication is not only intended for students of Sanskrit and Indology who may in the first place be referred to the interpretation of

ulary of religion as well as to that of poetic art, it would be wise to realize, first, that there was in those ancient times no hard and fast line between "religion" and "poetics", between a "prophet", a poet, a divine man, and a "philosopher".²² A speaker was a representative of Power, in particular of the power which was believed to be inherent in the mighty word.²³ Whether we would like to call special functions priestly or monitory, bardic or prophetic, whether it was that of the Greek προφήτης who related cult legends at festivals²⁴ or that of the possessed and ecstatic shaman, or the inspired teacher and preacher as the organ of special revelations from God, the man fulfilling it was to a considerable extent a tool of Power, emptied of himself and "filled with the god"; he was an ἐνθουσιαστής "a man possessed by a god, a person inspired or ecstatic". He was not supposed to speak words of his own inventing, but to set in motion or to reveal, to enunciate a power which manifests itself and works through an "inspired man". Very often these men spoke words of divine provenance, like the Old Testament prophets who appeared with the word of God.²⁵ This suprahuman origin lent their words a healing, a salutary

Vedic passages in part of the following chapters, but also to those interested in a comparative study of religion, philosophy, aesthetics and literature. For the benefit of these readers many quotations have been translated, explications of technical terms and other Sanskrit words are given, bibliographical references added and numerous expatiations of a more general character inserted.

²² G. van der Leeuw, *Wegen en Grenzen*² (Amsterdam, 1948), p. 153 ff.

²³ "Worte sind Siegel des Geistes, Endpunkte - oder richtiger Stationen - unendlicher Erlebnisreihen, die aus fernster, unvorstellbarer Vergangenheit in die Gegenwart hineinreichen.... Sie sind "das Hörbare, das am Unhörbaren haftet", das Gedachte und das Denkbare, das aus dem Undenkbaren wächst.... Durch diese lautlichen Schöpfungen nahm der Mensch Besitz von der Welt. Und mehr als das: er entdeckte eine neue Dimension, eine Welt in seinem Innern, wodurch sich ihm die Aussicht auf eine höhere Lebensform eröffnete.... Die Vorahnung, ja Gewissheit, solch höherer Daseinszustände ist mit gewissen Erlebnissen verbunden, die von so grundlegender Natur sind, dass sie weder erklärt noch beschrieben werden können. Sie sind so subtil, dass es nichts gibt, womit man sie vergleichen könnte.... Darum können solche Erlebnissen nur durch Symbole angedeutet werden. Und diese Symbole sind nicht willkürliche Erfindungen, sondern spontane Ausdrucksformen, die aus den tiefsten Regionen des menschlichen Geistes hervorbrennen. Sie brechen aus dem Seher als Gesicht, aus dem Sänger als Laut und sind im Banne von Gesicht und Laut unvermittelt und schlechthin da. Ihr wesenhaftes Da-sein ist der Inbegriff priesterlicher Gewalt des Seher-Dichters. Was aus seinem Munde erklingt, ist nicht Allerweltswort, Schall (*śabdah*), aus dem das Reden besteht. Es ist *mantrah*: Zwang zum Denkbild, Zwang über das Seiende, so das zu sein, wie es wirklich in seinem unmittelbaren Wesen ist. Es ist also Erkenntnis.... ist unmittelbares gegenseitiges Innesein von Wissendem und Gewusstem" (Lama Anagarika Govinda, *Grundlagen tibetischer Mystik*, Zürich-Stuttgart, 1957, p. 3 ff.).

²⁴ Cf. O. Kern, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 76 (1928), p. 3 ff.

²⁵ See e.g. G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London, 1938), ch. 27 and 85, 2.

power, made them even into a deed of salvation. That what we would call a poet shared in the divine potency attributed to "men of words" in general is not surprising, because, as already observed, in older times all "speakers" were one. Does not Plato²⁶ speak of poets as being filled with God, placing them on the same footing as the oracular bards and soothsayers?

It would be a serious error to reject in studying the Veda all knowledge derived or derivable from similar branches of learning (viz. the study of other ancient cultures) and to avoid profiting by the results of what in this connection may be called auxiliary sciences such as cultural anthropology, general linguistics and a comparative study of religions. Far from making a thorough and critical study of the Vedic texts a superfluity by informing scholars of facts which they ought to learn from these texts or by suggesting premature conclusions on the strength of facts which are foreign to the Veda, they are to sharpen our critical faculty and to open our ideas for the problems which might present themselves in our particular field of knowledge because they present themselves in comparable fields; they may give us an insight into possibilities, connections, causal relations; they may be a substantial help in building hypotheses which are of course to be verified by a study of a Vedic material possibly complete and methodically investigated into. We should moreover not mind completing the picture of the ancient Indian culture as presented by our texts – in a careful and critical way – by means of a methodical comparison with well-established facts borrowed from reliable sources of knowledge of comparable human civilizations.

It may therefore be expedient to quote some passages from the learned and detailed studies on the function of poets and poetry in Tibet by which R. A. Stein has recently done yeoman service to several branches of learning²⁷: "Le peuple amateur chante, bien entendu, pour se distraire. Mais les indications ne manquent pas qui prouvent que la récitation a aussi un caractère nettement religieux. Et dans ce cas, c'est un chanteur professionnel, un barde, qui sera préféré. ... La récitation est assimilée à un charme puissant. Elle aide à obtenir des avantages de toute sorte, notamment le succès à la chasse et à la guerre. ... Au Tibet, le théâtre, qui a beaucoup en commun avec l'épopée, joue le même rôle. Joué à la fin de la septième lune, juste avant la rentrée des récoltes, il a pour objet la propitiation de

²⁶ Plato, *Apol.* 22 BC ἔγνω οὖν καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ σοφία ποιοῖεν ἀ ποιοῖεν, ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες, ὥσπερ οἱ θεομάντεις καὶ οἱ χρησμοῦδοι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, ἴσασι δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν λέγουσι.

²⁷ R. A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet* (Paris, 1959), esp. p. 318 ff.

la divinité du lieu, montagne sacrée.²⁸ ... Comme tout charme, pour être efficace, l'épopée doit être récitée exactement et complètement. D'où la nécessité du barde. Le maniement de la récitation est en effet délicat. Il provoque la présence réelle du dieu ou du héros considéré comme dieu. Selon la tradition bouriate, le Ciel écoute les contes. ... Le rapprochement du barde et du chamane est bien justifié et a été fait. Les chamanes sont les gardiens de la littérature orale héroïque. Ils connaissent les généalogies, les traditions du clan, la cosmographie. Ils sont bardes: leur inspiration vient de ce que les esprits murmurent à leur oreille.²⁹ ... Comme le chamane, le barde reçoit sa connaissance d'un dieu. Les chants lui sont révélés, et il passe par une initiation ... Les bardes mongoles étaient honorés à la cour et chargés de missions importantes. ... Il arrive qu'un berger, dormant dans la montagne, apprend en rêve à chanter le *Gesar*. Ces bergers qui rêvent et reçoivent des révélations sont des *dpa'-bo* ... Les véritables bardes ne récitant que lorsqu'ils sont en transe. ... Ou encore: ceux qui chantent le *Gesar* sans avoir eu de maître sont seuls à bien chanter: il faut entendre qu'ils l'ont appris en état de rêve ou de ravissement. Ainsi a-t-on pu dire que le "porteur du *brāhman* – quand ce n'est pas le *brahmān* (masc.) lui-même – est le *kavi*-, le poète d'intuition profonde qui dépasse immensément le niveau des laudateurs et des narrateurs habituels".³⁰ Comme dans le cas de certains chamanes, c'est le chapeau du barde qui lui permet de chanter en transe et de réciter correctement. Sans lui, sans être inspiré, on peut apprendre à lire ou à réciter l'épopée; on ne sera jamais capable que de produire des fragments. Seule la récitation en transe est "vraie" ou complète. L'autre a beau durer longtemps, elle ne sera jamais qu'une sorte de contrefaçon. ... Chanter l'épopée en transe, cela se dit *sgrun'-lha bab-pa* "le dieu de l'épopée descend (sur le barde-medium en qui il s'incarne)". ... Selon mon informateur de Tatsienlou (Sherap), on dit même "il chante en transe", littéralement "le chant lui est tombé". De la même manière s'exprime aussi la transe, qui permet de prophétiser: on dit *pra-phab* "faire descendre l'oracle" ou *mo'-babs* "l'oracle descend", pour "tirer des pronostics en regardant dans le miroir." ...

Drawing attention to the striking parallelism between the inspiration of these poets, reciters and shamans on the one hand and similar states of

²⁸ M. H. Duncan, *Harvest festival dramas of Tibet* (Hongkong, 1955), p. 10.

²⁹ Cf. M. Eliade, *Le chamanisme* (Paris, 1951), p. 31 f., 41, 203; see also p. 31 "pendant son extase, le candidat chante des hymnes chamaniques. C'est le signe que le contact avec l'au-delà est déjà établi." Compare also H. Munro Chadwick and N. Kershaw, *The growth of literature*, III (Cambridge, 1940), p. 199.

³⁰ L. Renou et L. Silburn, "Sur la notion de brahman", in *Journ. asiatique*, 1949, p. 13.

mind of the lamaist priests on the other the same author continues³¹: "non seulement la transe du medium lamaïque qui incarne les divinités terribles, protecteurs de la religion, est appelée *ye-çes babs-pa* "(la divinité) en son état nouménal est descendue (en lui)", la méditation même aboutit au même résultat de fusion intime de la divinité imaginée et du méditant, et ce résultat porte le même nom. ... Lorsque le *noumen* descendit, la déesse apparut clairement et longuement dans le *maṇḍala* aux dix orientés." ... Ou un autre médite et dès que le *noumen* descend, il voit dans le *maṇḍala* [geometrical diagram of "mystic" significance] des *ḍākinī* [a sort of female imp] telles qu'il les avait imaginées. Dans la danse masquée aussi, le point culminant est la descente, en l'officiant, du "corps de sagesse" de la divinité ... À quel point la présence réelle de la divinité, provoquée par la méditation ou (ce qui n'en est qu'un genre) par la danse masquée, ... est identique à celle produite par l'évocation du *Gesar*, c'est ce qu'illustre bien la légende suivante. ...³² Pour évoquer et rendre présent en lui (l'incarner en transe) un personnage de l'épopée, le barde emploie le même procédé que celui de la "réalisation" (*sgrub*, Skt. *sādhana*) d'une divinité lamaïque. Comme le dit fort bien Lessing,³³ le *sādhana* a pour but "the ritualistic creation, realization or visualization of a deity", et l'officiant passe "from pluralism (he himself becomes a god) through dualism to monism (he becomes one with the *jñāna* or *gnosis* form of the deity)." ...

In all times and among many peoples there have – independently of religious faith and often also of moral preparation – been men, who were aware of the reality of "visions" and intuitions, of inspirations and sudden thoughts and ideas, men who understood that besides the purely sensuous impression a thought, a flash of intuition, in short knowledge, may come to the human mind, as it were spontaneously, at least without any conscious activity of the organ of sensory perception and which leaves an impression of great reality; men who know that the "doors of the mind may be opened" (RV. 9, 10, 6). Often also the source of this knowledge is divine. The god Agni, the guest among men and his guru, is explicitly called a *dhārā rtasya* (RV. 1, 67, 7), i.e. "stream or 'fountain' of transcendental truth", the inventor of brilliant speech (2, 9, 4 *śukrasya vacaso manotā*), who brings the light of the vibrations of inspiration (3, 10, 5 *vipāṃ jyotiṃsi bibhrat*). He opens the thoughts of the poets (4, 11, 2), his are the origins of the special gifts of the seers (4, 11, 3), and in 6, 9 we

³¹ Stein, *o.c.*, p. 336 ff.

³² page 336.

³³ F. Lessing, "Calling the soul", in *Semitic and Oriental Studies*, Univ. of California, 11 (1951), n° 4.

find an elaborate description of the relation between the god – who is the light of the world as well as the internal light illumining poets and sages – and the poet who by devout concentration upon the god experiences the inspiration as an ecstasy.

The man or woman who is gifted with praeternatural qualities, who for instance evinces a capacity for ecstatic experiences, is often regarded as being endowed with the special knowledge and the special powers required for a diviner, healer, prophet, poet, or wonder-worker.³⁴ If a man has power in spiritual things, is a seer or clairvoyant, can have visions or hear the voice of beings belonging to the world of the unseen, it is considered reasonable that he should be more or less different from the average man in the concerns of daily life and impress his surroundings because of his uncommon gifts. It is also intelligible that he should claim attributes which are necessarily divine or at least demonstrably not human, such as omniscience or even omnipotence.

One of the most outstanding characteristics of Indian spiritual life is, on the other hand, the continuous and consistent effort to transcend the empirical level which is based on the conviction that the truth of life and experience is necessarily transcendent. The Indian spiritual guides were always convinced of the necessity of having an experience of that ultimate reality which is the ground and essence of all existence, empirical and absolute. They did not question the possibility for man to enter into the consciousness of the Absolute because it is that very consciousness which is the essence of his own consciousness and existence. Experience of absolute consciousness, that is of the individual self as one with the universal and ultimate Self is therefore the highest knowledge. They believe that there are men, for instance seers and yogins, who are able directly to perceive objects, truths, phenomena, connections etc. which are not so perceivable by the average man, because they are supposed to have developed a “higher” or “mystical” faculty which brings them face to face with such supersensuous entities. The conditions of developing this power are identical with those for attaining final emancipation, viz. moral purity and proficiency in meditation. It would be a superfluity to quote authorities and references.³⁵ Let it suffice to observe that far into modern

³⁴ For literature see H. Webster, *Magic* (Stanford, Cal., 1948), p. 157 and notes.

³⁵ One may consult any handbook of Indian thought or philosophy, e.g. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, 2 vol. (London, 1923-1927 [1948]); the same, *Eastern religions and western thought*² (London, 1939); H. von Glasenapp, *Die Philosophie der Inder* (Stuttgart, 1949); E. Frauwallner, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie* (Salzburg, 1953-); P. Masson-Oursel, *La philosophie comparée*² (Paris, 1931); Ch. Sharma, *A critical Survey of Indian Philosophy* (London, 1960).

times Aurobindo, for instance, also felt that pure reason, the method of Western philosophy, may reach metaphysical principles, but it cannot reach “integral being”, which is achievable only by intuition and direct insight.³⁶ Man has, the Indians always believed, to acquire visionary knowledge of being, of the truth, of the transcendental, of eternal values, and not merely think with his brain instead of seeing with his “heart”. He has to rely on “intuition” as a source of supersensuous truth, in order to enter into communication with the reality of the Absolute and to understand the divine background of this world and its phenomena. The knowledge gained in this way is essentially and necessarily valid.³⁷ With regard to the Hindu attitude to religion in general professor Radhakrishnan³⁸ therefore observes that intellect is subordinated to intuition, dogma to experience, outer expression to inward realization. Religion is “insight into the nature of reality (*darśanam*), or experience of reality” (*anubhavaḥ*). “This experience is not an emotional truth, or a subjective fancy, but is the response of the whole personality, the integrated self, to the central reality.” “The Vedas register the intuitions of the perfected souls. They record the spiritual experiences of souls strongly endowed with the sense for reality. They are held to be authoritative on the ground that they express the experiences of the experts in the field of religion. The truths revealed in the Vedas are capable of being re-experienced on compliance with ascertained conditions.” ... “Like all perception, religious intuition is that which thought has to start from and to which it has to return...”

Since the poetic inspiration is nearly related to the supranormal intuition of the yogin or mystic and to that “divine knowledge” which is also called “omniscience”, and since poetic inspiration is not rarely said to come to men through those gods who are more or more often than others considered “omniscient” it may – in anticipation of what will be said in the succeeding chapters – be expedient to dwell for a moment on the character of this supranormal intuitive knowledge, of this contact with the world of the unseen, of this omniscience which some gifted or successful human beings share with divinity. In contradistinction to human

³⁶ For references see Ch. A. Moore, “Sri Aurobindo in East and West”, in H. Chaudhuri and F. Spiegelberg, *The integral philosophy of Sri Aurobindo* (London, 1960), p. 89.

³⁷ For intuition, its relation to the intellectual approach to the objects and phenomena knowable and the important part played by it in Indian thought see e.g. also M. Hiriyanna, *The essentials of Indian philosophy* (London, 1956), passim; P. T. Raju, *Idealistic thought of India* (London, 1953), esp. p. 123 ff., 301 ff., 340 ff., 356 ff.; F. Schuon, *Language of the Self* (Madras, 1959), passim.

³⁸ S. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu view of life* (London [1927]), 1948, p. 15 ff.

knowledge the so-called divine knowledge is considered to be infinite, unlimited, eternal, free from errors and imperfections, unconditioned, unequalled, and above the limitations of time and space. It is neither inferential, nor analogical, nor verbal, but only perceptual in character. There is, in it, no subconscious impression and therefore no memory. It is continuous, non-sensuous, not determined by its objects, but, on the contrary determining its own objects.³⁹ When this supersensuous knowledge gradually increases so as to reach perfection in a person, he is as a rule called "omniscient".⁴⁰ Some definitions are to follow hereafter.⁴¹

The concept of omniscience was by various schools differently interpreted. Whereas the Jains for instance held that their leaders were omniscient and all-seeing to such an extent that knowledge and insight were continually present, Buddha did not claim such omniscience,⁴² but only three knowledges, viz. that he remembered numberless past existences; that with his divine eye he could see beings passing away and being reborn according to their karma; that he had realized release of mind, and knowledge in this life. Buddha can, his followers claim, so direct his attention that anything can come within the range of his knowledge.⁴³ In regard to particulars there has however been a considerable variety of opinion among his followers.⁴⁴ In the main the question resolves itself into this. The Buddhist logicians admitted two absolutely heterogeneous sources of knowledge, a momentary and immediate contact with reality and an intellectual 'translation' which, though intelligible, is not completely true. The former is the 'mystical' knowledge of the 'saint', the man who is completely successful on the spiritual path. On this point the Sautrāntikas⁴⁵ argue: "Grâce à la méditation et à l'extase le mystique a la connaissance directe ou intuition intelligible du passé et de l'avenir comme il l'a de l'instant présent. C'est une claire perception qui se passe de l'aide de l'inférence et de l'expression verbale. Cette perception est la

³⁹ See e.g. J. Sinha, *Indian psychology, perception* (London, 1934), p. 370 f.

⁴⁰ Patañjali makes an attempt to prove the omniscience of God by the ontological argument. We infer the existence of the omniscient God – who is untouched by all taint of imperfection – from our knowledge of the supersensuous, which is the germ of omniscience. See Sinha, *o.c.*, p. 368.

⁴¹ For omniscience (*sarvajñatā*) in the Vedānta see e.g. T. M. P. Mahadevan, *Gauḍapāda, a study in early Advaita* (Madras, 1952), p. 180 ff.

⁴² Cf. Majjh. Nik. I, 482.

⁴³ See e.g. E. J. Thomas, *The history of Buddhist thought* (London, 1933 [1951]), p. 139, 148 ff., 168, 241.

⁴⁴ For a review of the main points of view see L. Silburn, *Instant et cause, le discontinu dans la pensée philosophique de l'Inde* (Paris, 1955), p. 392 ff.

⁴⁵ A school of 'indirect realists' belonging to the Hinayāna.

preuve de l'omniscience. Ainsi dans le rêve, bien que la connaissance n'ait aucun objet correspondant dans la réalité, pourtant l'objet est présent, indépendamment de toute inférence et il est en soi."⁴⁶ There were many opinions on the limit and extent of 'omniscience' and on its object or objects. The Māhāsaṃghikas, Mahāyānists and most Sautrāntikas for instance hold that Buddha is "omniscient" because he possesses a universal and simultaneous knowledge of all things (*dharmāḥ*). This Knowledge is intuitive, and comprises all aspects of existence, the empirical as well as those of absolute existence. The Mahāyānists regard the effortless, momentary and integral illumination (*ekakṣaṇaḥ abhisambodhaḥ*) preceding the acquirement of the state of Buddha a cosmic intuition. Part of the Buddhists are convinced that a Buddha is able to produce an exact knowledge of any 'object' or phenomenon which he wishes to understand thoroughly, although in particular cases this 'omniscience' is to be roused by deep meditation (*dhyānam*). Others are however of the opinion that Buddha can for that purpose do without *dhyānam*. The question as to how this is possible is answered by Śāntarakṣita, the great Tibetan thinker and apostle (± 750), as follows: "one must be omniscient oneself to understand an omniscient". Nevertheless this idealistic philosopher attempts to establish – from the metaphysical and not only from the logical point of view – the saint's ability to have a total vision of things in a momentaneous mystical intuition as soon as he has eliminated all activity of discursive thought. "Ce n'est que lorsque le saint s'est définitivement libéré des deux voiles (*āvaraṇam*) qui obscurcissent sa vision ainsi que des préjugés et conceptions fallacieuses prenant racine dans la croyance en un mot substantiel qu'il perçoit immédiatement la nature authentique des choses et connaît tout en une seule connaissance."⁴⁷ According to Śāntarakṣita omniscience is always obtained by assiduous practice.

"Au même titre que la pensée immaculée, l'expérience de la *bodhiḥ*, 'l'illumination', semble former le noyau des nouvelles spéculations: cette expérience apparaît comme une omniscience (*sarvajñatā*) instantanée qui présente les traits caractéristiques de l'intuition mystique puisqu'elle est instantanée comme elle. À cette intuition correspond un enseignement de même nature: 'Le Buddha exprime toutes les doctrines (*dharmāḥ*) en une seule expression'.⁴⁸ In the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, Śāntarakṣita⁴⁹ defines

⁴⁶ Résumé by Silburn, *o.c.*, p. 399.

⁴⁷ Silburn, *o.c.*, p. 396.

⁴⁸ L. Silburn, *o.c.*, p. 237 f.

⁴⁹ See Th. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist logic*, 2 vol. (repr., 's-Gravenhage, 1958), passim.

the "omniscient" as follows: (3627) *ekajñānakṣaṇavyāptaniḥśeṣajñe-yamaṇḍalaḥ | prasādhito hi sarvajñāḥ kramo nāśriyate tataḥ* "that man proves omniscient who in one single moment of knowing masters the complete multitude of knowable objects; therefore no succession (successive knowledge) is admitted (to occur in that case)"; (3638) *sahetu saphalaṃ karma jñānenālaukikena yaḥ | samādhijena jñāti sa sarvajño 'padiśyate* "he is spoken of as 'omniscient' who knows all action together with its causes and results by means of a knowledge which is not current in this world and which has been produced by *samādhik*". And Kama-lāśīla in the Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā remarks (p. 887, 1, 7) that the omniscient one has a simultaneous knowledge of all things by means of an intuition called *manovijñānam*, which is as clear as sensory perception and corresponds to reality".

This divine or supersensory knowledge, this omniscience is, in India and elsewhere, often identified with, compared to, or considered to be an extra-ordinary visual faculty, the possession of a divine vision or super-sensuous eye.

Almost endless is the evidence of the belief that the gods and other higher powers have cognizance of what happens in the world and especially of what is going on among men, of their "ways" i.e. their conduct, by means of an organ denoted by the term "eye". By way of introduction to what will be said in the next chapters it may be recalled to memory that with the ancient Greeks, Zeus' omniscience by which he is informed particularly of the destiny of men and of their deeds, is connected with sight: Hes.Op. 267 ff. *πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ πάντα νοήσας* ... "the eye of Zeus, seeking all and understanding all ...". The same faculty is attributed to Zeus' daughter and informant, Dikē "Justice", who sees all that men do and punishes their misdoings.⁵⁰ Yahweh's knowledge and omniscience, which is also omnipresence, and is past man's understanding is above all else seeing (cf. e.g. Psalm 35, 22; 66, 7; 139, 16). Amon-Rê is said to have many pairs of eyes, and Isis is likewise called *πολύφθαλμος*.⁵¹ The Babylonian Marduk, who is explicitly described as "all-knowing", has four eyes which see everything; that is to say: he is possessed of a universal vision which together with his universal hearing make up his perfect omniscience. In Polynesia as elsewhere the attribute of universal vision belongs especially to Supreme Beings. They possess eight eyes, or two hundred eyes or are otherwise described as

⁵⁰ For details: R. Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing god* (London, 1956), p. 145 ff.

⁵¹ Pettazzoni, *o.c.*, p. 17.

possessing all-seeing omniscience.⁵² Similar beliefs obtain in other parts of the world. This visual omniscience is of course not to be understood in the absolute sense. It is, in proportion to the ways and capacities of the thought of the communities believing in it, essentially a direct comprehension and acquisition of knowledge attributed to beings which in principle may be omnipresent, a knowledge which being effected so as to transcend human understanding is attributed to a wonderful faculty of "sight".

Thus a verb of seeing can express the idea of participating in the nature of beings, concepts, realities which do not belong to this world which is the object of sense perception. Communion with the divine and the possession of extrasensuous or supranormal "sight" go together. "Ceci explique l'extrême importance de la 'vision des esprits' dans toutes les variétés d'initiations chamaniques: 'voir' un esprit dans ses rêves ou en état de veille, c'est un signe certain qu'on a obtenu en quelque sorte une 'condition spirituelle', c'est-à-dire qu'on a dépassé la condition humaine profane".⁵³ Thus the "vision of spirits" warrants, for instance among the Indonesians of Mentaway, the possession of shamanistic qualifications.⁵⁴ The *dukuns* (native "doctors" or medicine-men) of the Sumatran Minangkabau set themselves to acquiring, through a vision, which comes voluntarily or involuntarily, praeternormal power in the solitude of the mountains. There they learn to become invisible, to come into contact with the "spirits"⁵⁵: that is to say: they have "seeing eyes and hearing ears", being able to identify themselves with "spirits". Hence also their other name: *orang kapiturunan* "men in whom (a power) has descended." Their visionary power is similar to that exercised in other parts of the same region – e.g. the island of Mentawai – by the seer. Long and tiring ceremonies are needed to transform these initial ecstatic experiences into the more permanent condition in which one participates in the nature of the divine. Not rarely the texts which constitute an integral part of these ceremonies are explicitly imparting a special rôle to the organ of sight.

It would be useful to collect on a large scale parallels of the in this connection remarkable fact that for instance in Hebrew the same verb expresses both "to know" and "to see"; that moreover often, when it

⁵² Pettazzoni, *o.c.*, p. 343 f.

⁵³ M. Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase* (Paris, 1951), p. 92.

⁵⁴ See E. M. Loeb, "Shaman and seer", in *American Anthropologist*, 31 (1929), p. 66. – There is, however, a difference between a 'seer' and a shaman: the 'spirits' speak to the former but through the latter.

⁵⁵ Loeb, *Sumatra* (Wien, 1935), p. 125.

expresses the former sense, it combines or alternates with "to see"⁵⁶; that words etymologically denoting an activity of the eye etc. come to express the more general sense of "perceiving, knowing, understanding" etc.: cf. also terms such as Skt. *prekṣya*- "visible; clear; distinct, manifest, real".

One of the characteristics of the Greek verb γινώσκω is that in early times it very often combines with verbs of seeing: *P* 333 f. Ἀπόλλωνα / ἔγνω ἔσαντα ἰδών "he (Aeneas) knew Apollo when he looked upon his face"; *I* 234 f. νῦν δ' ἄλλους μὲν πάντας ὄρω... Ἀχαιοὺς, / οὓς κεν ἐὺ γνῶνην "and now I see all the other Achaeans, whom I could well know". "γινώσκω bezeichnet... ein Erkennen, das auf folgende Weise charakterisiert ist: Das Wahrgenommene wird als ein bestimmter Gegenstand erfasst, in seinem Was, z.B. ich erkenne eine Erscheinung als Baum. ..." ⁵⁷ "Bei Homer liegt γινώσκειν durchaus in der Sphäre des Erfassens einer dinghaften Erscheinung auf Grund des Sehens". This relation of γινώσκειν to the act of seeing becomes still more clear if we compare συνιέναι the semantic development of which starts from perception by the ear. "Bezieht sich das Homerische γινώσκειν jedoch nicht auf Gegenstände, sondern auf allgemeine Verhältnisse, eine Sachlage, so geht es nicht über den Kreis dessen hinaus, was wir im Deutschen durch einen übertragenen Gebrauch von "sehen" bezeichnen können. ... So *N* 222 f. οὐ τις ἀνὴρ νῦν αἰτίος ὅσσον ἔγωγε γινώσκω ("there is no man at fault, so far as I see")." Dabei verhält sich dann γινώσκειν zu ὄρᾱν ähnlich wie ἀκούειν zu κλύειν in der Wendung Aesch. Prom. 448 κλύοντες οὐκ ἤκουον "hearing they did not understand". It may in this connection be recalled to mind that εἰδέναι "to know" – beside which ἰδεῖν "to see" was always retained – often clearly means "to know on the ground of an observation and perception". Cf. e.g. *B* 484 ff. where the Muses are addressed as follows: ὅμεις γὰρ θεαὶ ἐστε πάρεστε τε ἴστε τε πάντα / ἡμεῖς

⁵⁶ H. Middendorf, *Gott sieht, eine terminologische Studie über das Schauen Gottes im Alten Testament*, Thesis Freiburg i. Br. 1935. It may be useful to quote some of the topics dealt with in this book which seems to be rather rare. In part I the author discusses the terms for God's seeing, first, those for the activity in a positive sense: I the terms for "affektbetontes Schauen" introduced by some remarks on eye and heart; "Gott sieht mit Wohlwollen, Gott sieht prüfend"; II the terms for "wirkungsvolles Schauen": "der gnädige Blick, der prüfende Blick, der zürnende Blick Gottes"; in the second place, the terms for "das Nicht-Sehen Gottes". Moreover, the terms for the organs of God's sight are dealt with: the eye of God, the face of God. In part II the relation between God and man from the point of view of the divine sight is discussed. The author dwells for instance on light as opposed to imprisonment, and on light as the grace of God or of the king.

⁵⁷ B. Snell, "Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff des Wissens in der vorplatonischen Philosophie", *Philologische Untersuchungen*, 29 (Berlin, 1924), p. 21, 24.

δὲ κλέος ὅλον ἀκούομεν οὐδὲ τι ἴδμεν "for you are goddesses and are at hand and know all things, whereas we hear but a rumour and know nothing". Whereas human γνῶσις relates to what is visible, the θεῖα γνῶσις enables its possessor to know the invisible.

Some value may perhaps be attached to the fact that also in later times those men and mythological beings who associated with the gods or were on familiar terms with them were described as those "who see the gods". Thus King Daśaratha in the *Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 31, 2: *puṇyaśīlo mahākīrtir devadarśi mahāyaśāḥ*; and Nārada in *BhāgPur.* 10, 36, 16: *devadarśanaḥ*. (Cf. also *N.T.*, Matthew 5,8 μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται). A counterpart is the well-known epithet *satyadarśin*- which is given to ṛṣis etc.: "seeing" the truth or the essence of things".

It should not be forgotten that according to the Indians themselves "philosophy" has to demonstrate by reasoning propositions in regard to a) what a man ought to do in order to gain true happiness ... or b) what he ought to realize by direct experience in order to be absolutely independent, such propositions being already gained by way of higher knowledge by duly qualified authorities.

Thus Umesha Mishra prefaces the introductory chapter of his book *Conception of Matter*⁵⁸ by the following remarks: In India, philosophy has both theoretical and practical aspects. Speculation, unless it is based on, and has a counterpart in, practical experience, is worse than useless. This idea is borne out by the use of the word *darśanam* for a "system" of "philosophy" in India. The word means "the act of [noticing or visual] perception", which may be either physical or intuitive [and hence "view"]. Here in the present context, it should be understood in the latter sense. In other words, only that system of thought deserves to be called *darśanam* which gives us a true picture, fragmentary but faithful, of the whole truth, of course through the act of intuitive perception. Hence, the different "schools" of *darśanam* in Indian thought represent the varied phases of the truth viewed from different angles of vision.⁵⁹

The relation between "intuitive" and "philosophical" thought as well as the reasons for which the term *darśanam* was, in texts which are lost for ever, introduced was also commented upon by Radhakrishnan⁶⁰: "The term *darśanam* comes from *drś-* 'to see'. This seeing may be either

⁵⁸ Umesha Mishra, *Conception of Matter according to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* (Allahabad, 1936), p. 1.

⁵⁹ The author does not omit observing that the use of terms such as philosophy, system, school etc. for *darśana*- is misleading.

⁶⁰ S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I (London, 1927 [1948]), p. 43.

perceptual observation or conceptual knowledge or intuitional experience.⁶¹ It may be inspection of facts, logical inquiry or insight of soul... We do not find the word used in reference to critical expositions, logical surveys, or systems in the early stages of philosophical thought, when philosophy was more intuitional. It shows that *darśanam* is not an intuition, however much it may be allied to it. Perhaps the word is advisedly used, to indicate a thought system acquired by intuitive experience and sustained by logical argument. In the systems of extreme monism philosophy prepares the way for intuitional experience... which reveals to us the fullness of reality... Hence also the expression *samyagdarśanam* "right insight" for "intuition salvatrice".⁶² It may be remembered too, that whereas the term *darśanam* appears in the sense of "school of philosophical thought" in Haribhadra's *Śaṅḍarśanasamuccaya* (Vth or VIth cent. A.D.), previous authors – e.g. Kaṇāda, in his *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* 9, 2, 13, used it in a doubtless more original meaning of "true philosophical knowledge". The Pāli term *ditṭhi*- (Skt. *dr̥ṣṭi*-) which, meaning "view, speculation, belief, theory etc.", likewise derives from the root *dr̥ś*- "to see", was used by the Buddhists to denote heretical or divergent (and hence false) views.

Among the Jains *darśanam* was used for "right perception".⁶³ There is no word, in the Indian languages, to express our idea of "philosopher" in the strictly technical and scientific sense. Terms such as *jñānin*- "the one who has knowledge" refer rather to those characterized by intuitive knowledge, to "seers", *siddha*- etc. "accomplished, successful, perfect(ed), beatified" to successful yogins.⁶⁴

From the frequently visual character of intuitive knowledge it, further, follows that in order to be effectuated it needs "light", that visions not rarely consist in or visitations are often attended with light or luminous apparitions, that we often hear of an "inner light" as a medium of revelation, that those divine powers which are concerned with light are also concerned with religious, mystical or poetical inspiration, that persons susceptible make frequent mention of visions in the literal sense of the term, of luminous forms and the sudden appearance of light,⁶⁵ that – to

⁶¹ [Cf. also phrases such as *param dr̥ṣṭvā* (BhagG. 2, 59)].

⁶² O. Lacombe, *L'absolu selon le Védānta* (Paris, 1937), p. 46.

⁶³ See e.g. S. Dasgupta, *A history of Indian philosophy*, I³ (Cambridge, 1951), p. 189 f.

⁶⁴ Cf. e.g. also texts such as Mbh. 14, 19, 15 *yujñataḥ siddham ātmānam yathā paśyanti yoginaḥ*.

⁶⁵ In illustration, some passages may be quoted from a long article by J. H. Leuba, "Les tendances fondamentales (religieuses) des mystiques chrétiens", which was published in the *Revue philosophique*, 54 (Paris, 1902), p. 1 and 441: p. 442 "Si vous leur

revert to India – the ātman, which is knowable and may be realized by the pure in heart by means of higher intuition, can be immediately intuited by reason of its self-luminosity. Dadu, in the XVIth century, would sit for hours in a state of spiritual rapture, beholding the "hidden light" and feasting his soul on its ever-expanding glories.⁶⁶ Rāmakṛṣṇa for instance relates how many visions came to him: "lorsque cela m'était nécessaire, je voyais un jeune sannyāsin sortir de mon corps. Exactement semblable à moi en apparence, il venait m'enseigner toutes choses... Parfois je voyais de petites taches de lumière, comme un essaim de lucioles devant mes yeux... Non seulement la Mère Divine est sans forme, mais Elle est aussi avec forme. Il est possible de voir Ses formes... La Mère apparaît sous des formes diverses. Hier, j'ai eu d'elle une vision... Et Elle m'a parlé."⁶⁷

Verb forms for "seeing" are, in harmony with what has been said in the preceding pages, also in the Veda not infrequently used in a more general and rather vague sense of "perceiving": R̥V. 1, 164, 32 (obj. breath); ibid. 44. Hence also places such as 4, 13, 5 *kayā yāti svadhayā ko dadarśa* (sc. *svadhām*) "through which power of autonomy inherent in his own nature"⁶⁸ does he go? who has seen it (the *svadhā*)?"; since this stanza deals with a great cosmic mystery, viz. "why does the sun not fall down?", "to see" here means "to have an insight into problems which are beyond normal human understanding". Hence also a question like

disiez: 'Qu'en savez-vous?' vous les verriez tout surpris qu'une interprétation, pour eux si évidente qu'ils la confondent avec l'expérience, puisse être mise en question. Quand ils disent: J'ai senti ou j'ai vu Dieu, ils croient n'affirmer rien de plus que ce que contenaient leurs sensations et leur émotions de tout à l'heure"; p. 447 "le sujet entre dans l'extase mystique par la communion avec Dieu et il reste en rapport avec Lui aussi longtemps que la conscience dure... On est frappé de la fréquence des apparitions lumineuses en lisant les mystiques. Très souvent la vision ne revêt aucune forme distincte, ce n'est qu'une lumière (sainte Thérèse..., Ruysbroeck, Boehme, etc.). Ruysbroeck, par exemple, se sert presque exclusivement des mots de lumière et clarté pour décrire l'apparition du Père. Et ces termes ne sont pas des symboles ou des métaphores, ce sont les noms propres de leurs sensations. Qu'on se souvienne aussi que saint Paul ne vit qu'une lumière sur le chemin de Damas; que Dieu n'apparut pas à Moïse, mais qu'il était dans le buisson ardent..."; p. 448 "Les hallucinations auditives sont presque aussi fréquentes que les visuelles..."; p. 448 f. "Elle (sainte Thérèse) vit Notre-Seigneur ni des yeux du corps ni de ceux de l'âme, elle le sentit seulement. Lorsqu'elle ajoute un peu plus loin: et je voyais que c'était Lui qui me parlait", on est obligé de croire à une licence excessive de langage... "Ce que la Sainte voit surtout ce ne sont pas les contours ou la couleur mais la lumière... Parfois c'est du feu qui lui apparaît."

⁶⁶ On Dadu W. G. Orr, *A sixteenth century Indian mystic* (London, 1947).

⁶⁷ J. Herbert, *L'enseignement de Rāmakṛishna* (Paris, 1949), p. 562 f., 569.

⁶⁸ For *svadhā*- see Renou, *Études sur le vocabulaire du R̥gveda* (Pondichéry, 1958), p. 18 ff.

10, 10, 6 *ko asya veda prathamasyāhnaḥ ka īm dadarśa* "who knows of the first day, who has witnessed it?". The verb is also used in connection with "das in die Vergangenheit schauende Auge des Sehers" (Geldner): 10, 130, 7 *pūrveṣām panthām anudṛśya dhīraḥ* "the man of supranormal insight who takes a retrospective view of the path of the ancestors ...".

The verb *ḍṛś-* also occurs in connection with the mutual relation between gods and the inspired seers and poets. In 8, 26, 4 the Aśvins are requested to draw near and to honour the poet by viewing his songs of praise: *upa stomān turasya darśathaḥ śriye*. In 2, 27, 3 the Ādityas who are "wide and deep" (*uravo gabhīrāḥ*), i.e. who extend their presence to, and make their influence felt in, all directions and are explicitly qualified as *bhūryakṣāḥ* "many-eyed", are stated to see through the oblique and the right dealings in the hearts of men (*antaḥ paśyanti vṛjinota sādhu*); "all things, even what is most remote, are near to them (*sarvaṃ rājabhyaḥ paramā cid anti*). Not only does it read (6, 9, 5): *dhruvaṃ jyotir nihitaṃ ḍṛśaye kam* "he (Agni Vaiśvānara) is the immovable light which has been placed-so-as-to be permanent in order to see", a thought completed by the next verse *mano javiṣṭham patayatsv antaḥ* "thought which among (all) flying (things) is the swiftest" —, but elsewhere (7, 35, 5) the atmosphere is requested to show happiness to those speaking, to make them experience happiness; in 6, 44, 8 Indra is related to have revealed his magnificent figure "in order to be seen", i.e. to be experienced by the devout. The poet of 1, 18, 9 states that he has seen (*apaśyam*) Narāśaṃsa, who is willing to provide men with a seat like that in heaven. Here also the verb expresses the idea of perceiving or experiencing the presence, power, and influence of a deity. Other places of similar purport are 1, 164, 31 (= 10, 177, 3) where "to see" likewise means a "mystical, supranormal "beholding" or "visionary experiencing": *apaśyaṃ gopām anipadyamānam ā ca parā ca pathibhiḥ carantam*.⁶⁹ The contact between the human being who is able to "see" and the divine power is sometimes explicitly stated to be brought about somewhere beyond the phenomenal world, or outside the normal sphere and surroundings of men. In 3, 38, 5 and 6 Mitra and Varuṇa who rule the universe are said to exert, by encompassing a strengthening influence upon all abodes"⁷⁰ (*pari viśvāni bhūṣathaḥ sadāṃsi*). "Having gone, in my mind, to there", the poet continues, "I saw also the gandharvas ..." (st. 6 *apaśyam atra manasā jaganvān ... gandharvān ...*).

⁶⁹ See Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 233.

⁷⁰ For *bhūṣ-* see the author's *Four studies in the language of the Veda* (s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 83.

Verbs for seeing may generally speaking also be used in a rather general sense, implying also experiencing events and phenomena beyond eye-sight: 1, 22, 19 *viṣṇoḥ karmāṇi paśyata yato vratāni paspaṣe* "behold the works of Viṣṇu, from where he 'sees' (i.e. pays attention to) the observances". A remarkable instance is also 10, 55, 5 where an ordinary verb for "seeing" is likewise applied to man's experiencing, or becoming aware of, a phenomenon in the divine sphere which in itself is imperceptible by the physical eye: *devasya paśya kāvyam mahitvā* "see the god's (Indra's) high 'power-of-wisdom' in its majesty".⁷¹

There are in the R̥gveda some passages which put the belief in visual contact with the unseen beyond doubt. Gotama, the 'poet' of 1, 88, makes (st. 5) explicit mention of the well-known chariot of the Maruts which remained invisible when he perceived its owners secretly: *etat tyan na yojanam aceti sasvar ha yan maruto gotamo vaḥ*. In 5, 61, 1 ff. a similar adventure is related in connection with Śyāvāśva⁷² who likewise met the Maruts face to face: *ke śthā naraḥ śreṣṭhatamā ya eka-eka āyava*. "Die Marut erscheinen ihm plötzlich als wunderbare Reiter ohne Rosz und Reitzeug, und er erkennt sie erst allmählich".⁷³

There can therefore be no doubt whatever that the verb of seeing in passages such as 1, 22, 20 refers to a praeternormal and spiritual vision: *tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padaṃ sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ | divīva cakṣur ātatam* "the patrons (of the 'poets' and institutors of the sacrifices) always see that highest footstep (place) of Viṣṇu ...". This highest place was considered a sort of "paradise" (1, 154, 5). From 1, 125, 5 and 6 it appears that the liberal sacrificers who give *dakṣiṇās* will attain "immortality", come to the gods; "for those who give *dakṣiṇās* the suns are in the sky" (st. 6). The verb *paśyanti* (1, 22, 20) is explained by Sāyaṇa on AV. 7, 26, 7 as "vergegenwärtigen sich", by Bhāsk. on TS. 1, 3, 6, 2 as "see in their hearts". Of special interest is 10, 71, 4 *uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācam uta tvaḥ śṛṇvan na śṛṇoty enām* "and many a one who sees has not seen speech (the word) and many a one who hears, does not hear it",⁷⁴ one of those texts which show the interest of the poets of the R̥gveda in the powerful medium which they used in expressing their thoughts. Cf. also

⁷¹ The term *kāvyam* will be dealt with further on.

⁷² See A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of names and subjects*, II (Benares, 1958), p. 400 f.

⁷³ Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 68.

⁷⁴ Cf. D. S. Ruegg, *Contributions à l'histoire de la philosophie linguistique indienne* (Paris, 1959), p. 15, who in n. 1 quotes the commentator Harivṛṣabha on Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* 1, 5... *sūkṣmāṃ nityām atīndriyām vācam ṛṣayaḥ sāksātkeṛtadharmāṇo mantradṛśaḥ paśyanti*.

10, 14, 7, being a valediction addressed to the deceased when he sets out on his last journey to Yama's realm, "you will see (*paśyāsi*) Yama and god Varuṇa".

That these verbs may also in other contexts occur in connection with activities which are properly speaking not the eye's may appear from 10, 117, 5 where the man of substance is exhorted to be liberal, "he should bear the long path of life in mind" (*drāghīyāmsam anu paśyeta panthām*). So much is, in 4, 2, 12, clear that the hope is expressed that Agni will "see" (*paśyeh*) the secret intentions of the sacrificer. The same god of light and fire is in 10, 87, 10 implored to perceive or detect the evil spirit.

It would be worth while to institute also a brief investigation into the use, as far as the early Vedic poetry is concerned, of some other words belonging to the same semantic field. The root *cakṣ-* (to which, inter alia, also belongs the noun *cakṣus-* "eye") not rarely occurs in interesting passages. That it is applied to the visual faculty of gods who, like Agni (1, 128, 3), possess an uncommon number of eyes, or who are stated to see all things (1, 164, 44 the sun; 2, 40, 5 Pūṣan) or that it is used also in connection with the chariot of the gods (1, 108, 1), is in itself not surprising. What must be noticed is however that the process of "seeing" implies, in these passages, attention and interest. The gods, who are said to be sighted, watch what is going on in the universe and the doings of men very closely: 1, 98, 1 *viśvam idaṃ vi caṣṭe* (Agni Vaiśvānara); 1, 164, 44 *viśvam eko abhi caṣṭe śacībhiḥ*; 5, 3, 9 *kadā cikitvo abhi cakṣase no 'gne*; 7, 61, 1 *abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe sa manyum martyeṣv ā ciketa*; 10, 85, 18. The verb also does duty when the object is something that strictly speaking is invisible: 5, 62, 8 (Mitra and Varuṇa are addressed: *ataś cakṣāthe aditiṃ ditiṃ ca*); 8, 101, 6 *te dhāmāny amṛtā martyānām adabdhā abhi cakṣate*; 7, 70, 5 *abhi brahmāṇi cakṣāthe ṛṣiṇām*: the Aśvins are implored to pay attention to the well-formulated words of the inspired sages. Cf. also 6, 52, 14 *mā vo vacāṃsi paricakṣyāni*.

The gods are therefore repeatedly qualified as *svardṛśaḥ* which I would like to explain as "seeing by (means of) the light of heaven (the sun)"; cf. e.g. *namovṛdh-* "growing by adoration",⁷⁵ and not, with Grassmann, as "Himmelslicht schauend" or, with Monier-Williams, as "seeing light or the sun". The adjective accompanies a reference to Agni in 5, 26, 2, to Agni Vaiśvānara in 3, 2, 14 *svardṛśaṃ ketum divaḥ*; to Mitra and Varuṇa; 5, 63, 17 *samrājāv asya bhuvanasya rājatho ... vidathe svardṛśā*;

⁷⁵ Similarly Geldner in translating 5, 63, 2; cf. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar* (Strassburg, 1910), p. 160 (§ 270 a). Otherwise: 7, 58, 2; 83, 2; 9, 76, 4.

to Soma 9, 13, 9 ("mit dem Sonnenauge", Geldner) and 65, 11 (*vājinam*); to Indra 7, 32, 22 "lord of the world"; to Viṣṇu 1, 155, 5; to the Ṛbhukṣaṇas while being said to bring the jewel (*ratnam*) to the worshippers; to the gods in general: 1, 44, 9 *uṣarbudha ā vaha samapītaye devāṃ adya svardṛśaḥ*, the sun being the eye of the gods who in the early morning are invited to the soma treat.⁷⁶ The *bahuvrīhi svracakṣas-* expresses a similar sense: in 7, 66, 10 the gods are stated to have Agni for a tongue and the sun for an eye (cf. 1, 89, 7); see also 1, 16, 1; 110, 4.

Whereas in the preceding quotations the gods are the subject of the verb, it is elsewhere in the same semantic nuance used to describe human activity. In 1, 127, 11 Agni is invoked to bring, together with the gods, great wealth to those speaking and to let them see something great in order to enjoy it: *mahi śaviṣṭha nas kṛdhi samcakṣe bhuje asyai*. Although the meaning "to see" may be adopted here, there is the implication of an uncommon and exceptional experience. In 5, 30, 2 the verb is used in connection with the singer Babhru's attempts to find and meet the god Indra: *avācacakṣam padam asya sasvaḥ*. Cf. also 8, 19, 16 where Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman are said to be able to see or become visible (*caṣṭe*) in Agni's splendour (*dyumna-*, st. 15) which is to be revered by those speaking, because they are the god's favourites. The rôle played by Agni may be illustrated by 1, 13, 5 where the sacrifice is prepared in order that the world of the immortal becomes visible (*yatrāmṛtasya cakṣaṇam*); 1, 170, 4 *tatrāmṛtasya cetanaṃ yajñam te tanavāvahai*. The light of the god of fire and light makes contact with the unseen powers possible. The semantic nuance (seeing as an uncommon experience) is especially evident in cases such as 8, 45, 16 *ima u tvā vi cakṣate sakhāya indra sominaḥ / puṣṭāvanto yathā paśum* "these companions who perform the soma sacrifice look out for thee, O Indra, like stock-breeders for their cattle". RV. 10, 177, 1 is of special interest: *pataṃgam aktam asurasya māyayā hṛdā paśyanti manasā vipaścitaḥ / samudre antaḥ kavayo vicakṣate marīcīnām padam ichanti vedhasaḥ*: the "wise" or inspired ones see the bird (i.e. the inner light "der seherischen Erkenntnis und Erleuchtung")⁷⁷ in

⁷⁶ I am not completely convinced by Geldner's and Lüders' (H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, Göttingen, 1951-1959, p. 387, 534) interpretation of 2, 24, 4.

⁷⁷ For the bird as a symbol of internal light or enlightenment see RV. 10, 177 and Geldner's introductory note; 10, 189, 3; cf. also 6, 9, 4 and 5. The bird is quite naturally regarded as bringing towards the earth what is in the celestial sphere: in 1, 118, 4 the eagle or falcon is requested to conduct the Aśvins to those speaking (cf. the flying horses in st. 5); for the Aśvins' winged horses see also 1, 116, 4; 118, 4. We also read that the bird is urging on Dawn (1, 48, 5), that Agni's glow was considered a bird (4, 4, 2) etc. To the eagle as an intermediary between gods and men a passage was

heart and mind; they "see" it in the midst of the ocean while tracing the track of the rays.

What special force may be inherent in the root *cakṣ-* is also apparent from 9, 45, 6 where Soma is implored to clarify himself with such a stream that, being drunk, he will reveal through it to the praiser the boon of *suṽīryam*: *tayā pavasva dhārayā yayā pīto vicakṣase / indo stotre suṽīryam*; "vi-cakṣ- 'révéler par le regard', d'où 'donner' (au terme d'une révélation) ... d'ordinaire vi-cakṣ- est intrans., mais la structure a été modifiée par l'emprise de la notion de 'donner'," ⁷⁸ or, rather, the god is supposed to see, for the benefit of the praiser and in a supranormal way, with regard to *suṽīryam* implying the idea of making it visible. Here the idea of "seeing" merges into "raising", "conjuring up" or "producing" by way of magical or incomprehensible procedures. "A simple translation "thou seeest good sons for the singer" would give the same sense by suggestion." ⁷⁹

Somah pavamānaḥ is also called *vicakṣaṇa-*. This epithet, which may be translated by "clear-sighted, wise, experienced" occurs in 9, 12, 4 in connection with *sukratuḥ kaviḥ*; in 9, 107, 7 with *ṛṣir vipraḥ*; in 9, 86, 19 which calls him "the bull of (inspired) thoughts" (*vr̥ṣā matīnām*) and at the same time the one who extends day, dawn and sky. Of special interest is 9, 107, 3 describing Soma as *kratur indur vicakṣaṇaḥ* ("die weitschauende Weisheit", Geldner); in st. 5 he is a *vājī vicakṣaṇaḥ*. In 9, 106, 5 he is considered a *pathikṛd vicakṣaṇaḥ*; in 107, 16 *rājā devaḥ samudriyaḥ*; compare further, 9, 37, 2 ("hellsehend", Geldner); 66, 23; 70, 7 ("weitschauend", Geldner); 97, 2; 75, 1 where it combines with the communication that Soma has mounted the chariot of the high sun; 85, 9 where the same deity has ascended the heavens; 86, 11 where he is at the same time called the lord of heavens; cf. also 86, 35. The idea underlying this name-giving seems to be that the god Soma – who is clear-sighted and a giver of inspiration par excellence – was able to help man to inspiration and

devoted by M. Eliade, *Le chamanisme* (Paris, 1951), p. 77 ff., who discusses the important role of the bird in shamanism in the same volume, p. 149 ff.: the eagle was for instance considered the father of the first shaman, the Supreme Being in a solarized form: the bird enables the inspired men to fly to the celestial regions etc. Mention may also be made of "the bird of golden hue" which in MaitrUp. 6, 34 is said to abide in the heart and in the sun, "a diver-bird, a swan, of surpassing radiance", which is to be worshipped in the fire. This being in sun, heart and fire is one and the same; the man who knows it finds union with brahman, because the bird is no other than brahman, which is infinite, everywhere and luminous (cf. also 6, 24).

⁷⁸ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII, p. 82.

⁷⁹ S. S. Bhawé, *The soma-hymns of the R̥gveda*, II (Baroda, 1960), p. 96.

an extraordinary faculty of sight because he was "clear-sighted" himself. We may also invert this proposition: he was regarded as wise and a possessor of supranormal insight because he provided inspiration. The use of the epithet may be elucidated by passages such as 9, 22, 3⁸⁰ where the soma juices, being called "purified" and "acquainted with inspiration and supranormal knowledge" (*pūtā vipaścitaḥ*), are said to have gained visions (on behalf of the ṛṣis). As is well known the soma is clarified to be an intoxicating draught (9, 105, 1 *madāya punānam*; cf. st. 2), and as such the juice reveals the true nature of a divine drink (9, 97, 32). Hence the statement (9, 107, 14) that the soma juices when being clarified are *manīṣiṇo matsarāsaḥ svarvidāḥ* "wise, intoxicating and winners (bestowers of the light of heaven)".

Attention may also be drawn to the neuter *cakṣas-* which being one of those words in *-as-* (Indo-Eur. *-es-/os-*) which while indicating – generally speaking – power-concepts not rarely denote limbs or parts of the body in which no doubt a special power was considered to reside⁸¹; cf. e.g. *pasas-* "membrum virile"; Gr. *σκέλος* "shank, leg", Lat. *tempus* "temple" etc.⁸² Among those places which are in view of the subject of this publication of special interest are RV. 1, 87, 5 where the poet, after having stated that the gift of poetry is, in his family, hereditary ("on account of our descent from the ancient Father we speak") observes that his tongue moves through the eye (visual faculty) of Soma (*somasya jīhvā pra jigāti cakṣasā*; that is: "das innere Auge des Sehers, das vom Soma erleuchtet ist, leitet seine Rede").⁸³ The *cakṣas* may, in the belief of these authors, also have a creative function: 6, 7, 6 *vaiśvānarasya vimitāni cakṣasā sānūni divo amṛtasya ketunā* "the surfaces of the sky have been fixed by the eye of Vaiśvānara, the hall-mark of immortality". Mention must in this connection also be made of RV. 8, 97, 12 where the poets are said to make the god favourably disposed merely by means of their faculty of sight: the image used is that of the felly which is bent; they "see" this felly with their inner "eye" and thereby they bend it, i.e. they exert their influence upon the god (*nemiṇi namanti cakṣasā*). The sun is the eye of Varuṇa with which he looks at those who move in the world of human beings (1, 50, 6; cf. 10, 37, 1). Soma's eye is mentioned in 10, 123, 8; in 9, 89, 3 he is said to exert a protective influence by means of it.

⁸⁰ For a more detailed discussion of which see chapter II.

⁸¹ See e.g. R. B. Onians, *The origin of European thought* (Cambridge, 1954), passim.

⁸² See my *Anc. Ind. ojas*, Lat. **augos and the I.-Eur. nouns in -es-/os* (Utrecht, 1952), esp. p. 67.

⁸³ Geldner, *o.c.*, I, p. 112

The inner eye of the seer is in 1, 139, 2 indicated by the same term: the seer sees – in his visions, in his mind, with his own eyes, with the own eyes of Soma – Mitra and Varuṇa seated on their heavenly thrones (*dhībhiś cana manasā svebhir akṣabhiḥ* ...). “Der Seherblick des inneren Auges” is also meant in 10, 130, 6 *paśyan manye manasā cakṣasā tām ya imam yajñam ayajanta pūrve* “with manas as an ‘eye’ I believe I see those who as the first performed this act of worship”.⁸⁴ In 8, 25, 9 a clear distinction is made between the physical eye (*akṣan-*) and the super-sensory faculty of sight attributed to suprahuman beings (*cakṣas*): here Mitra and Varuṇa are said to find the way with their unimpaired faculty of sight better than that one sees with the eye (*akṣaś cid gātuvittarānulba-ṇena cakṣasā*).

A similar sense could be attributed also to the noun *cakṣus-*. In 10, 82, 1 it clearly denotes the “internal eye” of the seer: “das geistige Auge des Sehers, das in die Vorzeit schaut” (Geldner); “the eye’s father”, i.e. the creator, is described as being *manasā dhīraḥ*. A curious statement is made in 5, 8, 6: *urujrayasaṃ ghṛtayanim āhutaṃ tveṣaṃ cakṣur dadhire codayan-mati* “den Breitbahnigen, Schmalzgebetteten, (mit Schmalz) Begossenen haben sie zum funkelnenden Auge, das die Gedanken weckt, gemacht” (Geldner): Agni has been made an eye that promotes inspired thought. The divine eye⁸⁵ which helps its possessor to visual omniscience is regarded as enabling man to participate in that supranormal ability. RV. 10, 87, 12 Agni is implored to “put in” the inspired singer the eye with which he himself sees the sorcerer: *tad agne cakṣuḥ prati dhehi rebhe ... yena paśyasi yātudhānam*; this must be an eye able to trace criminals, to see what is concealed and to have the upper hand of inimical influences. Cf. 1, 79, 12 *sahasrākṣo ... agnī rakṣāṃsi sedhati*.

Passing mention may also be made of RV. 10, 85, 16 where a distinc-

⁸⁴ A classical passage describing the working of this faculty is contained in the Bhagavadgītā: when in chapter XI the stupendous self-revelation of the Divine power is manifested to Arjuna the Lord Kṛṣṇa addresses the latter (st. 8 = Mbh. 6, 35, 8): “thou canst not behold Me with thine human eye; I will bestow on thee the supra-normal eye (*divyaṃ cakṣuḥ*): behold my power as Lord (*yogam aiśvaram*)”. Then Arjuna is said to see in Kṛṣṇa’s body the whole universe and the universality and omnipresence of the Supreme. Radhakrishnan (The Bhagavadgītā, London 1948, p. 270) is perfectly right in observing that this vision is neither a myth nor a legend but spiritual experience.

⁸⁵ The phrase is for instance used in Bāṇa’s Kādambarī (p. 86 Parāb’): “...holy men (*bhagavatām*) like these, whose feet are honoured by the whole earth, whose stains are worn away, by penance, who look with the ‘divine eye’ (or, ‘divine’, i.e. supranormal insight *divyena cakṣuṣā*: *jñānalocanena*, comm.) on the whole world..., and who purge away all sins”.

tion is made between those who are merely brahmans – who were, as will be expounded in chapter II, in all probability deemed specially receptive of “divine inspiration” – and those “who know the truth”. The term used for the latter idea, *addhātayaḥ*,⁸⁶ obviously referred to those who had gained an insight into the hidden truth beyond the phenomenal world: ... *yad guhā tad addhātaya id viduḥ*. In AV. 6, 76, 2 the same term is accompanied by the verb *paśyati*: “I take hold of the track (place?) of Agni who is burning intensely in order (to obtain) length of life, out of whose mouth the knower of the truth sees the smoke arising.” In AV. 11, 8, 7 these people are concerned with the earth which existed before the earth known to us. The noun derives from *addhā* “in this way, thus; in accordance with the truth which is undefinable and beyond description”, the phrase *addhā veda* (see 3, 54, 5; 10, 111, 7; 129, 6) meaning: “he knows for certain”, the object being each time an event or phenomenon which passes the understanding of ordinary people. Hence the conviction expressed by the author of ŚBr. 10, 3, 5, 13 that the *addhāvidyā* “the knowledge of the (hidden) truth” belongs to the gods, and the statement found in ChUp. 3, 14, 4 *eṣa ma ātmāntar hṛdaye etad brahma ...; yasya syāt addhā na vicikitsāsti* “this is my Self within my heart; this is brahman ...; verily who knows this for certain, will have no more doubt”: a reflection of the shift in interest which took place within the leading circles or the difference in emphasis between the ‘period’ of the R̥gveda and that of the early Upanishads.

It will in the course of this publication become more than once apparent that those gods who entertain intimate connections with the light of heaven were believed to have, to a special degree, the power of visual omniscience – see e.g. RV. 1, 35, 2 *savitā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan*; 50, 7; 4, 1, 17 *sūryo ... r̥ju marteṣu vṛjinā ca paśyan* – and to be able to make men participate in that faculty.⁸⁷ Hence also the occurrence of a term for “eye” or “visual faculty” in passages dealing with their exploits and achievements. In RV. 1, 23, 3 Indra and Vāyu – the omnipresent wind plays also a part in the processes under consideration – being described as “as swift as thought”, “thousand-eye” and lords of *dhīh*, are addressed by the inspired who implore them for assistance: *indravāyū manojuvā viprā havanta ūtaye | sahasrākṣā dhiyas patī*. It is hardly conceivable that the epithets contained in this utterance are not mutually complementary.

⁸⁶ For a detailed discussion of which see D. S. Ruegg, “Védique *addhā* et quelques expressions parallèles à *tathāgata-*”, *Journ. as.*, 1955, p. 163 ff.

⁸⁷ It may also be surmised that the idea of the all-seeing and omniscient god reacted upon the conceptions of the abilities acquired by tapas and yoga.

Nor can the more or less frequent qualification of the same gods (Agni, Soma, the Aśvins etc.) as *viśvavid-* or *viśvavedas-* "omniscient" be a matter of the merest chance.

With regard to another imparters of inspiration, Soma,⁸⁸ RV. 9, 96, 7 says, on the one hand, that while undergoing the process of clarification in order to gain all poetical gifts (*kāvya*, 9, 66, 1)⁸⁹ he produced, by causing tremulous motion ("er hat der Rede Welle hervorgewirbelt", Geldner), the wave of speech, the words of praise, the inspired thoughts, and on the other hand, that he sees the group of those participating in a rite⁹⁰ internally: *pravīvipad vāca ūrmiṃ ... girāḥ somaḥ pavamāno manīṣāḥ / antaḥ paśyan vrjanā*. The verb *pravīvipad* is worth noticing in connection with the term *vepas-*, *vipra-* etc., indicating inspired speech and the man who utters it.⁹¹

It is worth while to dwell for a moment on the term *vipra-* which is not only used in connection with human beings such as priests or reciters – it accompanies nouns such as *ṛṣi-* "seer"; *kavi-* "inspired sage" –, but in a few cases also with their *brahmāṇi*, i.e. their words viewed as manifestations of the fundamental and universal supporting power called brahman: 7, 43, 1 *brahmāṇy asamāni viprā*, with their *matīḥ*, i.e. their thoughts which acquired the shape of hymns and formulas: 7, 66, 8 ... *matir iyam ... viprā medhasātaye*. The term occurs also in connection with *dhī-*: 2, 11, 12; 8, 42, 4. The sense attributed to this noun by Grassmann "innerlich erregt, begeistert" is no doubt not completely incorrect, though perhaps in part of the occurrences too "etymological". In any case "éloquent, orateur"⁹² seem to neglect the distinctive feature of the word. An interesting passage is 10, 97, 6 *vipraḥ sa ucyate bhiṣag rakṣohāmīva-cātanaḥ* "that *vipraḥ* is called a physician, a killer of demoniac powers, one who drives away diseases": from these words it may appear that the medicine-man could also be a *vipraḥ*. Since medicine-men usually employ formulas, there is a chance that this functionary owes the designation *vipra-* to these. What must be emphasized here is the application of *vipra-* to gods, in 8, 39, 9 to Agni who is also styled a *kaviḥ* and is a great god of inspiration and "Begeisterung"; in 8, 43, 1 to the same god; cf.

⁸⁸ The German parallel, the mead which is the gift of poetry and at the same time the water of life, is well known.

⁸⁹ A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I² (Breslau, 1927), p. 370 defends the untenable view that soma is a *kavi-* because he is the moon-god.

⁹⁰ For *vrjana-* see Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, III, p. 20.

⁹¹ See also Renou, *Études sur le voc. du RV.*, p. 29 ff.

⁹² Renou, *o.c.*, p. 31.

also 7, 2, 7; and in 5, 51, 3 to Agni and the gods in general. In 10, 112, 9 Indra is described as the *vipratama-kavīnām*; why "den Redekundigsten unter den Sehern" (Geldner)? The vocative *vipra*, applied to Indra in 1, 130, 6; 4, 19, 10; 5, 31, 7; 10, 50, 7 has, as far as can be concluded from the contexts, no reference to eloquence. Why should the god in 10, 148, 3 (*vidvān ṛṣīṇāṃ vipraḥ sumatiṃ cakānaḥ*) "als Redekundiger das Wohlwollen der Ṛṣi's gern haben"? (cf. Geldner). The epithet seems rather to have been chosen because of the god's spirit, fervency and enthusiasm with which he fulfils his function as a champion; cf. e.g. 5, 31, 7 *tad in nu te karaṇaṃ dasma viprāhiṃ yad ghnann ojo atrāmimīthāḥ* "that was thine exploit, thou ardent accomplisher of wonderful deeds, that thou slaying the serpent displayed thy vital power". It is likewise more probable that Indra in 8, 2, 36 scores a victory with horses as a spirited or enthusiastic god than "als Redner". Grassmann's translation fits the divine Soma exactly in 8, 6, 28; 9, 13, 2; 40, 1; 66, 8; cf. also 10, 43, 7 "when the Soma juices flow down into Indra, then the spirited (or enthusiastic) ones make his greatness increase ...", not, with Geldner, "die Redekundigen". Where the meaning "Wortführer" (Geldner) does not appear to be out of harmony with the context the original idea expressed by *vipra-* is still apparent in cases such as 2, 24, 13 *sabheyo vipro bharate matī dhanā*: only an inspired and spirited 'speaker' is able to achieve success by his materialized thoughts. Similarly in connection with Agni himself: 3, 14, 5. In 7, 58, 4 *vipra-* is in a similar way used of a speaker who enjoys the gods' favour. With regard to the application of this word to Agni (cf. e.g. 1, 14, 9; 3, 26, 2; 8, 43, 14; 10, 165, 2), it might be observed that this god is the great furtherer of enlightenment, rapture and inspiration. He is the *vipraḥ padavīḥ* ("guide") *kavīnām* (3, 5, 1). From Agni springs the spirited seer: 6, 7, 3 *tvad vipro jāyate*; he makes his devout *vipra*-worshippers famous (6, 10, 3). He is (3, 29, 7) *vājī vipraḥ kaviśastaḥ sudānuḥ* "possessor (and giver) of *vājaḥ* an exalted and enthusiastic seer, praised by the inspired poets, a munificent bestower". Here also the god is supposed to possess, and to have a full command of, those qualities which his worshippers believe to owe to him (see e.g. 8, 11, 6). For the *vipra*'s specific power see also 7, 68, 4; 72, 3; 93, 4 etc.; and in connection with Agni, the divine sacrificial priest, *hotā kavikratuḥ satyaḥ* (1, 1, 5); 3, 27, 8; 10, 87, 22. The sun is quite intelligibly given this title in 1, 35, 7; 6, 51, 2.

Some words may be subjoined on *vip-* which has, in connection with speech, found different explications. Geldner,⁹³ who rejected Olden-

⁹³ Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 121.

berg's⁹⁴ interpretation ("die zitternde Erregung des Dichters"), believed the root *vip-* to express the idea of "die bewegte schwungvolle Rede" comparing Cicero's (Brut. 95, 326) *oratio incitata et vibrans*. He was followed by Renou⁹⁵: "Le mot *vip-* se rapporte au mécanisme de la pensée védique, ou si l'on préfère aux conditions psychologiques de la joute poétique. Il s'agit proprement du "tremblement" oratoire, de l'inspiration "mettant en branle" le poème." Thieme⁹⁶ on the other hand attributed the sense of "magic conjuration" to the word *vip-*. I for one would warn against the introduction of terms such as "oratory, rhetoric, poetic contest" etc. which emphasize the idea of public eloquence or suggest the preponderance of "simple, sensuous and passionate" diction for aesthetic purposes. Why should the ancient Indians not have had a term for the excitement or exaltation of the religious and at the same time poetic inspiration, for the vibrant and exalted speech of moved poets?⁹⁶ I fail to see why Grassmann's "begeistert" would be completely wrong.⁹⁷ The word *vip-* may as an adjective qualify the voice of the praising officiant, his words of praise (*vipā girā*, 5, 68, 1) and as a substantive refer to these words themselves (3, 3, 7). Soma is not moved by mere Zurede, poems or oratory, but by the "vibrant" speech (*vipā*, 9, 3, 2, cf. 9, 65, 12) of a poet who was imbued with the divine spirit (cf. also 10, 99, 6) and the soma juices which are mindful of, or aim at, inward excitation (*vipaścitaḥ*) are in 9, 22, 3 stated to have completely reached or penetrated (*vy ānaśuḥ*) the visions (*dhiyaḥ*) with ecstasy or excitement (*vipā*).

It may seem an attractive idea to bring the use of this word and its relatives, which derive from the root *vip- vep-* "to tremble, shake, quiver", in connection with the belief, formulated in later times, that mantras exert their power primarily through their "sound-vibrations" which should, however, not be confounded with the sound-waves of modern physics. According to the tantristic view of mantras the "image of the deity" appears from the rhythmical vibrations of their sounds. The mantras are indeed pronouncedly rhythmical or even metrical in form and the psychological importance of metrical speech was already emphasized in the early Upanishads, the specific character of the metre and the specific spiritual oscillations in our being – which must be in harmony with

⁹⁴ H. Oldenberg, in *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.*, 63, p. 299. See also the same, *ibidem*, 54, p. 171, and Geldner, in R. Pischel und K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III (Stuttgart, 1901), p. 97 ff.

⁹⁵ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, I, p. 5.

⁹⁶ P. Thieme, "Der Fremdling im Rgveda", *Abh. z. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 23 (1938), p. 43 n.

⁹⁷ The reader may also study Oldenberg's remarks, *o.c.*, 63, p. 298 ff.

each other⁹⁸ – being a favourite subject of the authors of tantristic works.⁹⁹ Then, *vipra-* may originally have denoted a moved, inspired, ecstatic and "enthusiast" seer as a bearer or pronouncer of the emotional and vibrating, metrical sacred words, a seer who converted his inspirations into powerful "carmina".¹⁰⁰ Yet there would perhaps be more to be said for emphasizing another doctrine of the later theorists. As is well known it is one of the tenets of the Kashmir Śivaist schools of thought¹⁰¹ that consciousness is "vibration" (*spanda-*), the ceaseless force from which springs all that exists. This movement or vibrating energy manifests itself in the instinctive motion of consciousness, such as joy, fear etc., the modes of discursive thought being the fruits of its solidification. This first incandescent and energetic principle goes from thought to thought, from word to word. Being the initial motion of the spirit, the first moment of will or desire (*icchā-*), which is presupposed by any form of consciousness, it is practically synonymous with "heart" (the seat and source of inspiration), "thought" and "supra-normal bliss" (*ānanda-*). This *spanda-* is also the movement and inner rhythm of the aesthetic experience, which like pain, pleasure etc. is not of a discursive order. It is the inner movement of a supra-mundane enjoyment, an experience without pragmatic demands in which the moved and aesthetically enjoying person is immersed. The hypothesis would in my opinion be worth considering if analogous ideas, less considered and less developed, did not lie at the root of the use of the term *vipra-*: "the man who experiences the vibration, energy, rapture of religious and aesthetic inspiration". It may be added that theorists of a later period called the spontaneous arising of the themes and objects of the poets "vibration".¹⁰²

As already stated passages showing the relation between *vip-* and *dhi-* and showing that they belong to the same semantic field are not wanting: 9, 22, 3 *vipaścitaḥ somāsaḥ* ... *vipā vy ānaśuḥ dhiyaḥ* – cf. 9, 71, 3 likewise of Soma *vepate matī-*; 8, 6, 7 *vipām agreṣu dhīṭayaḥ*. In 9, 3, 2 it reads, also in connection with soma, *vipā kṛtaḥ* and in 9, 71, 6 *dhiyā kṛtam*. Cf. also 6, 49, 12; 8, 96, 11 etc.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ See also Lama Anagarika Govinda, *Grundlagen tibetischer Mystik* (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1957), p. 22 ff.

⁹⁹ M. Sircar, *Hindu Mysticism* (London, 1934), p. 251; W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Tibetan book of the dead* (Oxford, 1949), p. 220 ff.

¹⁰⁰ See *Stylistic repetition in the Veda* (Amsterdam, 1959), esp. ch. I.

¹⁰¹ Cf. e.g. K. Ch. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta* (Benares, 1935), passim; J. Ch. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism* (Srinagar, 1914).

¹⁰² See chapter XV.

¹⁰³ Oldenberg, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 63, p. 303.

It may be of interest to quote here a later definition, which was current among the Pāsupatas ¹⁰⁴: "In den Namen Ṛṣi und Vipra drücken sich (Pāsupatasūtra 126, 22 ff.) die (unbegrenzten), Gott eigenen Kräfte des Tuns und Schauens (bezw. Erkennens) aus: Ṛṣi steht im Sinne von Tun (*kriyā*-) ...; weil (das Wort Ṛṣi sein) Tun aussagt, (ist der Gott) Ṛṣi. Weil (der Gott) ja über das ganze, aus *vidyā* usw. bestehende *kārya*-Gewalt hat, (heißt er) ṛṣi. Ebenso ist auch Vipra ein Name des Erhabenen ... Was man Vipra-Eigenschaft nennt, ist Erkenntniskraft. Der Erhabene durchdringt mit Hilfe seiner Erkenntniskraft alles Erkennbare, daher heißt er Vipra".

The term *ṛṣi*- "seer" – "Seher heißt im Veda, wer die geheimnisvollen göttlichen Dinge mit dem inneren Auge erschaut"¹⁰⁵ – is in a similar way given to gods. If etymologically related to the German *rasen* and Lith. *aršūs* "violent, heated",¹⁰⁶ it may likewise, in prehistorical times, have arisen to express some such idea as the German *begeistert*. A *ṛṣi* obviously is the functionary who enters into contact with divinity: 5, 52, 13; 14; he has an insight in the nature of the gods' greatness: 10, 54, 3; he associates with gods: 1, 23, 24; 10, 90, 7; he may address them: 8, 23, 24, extol them: 8, 26, 10; honour or praise them: 9, 114, 2; 5, 75, 1, and invoke their aid and favour: 1, 48, 14. Sometimes they are concerned with the performance of rites: 9, 68, 12 (Soma); 10, 150, 4 (fire). The Aṅgirasas, who are repeatedly called sons of heaven (3, 53, 7 *divas putrāsaḥ* etc.),¹⁰⁷ appear in 10, 62, 4 as *devaputrā ṛṣayaḥ*. A famous *ṛṣi* is described as *devajā devajūtaḥ* "born of and incited or inspired by the god(s)" (3, 53, 9) – cf. also 1, 164, 15 – ; a *ṛṣi* is called *vipra*- (4, 26, 1), but 8, 3, 14 admits of the conclusion that both ideas are not identical: "welcher Redekundige (*vipraḥ*) darf sich rühmen, ein Ṛṣi zu sein?" (Geldner); 9, 96, 6 *ṛṣir viprāṇām*. The sons of Aṅgiras are in 10, 62, 5 stated to be descended from Agni and to be *ṛṣayaḥ ... gambhīravepasah* "deeply moved or excited ṛṣis". Agni, who was the first and the best *ṛṣiḥ* (1, 31, 1; 3, 21, 3), is compared to a human *ṛṣiḥ* in that he utters ritual exclamations (1, 66, 4); he is also *pracetāḥ* and the *vedhastama ṛṣiḥ* (6, 14, 2). Indra is called the inspired (wise: *dhīraḥ*) *ṛṣiḥ* of the Maruts (5, 29, 1). He is also the first-born *ṛṣiḥ* who rules by his *ojah*

¹⁰⁴ F. A. Schultz, *Die philosophisch-theologischen Lehren des Pāsupata-Systems* (Walldorf-Hessen, 1958), p. 77.

¹⁰⁵ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ For other attempts to explain the difficult word see M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymol. Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Heidelberg, 1953-), I, p. 125; cf. also L. H. Gray, in *Language*, 25, p. 375.

¹⁰⁷ A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 21, 142.

(8, 6, 41); the *brahmā* and the *ṛṣiḥ*, *mahān mahībhiḥ śacībhiḥ* (8, 16, 7). From 9, 76, 4 the inference may be ventured that the difference between a god and a *ṛṣi*, as far as regards the qualities which they have in common, was one in degree, not in kind: here Soma is said to have uttered aloud, overcoming (even) the *ṛṣi(s)*, the vision of *ṛta*- (*ṛtasya dhītim ṛṣiṣā avīvaśat*).

Of special relevance are 8, 79, 1: Soma is "ein durch Schergabe beredter (rather, "begeisterter") Ṛṣi" (Geldner: *ṛṣir vipraḥ kāvyena*), and 9, 107, 7 where the same deity is called *ṛṣir vipro vicakṣaṇaḥ*. For Soma as a *ṛṣi* see also 9, 96, 6 where he is called "a *ṛṣi* among the inspired" (*ṛṣir viprāṇām*); 9, 35, 4: the sense implied is not that of the "eloquent one", but rather that of the seer or "begeisterte"; 9, 92, 2. See also 9, 66, 20; 87, 3 where the god, a *ṛṣir vipraḥ* and a *ṛbhur dhīraḥ*, is on the strength of his *kāvyam* ("higher wisdom and supranormal knowledge") an Uśanas who detected what was concealed; and in addition to these places, 9, 54, 1. The relations between *ṛṣiship* and the enjoyment of soma becomes clear from 3, 43, 5 *kuvīn ma ṛṣim (karase) papivāṁsam sutasya* "thou wilt no doubt make me a *ṛṣi* because I have drunk of the pressed (soma)" and from 10, 108, 8 *ṛṣayaḥ somaśitāḥ* "the *ṛṣis* 'sharpened' i.e. excited by soma". Soma, Bṛhaspati, the pressing stones and the excited or inspired (*viprāḥ*) *ṛṣis* are *ibid.* st. 11 coupled together. From 7, 88, 4 it appears that a god, *in casu* Varuṇa, who is considered a *vipraḥ*, may make a mortal man a *ṛṣi* and a praiser (*stotāram*); these two functions are in all probability not completely identical. Cf. also 10, 125, 5. Indra and Varuṇa have, according to the important place 8, 59, 6, in the beginning granted to the *ṛṣis* thought to be transformed into sacral speech, thought expressed in words, oral revelations or tradition (... *yad ṛṣibhyo manīṣāṁ vāco matiṁ śrutam adattam agre*).

The adjective *ṛṣikṛt*- "making (a man) a *ṛṣi*-, inspiring" is in 9, 96, 18 applied to Soma who is described as *ṛṣimanāḥ ... ṛṣikṛt svarṣāḥ ... padaviḥ kavīnām* "whose mind is that of a *ṛṣi* .. who makes men *ṛṣis*, who wins the light of heaven ..., a guider of the inspired sages": again the idea that the god who bestows inspiration must be enlightened himself. In 1, 31, 16 Agni is quite intelligibly called a *ṛṣikṛt*-.

The power of a *ṛṣi* is elucidated by the phrase *yaḥ sahasrā sanoti*: 10, 80, 4 and the synonymous epithet *sahasrasā*: 9, 54, 1. Compare also 7, 70, 4; 8, 3, 4; 10, 154, 5; and see 7, 28, 2; 70, 5; 10, 89, 16, where the *ṛṣis* are said to have or wield the brahman, i.e. its powerful manifestation as sacral word and formula. The liturgical function of their word, here denoted by the term *dhīti*-, is for instance apparent from 9, 62, 17 and

103, 3 where it accompanies the preparation of sacral speech that is meant by "what has entered the ṛṣi" (*ṛṣiṣu praviṣṭām*).

It may finally be recalled to mind that according to the ancients the title *ṛṣiḥ* is to be explained in connection with this functionary's faculty of "seeing": *ṛṣir darśanāt, stomān dadarśa* (thus Aupamanyava in Nir. 2, 11). On the strength of these views of ṛṣiship Yāska believed in the *apauruṣeyatvam* of the Veda, i.e. its non-human or super-human origin.¹⁰⁸ The importance of the function of the ṛṣi is also clear from Nir. 7, 1 *yatkāma ṛṣir yasyām devatāyām ārthapatyā icchan stutiṃ prayuṅkte taddaivataḥ sa mantrō bhavati*.¹⁰⁹ The *ṛṣiḥ* is the man who uttered the sacral word: *yasya vākyaṃ sa ṛṣiḥ* (RV. Anukr.). Hence also expressions such as AiBr. 2, 25, 5 *tad etad ṛṣiḥ paśyann abhyanūvāca* "seeing this the ṛṣi states (RV. 4, 46, 2)". The ṛṣis are, in the Indian traditional view, said to have visualized the mystic form of *vāc-* which according to the Indian conception is a more sacred idea than our "speech", carrying with it a far deeper significance. *Vāc-* is not only eternal or imperishable but also subtle and incomprehensible by ordinary sense-organs: cf. the words *yām sūkṣmāṃ nityām atīndriyām vācam ṛṣayaḥ sāḥsātḥtadharṃ māno mantradr̥ṣaḥ paśyanti* which are quoted by Puṇyārāja on Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya 1, 5. "This form of *vāc-* ... is only perceptible by yogins and not even conceivable by ordinary men. It is therefore emphatically stated that *vāc-* reveals her real nature only to those who possess sufficient spiritual insight to get into the ultimate essence of things (cf. RV. 10, 71, 4)".¹¹⁰ Hence the conclusions, first, that *vāk* in its ultimate shape is identical with brahman, and in the second place that the great ancient ṛṣis were born with such a spiritual power and faculty of vision as to possess omniscience and that through them the sacred texts were revealed to man.¹¹¹

Another term in the same semantic field which was used in connection with both gods and men (cf. e.g. 6, 49, 4) – although the former are sometimes known as *kavitāmāḥ kavīnām*, see 5, 42, 3; 6, 18, 14 – is *kavi-*.

¹⁰⁸ V. S. Bhandari, "Yāska and Vedāpauruṣeyatva", *XXth All India Or. Conf., Bhubaneshwar 1959*, p. 28 f.

¹⁰⁹ For ancient explanations in general see also V. G. Rahurkar, "The word *ṛṣi-* in the Veda", in *Bull. Deccan Coll. Res. Inst.*, 18 (Taraporewala Mem. Vol.), p. 55 f.; *XVIIth All Ind. Or. Conf., Ahmedabad 1959*, p. 15. The author's conclusion is: "whatever the correct etymology, the concept of *ṛṣiḥ* has all along been taken to include ideas related to poetic and prophetic vision, extra- or super-sensual knowledge, righteousness, and ecstasy."

¹¹⁰ P. Chakravarti, *The linguistic speculations of the Hindus* (Calcutta, 1933), p. 23.

¹¹¹ The same, *The philosophy of Sanskrit grammar* (Calcutta, 1930), p. 8.

Grassmann's Dictionary furnished the student with the following explanation: "weise, sinnig; der Weise, insbesondere von Agni, den Aśvin, den Marut; von andern Göttern, von Sängern oder Opfern ...". As regards the etymology scholars seem, broadly speaking, to be unanimous¹¹²: the word belongs to Gr. *κοῖης* (Hes.; < **koī-ās*) "priest in the mysteries of Samothrace" (cf. also Lyd. *kaveś* "priest, soothsayer"¹¹³) *κοιόλης* *ἱερεὺς*; *θυοσκόος*¹¹⁴ "(Opferschauer,) sacrificing priest"; *κοέω* < **koF_héō*) "to mark, perceive, hear"; Lat. *caveo* "to be on one's guard, take heed"; *cautus* "careful, wary, cautious, provident"; AngloSax. *hāwian* "schauen": root *keu-* "worauf achten (beobachten, schauen?), worauf hören, fühlen, merken" (Walde-Pokorny), beside which *skeu-* in Gr. *θυο-σκόος* (see above), the Germ. *schauen* usw. It is worth noticing, first, that among the many words which belong to this root there are some which came to express the ideas of "hearing" and that of "schauen": Gr. *ἀκοῶν*, Got. *hausjan* and some Slavonic words,¹¹⁵ Arm. *հայց* "die Schau, das Zeigen", and in the second place, that part of them belong to the religious or "weltanschauliche" sphere (see the instances mentioned).¹¹⁶ Anc. Ind. relatives are *ākūti-* and *ākūta-* which are usually translated by "intention, wish, purpose" (cf. e.g. 10, 128, 4). The "original" sense may have been something like "what one sees before the mental eye or has in view". The Avestan *kavi-* has given rise to some controversial discussion. It is generally held that the *kavis* mentioned in the Younger Avesta and those branded by Zarathuštra in his Gāthās were rulers or princes,¹¹⁷ that the term was a "titre royal préhistorique".¹¹⁸ Recently Gershevitch¹¹⁹ combatted this view, arguing that it implies

¹¹² See e.g. A. Walde - J. Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der indogerm. Sprachen*, I (Berlin-Leipzig, 1930), p. 368 ff.; J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymol. Wörterbuch* (Berlin, 1949-), p. 587; A. Walde - J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymol. Wörterbuch*, I³ (Heidelberg, 1938), p. 186 f.; Mayrhofer, *o.c.*, I, p. 187 f.; H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymol. Wörterbuch*, I (Heidelberg, 1954-), p. 890 f. etc.

¹¹³ O. Masson, in *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*, I, p. 182 ff.

¹¹⁴ Frisk, *o.c.*, I, p. 695.

¹¹⁵ Cf. e.g. OChSl. *čujō čuti* "voeiv, κατανοεiv, γινωvαι"; *počujō počuti* "αισθάνεσθαι, voeiv"; Pol. *czujō czuć* "fühlen, riechen, wittern"; cf. R. Trautmann, *Baltisch-Slavisches Wörterbuch* (Göttingen, 1923), p. 132.

¹¹⁶ For Gr. *κῦδος* "glory, renown, majesty" and OChSl., Russ. *čúdo* usw. "wonder, marvel" see e.g. Frisk, *o.c.*, II, p. 41.

¹¹⁷ Cf. e.g. H. Lommel, *Die Yāst's des Avesta* (Göttingen-Leipzig, 1927), p. 172; the same, *Die Religion Zarathustras* (Tübingen, 1930), p. 57; H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 293; "Quand les Gāthās mentionnent 'les kavis' ... il s'agit de princes ennemis qui suivent la religion daēvique, combattue par Zoroastre", A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides* (København, 1932), p. 9.

¹¹⁸ A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1944), p. 104, n. 1.

¹¹⁹ I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 185 f.

three distinct meanings of the word *kavi*-, or an unproven development in three stages: 1) that presented by the Anc. Ind. texts *kavi*- "a wise composer of hymns"; 2) that of Av. *kavi*- "members of a class of rulers opposing to Zarathuštra's preaching", and 3) Av. *kavi*- "title of a dynasty, the last of which was Vištāspa, Zarathuštra's patron. Unable to subscribe to this assumption he proposes to eliminate the second link in this chain and is inclined to recognize in the Gāthic *kavis* who are mentioned on a par with the *karapans* and the *usigs* (who are agreed to have been respective members of two priestly classes), the Iranian counterparts of the Vedic *kavis*, viz. composers of hymns to various gods, who in addition had perhaps assumed certain priestly functions; "they would incur Zarathuštra's disapproval because of their insistence on the traditional Indo-Iranian ritual. One particular family of *kavis*... rose to temporal power" Without rejecting this view it may be observed that the ancient *kavis* being "a class of visionary sages" may have also enjoyed a worldly authority. In ancient times kingship was to a considerable extent "sacral"; in the "primitive" and "archaic" world a king is a power bearer, a mediator between the divine powers and human society, holding his office "by the grace of the gods" or in virtue of his majesty and expected to be an originator of all conceivable salvation.¹²⁰ A priest-king, or a priest fulfilling kingly functions is a well-known figure: the ancient Egyptian king for instance was the one recognized priest of all the gods, and endowed with divinity himself, the one official intermediary between his people and the gods.¹²¹

Reverting to the Vedic *kavi*- mention must be made of the view held by L. Silburn¹²²: "*kavi*- de la racine *ku*- 'avoir l'intention de', sert à désigner le poète, soleil, feu sacrificiel ou, en un sens général, le barde des Veda dont l'intention maîtresse est d'ordonner le cosmos afin de le faire durer. Il est le poète de l'agencement qui le promeut en le chantant. Le *kavi* est, semble-t-il, spécialement voué à la mesure des *nāma*, les essences qui sont les noms" Although it must be admitted that the title is often given to a functionary who might be called "poète" – if not "Seher"¹²³ –, and who takes an active part in the maintenance of the

¹²⁰ See e.g. G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London, 1938), ch. 13; J. Gonda, "Semantisches zur idg. *rēg*- 'König'", in (Kuhn's) *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung*, 73, p. 151 f.

¹²¹ J. A. Wilson, in H. Frankfort and others, *Before Philosophy* (Harmondsworth, 1949), p. 73.

¹²² L. Silburn, *Instant et cause* (Paris, 1955), p. 21.

¹²³ Thus W. Neisser, "Zum Wörterbuch des Rgveda", in *Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, 18, 3 (Leipzig, 1930), p. 56 f.

right order in the universe, the above definition which is not substantiated by text places, is onesided and in part incorrect.

On this term some remarks were also made by Renou¹²⁴: "Le mot classique *kaviḥ* désigne l'écrivain (de préférence le poète) qui s'est astreint à suivre les règles du Canon poétique, l'auteur versé dans les ressources de la Rhétorique.¹²⁵ Mutatis mutandis, le *kavi* védique n'est pas autre chose.¹²⁶ C'est le poète qui comprend les énigmes, qui déchiffre les identifications et les corrélations, thème essentiel des joutes du Veda (*ye vā anūcānās te kavayaḥ*, dira tout uniment AiBr. 2, 2, 32 = 38, 8 "les *kavi*-, ce sont ceux qui ont appris¹²⁷"). C'est la divinité qui par ses actes, par les problèmes mêmes que pose son activité, offre la matière principale de ces jeux.¹²⁸ Elle est également un *kaviḥ*. Il est vain de se demander si le terme a désigné d'abord le dieu ou d'abord l'homme: les fonctions sont attestées parallèlement, imbriquées pour ainsi dire l'une dans l'autre: réciprocité générale des concepts védiques. Le dieu est un *kaviḥ* parmi les *kavayaḥ* (humains), telle est la forme typique 1, 76, 5 et passim".

It would be indeed idle to discuss the question whether *kavi*- first referred to gods and afterwards to men or conversely. It is one of those words which show that there was in principle no difference between mental and other qualities attributed to divine and human persons. It is worth while to enter into some particulars.

The term *kaviḥ* is often used in connection with Agni, the god of light, enlightenment and inspiration; see e.g. 1, 12, 6 in the recurrent phrase *kavir grhapatir yuvā*. In 1, 71, 10 there can be no doubt whatever as to its application to special knowledge: *abhi viduḥ kaviḥ san* "da du als Seher die Wissenden übertriffst". The poet of 10, 91, 3 describes the god as omniscient (*viśva-vid-*), a *kaviḥ* on the strength of his kaviship (*kāvyena*), as resourceful and very able (*sudakṣa-*); in 1, 128, 8; 3, 19, 1; 5, 4, 3 he is also omniscient. Compare also 4, 2, 12. In 4, 3, 16 Agni is "knowing" (*viduṣe*) and a *kaviḥ*. He is not to be deceived, see e.g. 6, 15, 7. Agni is

¹²⁴ L. Renou, "Études védiques", in *Journal asiatique*, 241 (Paris 1953), p. 167 ff., esp. 180 ff.

¹²⁵ I would avoid using this term, because it reminds us of the public eloquence of ancient Europe and the Western theory and practice of elegant and persuasive speaking in public or even (in a derogatory sense) of a highflown artificiality.

¹²⁶ For the origin and characteristics of *kāvya* see e.g. S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, *A history of Sanskrit literature, Classical period*, I (University of Calcutta, 1947), p. 1 ff.; V. Raghavan, *Studies on some concepts of Alaṅkāra Śāstra* (Adyar, 1942), p. 17 and passim.

¹²⁷ The term *anūcāna-* however denotes especially those learned men who studied by repeating the words of their teachers.

¹²⁸ This term may create misunderstanding.

a *kaviḥ* and a mediator between men and gods (2, 6, 7; cf. 5, 21, 3; 10, 110, 1); his function as a messenger or intermediary (*dūtaḥ*) is in stanzas exhibiting the term *kaviḥ* repeatedly emphasized (see e.g. 8, 39, 1); which seems to say that he is an intermediary between the gods and the priests. He is a messenger and *kaviḥ* 1, 188, 1; 8, 102, 18. He is explicitly addressed as *brahmaṇas kave* (6, 16, 30: neither "Seher des Segenswortes" (Geldner) nor exactly "poète qui comprend la formule à énigmes" (Renou)) and as such implored for protection: the bearer of supernatural knowledge of a fundamental power or principle is indeed able to save or protect his devotees. Compare also 10, 87, 21 *kaviḥ kāvyena pari pāhi rājan ... martāṃ amṛtyas tvam naḥ* "as an inspired sage protect us through thy 'wisdom', thou who art immortal, us, mortals"; 8, 44, 30 *purāgne duritebhyaḥ ... kave | pra ṇa āyur vaso tira*; 8, 60, 5 *trātar ... kaviḥ*; 1, 12, 7; 6, 15, 11 *tam agne pāsy uta tam piparṣi yas ta ānaḥ kavaye śūra dhītim*; notice the combination "sage" and "hero" (*śūra*-) which are not mutually exclusive. He is at the same time described as *pracetas*-¹²⁹ "wise, observant": 8, 102, 18 "wise, a messenger (*dūta*-) and *kaviḥ*"; in 10, 110, 1 he is the messenger, the *kaviḥ* and the *pracetas*-one; cf. also 6, 14, 2¹³⁰; 8, 84, 2. In 8, 84, 2 he is *pracetas*- like a *kaviḥ* whom the gods have appointed among mortal men. Cf. also 7, 4, 4. Agni is *viprah* and *kaviḥ* in 8, 44, 21; a *medhiraḥ* ("wise") *kaviḥ* in 10, 100, 6. Shining brightly (*bṛhadbhāno*) and a *kavi* he grants by means of his (heroic) power (*śavasā*) *vājah* to his worshipper: 10, 140, 1. Cf. 1, 149, 3; 8, 60, 3 and also 1, 79, 5; 7, 9, 3; 10, 20, 4. He is at the same time a "lord of *vājah*": 4, 15, 3; the "chief of riches": 8, 75, 4.

In 6, 7, 7 Agni Vaiśvānara is stated to be a *sukratuḥ ... kaviḥ* "an inventive sage": he has measured out space and (created) the lights of heavens, he is a guardian of immortality; the epithet is here used in a context which extols deeds of practical wisdom. In 6, 7, 1 the same divinity is chief of heaven, *kaviḥ* and universal king.¹³¹

¹²⁹ Dealing with some epithets of the god of fire who is among other qualifications also given those of *pracetas*- and *viśvavid*- "omniscient" Lilian Silburn (*o.c.*, p. 33) says: "*pracetas*- de *cit*- "discerner en éclairant" désigne avec *prajñā*- et *pravid*- la prévoyance divine. Grâce au préverbe *pra*- qui marque un mouvement en avant, ces termes ne sont pas sans posséder un certain dynamisme; le prévoyant n'est pas doué d'une omniscience ou d'une discrimination passive, il agit en vue d'une activité organisatrice qui dépend du *kratu*-, la capacité de faire des projets qui se réaliseront en une succession d'actes centrés sur un instant et qui se perpétuent en formant la continuité d'un rite. La prévoyance d'Agni porte essentiellement sur cette perspective d'actes, les *ṛtu* s'ordonnant dans la durée à venir qu'Agni non seulement connaît, mais qu'il est apte aussi à accomplir."

¹³⁰ See *Epithets in the Rgveda* by the present author ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 90.

¹³¹ I am afraid that I cannot join Renou in *Journal asiatique*, 241, p. 181 in holding

The epithet is given to Soma in 9, 25, 6; 50, 4 when inviting him to be clarified and calling him *madintama*- "intoxicating one"; in 9, 107, 18 where he stimulates inspired thought (*matim*); in an interesting statement 9, 47, 4: Soma desires to present the jewel (*ratnam*) to the *vipra*- when he provides him with *dhiyaḥ*; in 9, 96, 17 where he is the guide of the *kaviḥ*; in the observation 9, 68, 5 that he is born together with a clever mind; in references to his clarification: 9, 64, 24; 66, 3; 84, 5; 100, 5 or to his power and majesty: 9, 7, 4; 20, 1; 25, 3; 62, 27; 74, 2; 82, 2; 85, 9; to his "victoriousness" or ability to gain *vājah*: 9, 66, 10; to his aid: 1, 91, 14. In 6, 39, 1 Soma is the celestial *kaviḥ* and conveyer (of prayers) who is fluent and gives (men) inspired and excited thoughts to be converted into hymns and formulas. In 9, 86, 20 he is the "first" (*pūrvyaḥ*) *kaviḥ*. He is a *kaviḥ* because of his words and kaviship: 9, 96, 17. He is in 9, 9, 1; 64, 30; 71, 7 called *divaḥ kaviḥ* "the inspired sage of heavens"; in 9, 12, 4 *vicakṣaṇa*- "possessed of insight" and a *sukratuḥ kaviḥ*; cf. 107, 7. In 9, 86, 29 Soma is at the same time *viśvavid*- "omniscient", in 84, 5 he is *viprah kaviḥ kāvyenā svarcanāḥ*; cf. also 9, 18, 2.

Pūṣan is in invocations for aid and favour the addressee in 6, 53, 5 and 7; the use of the epithet seems to imply the knowledge of the doings of men and other creatures, that is to say a sort of "omniscience" behind which lies primitive sanction against wrongful action. So is Sūrya, the Sun in a prayer for protection: 5, 44, 7. If Sāyana is right the *kavir nṛcakṣāḥ* the "sage with the lordly and watchful eye"¹³² in 3, 54, 6 who "sees" is the sun¹³³; in any case the context exhibits the idea of "omniscience". Cf. also 5, 45, 9.

The epithet is in 6, 49, 4 given to Vāyu, who is also a god of inspiration.

The epithet is attributed to Indra in a reference to his aid and assistance: 1, 130, 9; to his exploits and the evidence of his great power: 1, 11, 4; 175, 4; 3, 42, 6; 6, 20, 4; 32, 3; in invocations for favour, benevolence: 3, 42, 6; in invitations to respond to the poets' words: 3, 52, 6; in a stimulation to get intoxicated by the soma juices: 8, 45, 14, in a reference to the god's soma drinking: 9, 86, 13. However, in 7, 18, 2 the phrase *abhi viduḥ kaviḥ san* is applied to Indra (see above, 1, 71, 10). The poet of 10, 112, 9 knows him as *vipratamaṇ kavīnām*. It is nevertheless evident

that in 2, 5, 3 "Agni possède tous les *kāvya*- parce qu'il assume toutes les fonctions propres à réaliser le sacrifice".

¹³² If this is the sense of the term; see *Epithets in the Rgveda*, p. 110; Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 46; V, p. 12.

¹³³ See however Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 397.

that the term is also applicable to qualities and situations which we would not characterize by a term such as "sage, wise, etc."

In providing us with a number of epithets of the Maruts the author of 5, 57, 8 characterizes them also as "knowers of the *ṛtam*, listening to the truth and *kavayah*"; see 6, 49, 6. Cf. also 5, 52, 13; 7, 59, 11.

Brahmaṇaspati, the lord of brahman, is in 2, 23, 1 spoken of as follows: *kaviṃ kavīnām* (i. e. the *kaviḥ par excellence*) *jyeṣṭharājāṃ brahmaṇām* "the sovereign of (the materializations of) brahman".

Varuṇa, who supports the worlds and knows the secret name of the cows, is in 8, 41, 5 likewise styled a *kaviḥ*; similarly in 10, 124, 7 where some of his great deeds are extolled. Cf. 2, 28, 1 *kaver ādityasya svarājāḥ*. RV. 1, 2, 9 is a prayer to Mitra and Varuṇa to bestow *dakṣam apasam* "active ability" on those speaking. In 5, 85, 6 Varuṇa is called *kavitamaḥ*.

The poet of 1, 117 while addressing the Aśvins as *kavī* (st. 23) implores them to further *dhiyaḥ* (visions converted into sacral words) and to grant him *cum suis* wealth and children. In 8, 8, 23 they, the *kavī*, are requested to come to those speaking. In 8, 8, 2 the same deities are invited to approach: *kavī gambhīracetasā* "sages of profound intelligence"; in st. 5 they are spoken of as *pra kavī dhītibhir narā* which I would like to mean that they surpass (others) with regard to visions. Hence also the statement (10, 40, 6) that "they come to the house of the eulogist".

The gods in general may also be denoted by this term: 3, 38, 1 where they are wanted to "behold" that which is touched upon by the poet.

Applied to human beings the title *kaviḥ* unmistakably denotes those who mentally or spiritually enter into contact with divine power, the transcendent and the world of the unseen. It may obviously be given to a person who knows causes or origins (1, 164, 6; 18; 10, 114, 2), hidden connections (10, 129, 4), or the character of the ritual (1, 164, 5), to those who, "knowing" (*cikituṣaḥ*), understand the relation between guilt and requital (7, 86, 3), to one characterized by *dhīḥ*: 1, 95, 8 where *kavir dhīḥ* may mean *kaveḥ dhīḥ* or "the sage seer and his vision".¹³⁴ Cf. also 10, 101, 4; 177, 1 and 2; 1, 159, 4. The kavis keep deep secrets, observing the place or track of *ṛta* (10, 5, 2). Those who are concerned with sacral speech, disposing the one bird so as to be many are in 10, 114, 5 regarded as *viprāḥ kavayah*. Similarly those who know the limits of human knowledge (cf. 10, 5, 6). In 1, 151, 7 the term applies to an officiating sacrificial priest (*hotar*-); cf. 3, 8, 4 *dhīrāsaḥ* and "serving the gods"; in 9, 37, 6 etc. the reciter who urges on soma when being clarified is styled a *kaviḥ*. The

¹³⁴ See Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 124 f.

interesting passage 10, 53, 10 teaches us that the priests and eulogists, referred to as *kavayah*, are expected "to do carpenter's work" with a view to "immortality", utilizing as knowing ones (*vidvāṃsaḥ*) the profound words, by means of which also the gods gained "immortality": "die mystischen Worte der sakralen Rede" (Geldner). Those who are in 10, 88, 18 expected to know the answer to the questions as to the number of suns, dawns and waters are addressed as Fathers and *kavayah*. In 1, 164, 16 *kaviḥ* is the one who "knows" or "understands" (*ā ciketa*); cf. 1, 31, 1 *kavayo vidmanāpasah*; in 4, 16, 3 to the man who unriddles a secret: *kavir na niṇyam ... sādhan* (*niṇyam: gūḍham artham iva*, Sāyaṇa). According to 3, 54, 17 the *kavayah* have spoken the important word that all gods are with Indra¹³⁵; the title must here refer to the Ṛbhus who obtained immortality and the friendship of Indra (cf. 3, 32, 7). In 1, 103, 1 the *kavayah* bore in mind the nature of the god Indra; in 1, 146, 4 they watch, being *dhīrāsaḥ*, the god Agni in their hearts; in 10, 124, 9 they are able to recognize Indra who has assumed the form of a swan. The *kavayah* are in 1, 185, 1 invited to give an answer to the problem of the origin of heaven and earth: *kathā jāte kavayah*. It is clear that an answer is beyond the knowledge of ordinary people. For the combination *kavayah* and *rebhāḥ* "panegyrists, celebrators"¹³⁶ see 1, 163, 12.

For the relation between man and god see also: 1, 13, 8; 76, 5; 4, 2, 12; 3, 16; 6, 32, 3; 49, 4; 8, 44, 12; 9, 12, 8; 62, 30; 72, 6. From 3, 1, 2 *divaḥ śaśāsura vidathā kavīnām* it probably appears that "the kavis of heaven have taught the ritual functions(?)¹³⁷ of the (earthly) kavis". Agni is (3, 5, 1) called the *viprah padaviḥ kavīnām* "the excited (inspired and eloquent) guide of the sages", a title which in 9, 96, 6 and 18 is given to Soma, the *ṛṣir viprāṇām*. Varuṇa is (7, 86, 7) as compared with his devotee *kavitarah*, stimulating him to become well-to-do.

Mention may also be made of some qualifications accompanying the term under discussion: 7, 87, 3 *ṛtāvānaḥ kavayo yajñadhīrāḥ pracetaso ya iṣayanta manma* which may mean something like "les poètes tenants de l'Ordre, expert au sacrifice (possessing intuition with regard to worship), prévoyants, (ce sont eux) qui ont tiré jouissance du poème".¹³⁸ For *ṛtāvānaḥ* "related to the *ṛtam*" see also 2, 24, 7; 7, 76, 4. It is the *kavayo manīṣiṇaḥ* ("characterized by thought converted into sacred texts") who clarify their speech: 9, 73, 7. It is a *kaviḥ* who, being *viprah*,

¹³⁵ Cf. Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 398.

¹³⁶ Cf. Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 52.

¹³⁷ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 36.

¹³⁸ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 71; cf. VII, p. 23.

at the sacrificial place pronounces eulogies (3, 34, 7) and invitations (3, 51, 7; 5, 45, 4). The combination *kavi-* and *vedhas-* "disposer(?)"¹³⁹ occurs e.g. 3, 14, 1; 4, 2, 20 (Agni); cf. 1, 72, 1.

The emphasis seems therefore to lie on the possession of, or access to, special or supersensual knowledge, on the possibility of mental contact with the transcendent and on certain abilities in "the sacred and sacral sphere" derived from these (including the composition of "hymns"). That there is no fundamental difference between a human and a divine *kaviḥ* may for instance appear from 1, 76, 5 where Agni is stated to be an inspired seer or sage among the inspired sages (*kavibhiḥ kaviḥ san*).¹⁴⁰ What is worth emphasizing is that it is in the first place Agni, and then also Soma, Indra, the Maruts, Vāyu, Bṛhaspati, Varuṇa, the Aśvins, the Sun and Pūṣan who are given the title. We shall meet these gods again in the chapter on *dhīḥ*: they are the givers of "vision" or "inspiration".

It is a proper emphasis on both the content, emotion and thought, and the form or the poetic expression that is contained in the dictum of the Sanskrit critics that poetry is *uktipradhāna-* or *abhidhāpradhāna-*. As Bhaṭṭa Tauta says in the well-known passage quoted by Hemacandra (Kāvyaṇuśāsana, p. 316) one may have the vision (*darśanam*), and be only a seer (*ṛṣiḥ*), but one becomes a poet (*kaviḥ*), only when one renders that vision into a beautiful language (*varṇanā*).¹⁴¹

A parallel exists in Latin: the word *vates* denoted, on the one hand "a seer, diviner, foreteller, prophet" and – "comme les prophéties étaient généralement rythmées"¹⁴² – on the other hand "a poet", and as such it was the oldest name for a poet; being discarded for *poeta* it was restored to honour by Vergil and other poets. In later usage it may also signify "an oracle" in the sense of "a master, teacher or authority in any art or profession".¹⁴³ The related Gall. *ouāteis* "seers", moreover, belongs to Cymr. *gwawd* "eulogy, song of praise" and Ir. *fáith* "poet". All these words are related to Goth. *wōds* "enraged, possessed",¹⁴⁴ Anc. Icel. *ōdr* "pos-

¹³⁹ *Epithets in the Rgveda*, p. 156; the translation is tentative; see also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 68.

¹⁴⁰ From texts such as 3, 2, 7; 29, 12 the inference is perhaps warranted that the 'wisdom' expressed by the term under consideration exerts an auspicious influence on the performance of rites. – The word occurs also in contexts referring to deeds of practical wisdom: 5, 5, 2.

¹⁴¹ V. Raghavan, *Studies on some concepts of the Alaṅkāra Śāstra* (Adyar, 1942), p. 92.

¹⁴² A. Ernout – A. Meillet, *Dict. étym. de la langue latine*³, II (Paris, 1951), p. 1264.

¹⁴³ Cf. M. Runes, "Geschichte des Wortes *vates*", in *Festschrift – P. Kretschmer* (Berlin, 1926), p. 202 ff.

¹⁴⁴ Compare also Gr. *μαίνωμαι* "to rage, be furious": *μάντις* "seer, diviner, prophet"; the Irish *fili* "poet" originally was "a seer".

sessed, inspired; poetry", O. Engl. *wōþs* "sound, song"; OHG. *wuot* "violent emotion"; and to Ved. *api-vat-* "inspire, infuse ('spiritual force')".¹⁴⁵

It cannot be part of our task to expatiate here upon other words denoting the same or similar officiants or functionaries, the less so as some of them have been recently studied by others. There are for instance *kāravaḥ*, officials whose primary task was "enunciation", and there were the *āyavaḥ*,¹⁴⁶ who in RV. 8, 12, 13 are called *viprāḥ*: they belong to the antiquity of the poets (9, 10, 6; 23, 2) and their activities appear to be, at least to some extent, identical with those of the *kāravaḥ*.

Before changing the subject it would seem useful to insert here a few remarks à propos of some other expressions occurring in the Rgveda, to denote various aspects of the activity of the inspired seers.

In addition to the incidental remarks on, and tentative translations of, the noun *manīṣā* to which some lines were devoted by Renou,¹⁴⁷ who translates it by "inspiration poétique", it may be noticed that in 4, 5, 3 Agni, a giver of inspiration par excellence, has revealed or proclaimed such an 'emotional thought' or 'wisdom' (*pred u vocan manīṣām*) in connection with the hidden footprint of the cow, "ein Bild für das zu suchende seherische Wort oder den seherischen Gedanken"¹⁴⁸; Geldner's translation "Agni hat mir den Sinn offenbart" is not completely adequate. The inspired emotional thought is in st. 2 described as a present. In 4, 11, 2 the same god is implored to open, together with the vibration of the "Begeisterung" (of the consciousness which has been struck and moved),¹⁴⁹ for the eulogist the *manīṣā*, the "thought" or "wisdom" of inspiration which is compared to a cave or hollow: the image is of interest because it shows that the *manīṣā* before reaching the seer is conceived as something that is concealed and had to be detected or revealed. The same verb "open" (*vi śyā*) is used in 9, 95, 5, one of those places which show that the process of clarification of the soma is at the same time an evocation of inspiration and visionary emotion: "being clarified, O juice, unseal the inspired 'thought'". In 10, 94, 14 the poet uses, in a similar context, the verb *vi muñca* "unloose". That Soma played an important part in the process of evoking and stimulating the seer's most essential

¹⁴⁵ For the cognate Vedic *api-vat-* etc. (see A. Walde – J. B. Hofmann, *Lat. etymol. Wörterbuch*, II, Heidelberg, 1940 ff., p. 738): P. Thieme, in *Festschrift – F. Weller* (Leipzig, 1954), p. 656 ff.

¹⁴⁶ See H. W. Bailey, in *Bull. School Or. Afr. Stud.*, 20 (Turner-Festschrift), p. 41 ff.

¹⁴⁷ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, I, p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 424.

¹⁴⁹ "durch Beredsamkeit", Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 431.

function is also apparent from 6, 47, 3 *ayam me pīta ud iyarti vācam ayam manīṣām uśatīm ajīgaḥ* "this here, when drunk raises my word(s), this here has awakened the willing (inspired) thought". See also 9, 96, 7. Soma is also requested to manifest himself through such a flash of "thought": 1, 91, 1 *pra cikito manīṣā*, the "thought" being so to say part of the god's nature and essence. And in connection with Agni it reads in 4, 6, 1 *tvaṃ hi viśvam abhy asi manma pra vedhasā cit tirasi manīṣām* "for thou art (reignest) over all products of inspired "wisdom", thou promotest the "thought" even of the accomplished one(?)". Compare also 4, 11, 3 where the *kāvya* as well as the *manīṣā* come from Agni; 10, 45, 5. Indra is the source of this inspiration in 6, 34, 1; in 5, 83, 10 possibly Parjanya, (not "(Dank)gebet", Geldner), although Sāyaṇa's interpretation of the last pāda of the sūkta (*prājābhyo vido manīṣām*) is more plausible: *prājābhyah sakāśāt stutim prāptavān asi*. In 1, 186, 1 the gods in general seem to be the promoters of the *manīṣā*; here the words *api yathā ... matsathā no viśvaṃ jagad abhipitve manīṣā* may mean "that you (O gods) animate (delight, inspire), for our benefit, in the evening the whole world by inspired thought".¹⁵⁰ That the *manīṣā* like intuition in general is compared to a flash of light appears from 10, 177 where it is described as *dyotamānām* and *svaryam* "bright (shining)" and "of the nature of the light of heaven". As explained elsewhere the words *dīdhayā manīṣām* in 3, 38, 1 seem to mean: "I look towards an 'inspiration'". In 10, 28, 5 the *manīṣā* – which here must be the words spoken in the preceding stanza by Indra to Vasukra, his son-in-law and the reputed composer of the sūkta – are in need of explication "how could I", Vasukra says, "understand this *manīṣā*?, thou that art the knowing one must explain it to us ...".

In 9, 97, 34 the phrase *ṛtasya dhītim* is followed by *brahmaṇo manīṣām*, neither (with Geldner) "den Gedanken der heiligen Rede" nor (with Lüders¹⁵¹) "das Denken des Brahman", but rather "the inspired thought manifesting brahman".¹⁵² The *manīṣā* must be clarified in the receiver's mind before it is fit for ritual use – 7, 85, 1 *punīṣe vām ... manīṣāṃ somam indrāya varuṇāya juhvat* – for like *dhīḥ manīṣā* is also the thought converted into a hymn or eulogy addressed or offered to a god: 1, 76, 1 *śaṃtamā kā manīṣā* (sc. *bhuvāt*)¹⁵³; 101, 7 *indram manīṣā abhy arcati śrutam*; 110, 6;

¹⁵⁰ See Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 35; otherwise V, p. 9.

¹⁵¹ Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 433. The parallelism does not prove that *ṛta*- and *brahman*-are, in this passage, synonymous.

¹⁵² A sort of "genitive of apposition or explication": Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite* (Paris, 1930), p. 303.

¹⁵³ For a detailed consideration of this point see chapter II.

3, 57, 1; 5, 11, 5 *vacas* and *manīṣā* put on a par; 6, 49, 4 *brhatī manīṣā*, not "hohes Sinnen" (Geldner) but "firm (substantialized, inspired) thought"¹⁵⁴; 67, 2 coupled together with *svrktih*; 34, 1; 70, 7 *iyam manīṣā iyam ... gīḥ*; 10, 4, 6; 20, 10.¹⁵⁵ As such it exercises a strengthening influence upon the god addressed, making him increase: 7, 99, 6 *iyam manīṣā brhatī ... tavaśā* (sc. *devau*, Indra and Viṣṇu) *vardhayantī* (Indra); or it may be a means of prevailing upon a divine power (cf. 3, 33, 5). – In 3, 8, 5 the effect is purificatory or sanctifying. Cf. also 1, 62, 11; 4, 41, 8; 7, 22, 4 *viprasyārcato manīṣām*; 8, 96, 11; 10, 111, 1.

For the aspect "ritual word(s)" see also 3, 8, 5; 57, 4 (not "unter Nachsinnen", Geldner); 58, 2; 5, 47, 1; 9, 68, 8 and 86, 17 (together with *stubhaḥ* "praising exclamations"); 95, 3; and also 1, 70, 1; 10, 26, 1. It is quite natural that in definite contexts the aspect of "prayer" comes to the fore: 4, 41, 9 *imā indraṃ ... me manīṣā agmann upa draviṇam ichamānāḥ*. The gods in their turn are expected to help, favour or further the *manīṣā*: another parallel between the use of this term and that of *dhīḥ*¹⁵⁶: 10, 77, 8 *te* (the Maruts) *no vantu ... manīṣām*, not "die sollen unser Gebet bevorzugen" (Geldner) but "promote, further, favour our inspired thought or 'wisdom'".

Gods are on the other hand supposed to possess or wield the power or phenomenon called *manīṣā* also: Indra is, by the poet of 1, 165, 10, related to speak of deeds which he is to perform with *manīṣā*, not "mit Bedacht", but rather "with (or, in virtue of) his purposeful non-discursive thought". Cf. 1, 54, 8 *asamaṃ kṣatram asamā manīṣā* which may (cf. pāda d) be Indra's, whose ruling power and wisdom are said to be unequalled. The constructive nature and function of the concept under examination may appear from 10, 114, 6 *yajñam vimāya kavayo manīṣā* "the sages, having produced, by means of higher wisdom, the sacrifice".¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Cf. the *amandān stomān* in 1, 126, 1.

¹⁵⁵ For the apparent plurivalent character of these words (inspiration and verses originating in inspiration) many more or less related parallels could be adduced showing that a sensation and an activity which is rooted in it are denoted by the same expression. "Es gibt keinen Zwiespalt zwischen dem Gefühl und dem leiblichen Verhalten; dasselbe Wort bezeichnet die Angst und die Flucht (φόβος), und das gleiche Wort wird für "zittern" und "weichen" gebraucht (τρέω).... So gibt es für den homerischen Menschen zwischen dem Willen zu handeln und der Ausführung des Willens keine trennende Schwelle.... Im Plan ist der Anstoss zu seiner Verwirklichung selbstverständlich mit enthalten. So gebraucht die homerische Sprache Wörter wie "vorhaben, planen" (μῆδομαι) fortwährend in der Weise, dass die Durchführung des Plans stillschweigend einbegriffen ist" (H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*, *Philological Monographs* 13, New York, 1951, p. 112).

¹⁵⁶ See chapter II.

¹⁵⁷ See *Four studies in the language of the Veda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 178.

For the mutual relation between the terms under discussion passages such as 1, 61, 2 are of no mean interest: *indrāya hṛdā manasā manīṣā ... dhiyo marjayanta* "they polish, for Indra, their *dhiyaḥ* ('visions') with their heart, their 'mind', their 'inspired thought'": to the two organs mentioned first which are regarded as co-operating the *manīṣā* is added. May we conclude from this place that the latter as compared to the immediate vision denoted by *dhīḥ* is in a sense secondary referring to a process which may become operative when the flash of intuition has arisen? Compare also 2, 20, 1 *didhyato manīṣā*. In 1, 94, 1 it is the eulogy (*imaṃ stomam*) which is, with *manīṣā*, constructed¹⁵⁸ like a chariot.

For *manīṣā* as an aid or co-operative factor in pronouncing eulogies one might refer to 1, 126, 1 *stomān pra bhare manīṣā*.

That the term under consideration could in connection with inspired sages (*kavayaḥ*, who are according to later definitions¹⁵⁹ primarily characterized by vision) be an activity which led to the disclosure of cosmic or metaphysical secrets seems to be a warranted inference from 10, 129, 4 *sato bandhum asati nir avindan hṛdi pratīṣyā kavayo manīṣā* "seeking in their heart the sages found the inherence of being and non-being by their specific inspired thought". Cf. also 10, 124, 9. Hence no doubt the use attested by 5, 17, 2 and 8, 72, 3 referring to Agni and Rudra as gods who are "jenseits aller Vorstellung" (Geldner): *paro manīṣayā*. The sense of "natural inclination" or "what first occurs to a person" which may be assumed in 10, 29, 4 *anne samasya yad asan manīṣāḥ* is not inconsistent with the general idea of "purposeful emotional, non-discursive thought".

The methods of coming into contact with the unseen and the super-human powers may in various circles be different and they may be modified in the course of time; the term remains in use also when it must be said to indicate "yoga-power". By means of *manīṣā* the ṛṣi and great ascetic (*tāpasah*) Cyavana hypnotizes, in Mbh. 13, 54, a king so as to make him see a grove, mansions, jewels etc.: 13, 53, 68 *athāpy ṛṣir ... tapodhano ... manīṣayā ... sasarja* "the ṛṣi, rich in *tapah* created by means of his *manīṣā* ..."; the beautiful objects created in this way made the impression of a dream or vision (13, 54, 15).

As to the derivative *manīṣin-* which denotes a person "possessed of, characterized by *manīṣā*-" (the "Inhaber" of the *dhīḥ*),¹⁶⁰ this is remarkably

¹⁵⁸ See Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 120.

¹⁵⁹ See chapter XV.

¹⁶⁰ For the suffix *-in-* used to denote the 'Inhaber' or to characterize living beings, for instance as practising an art or a branch of sacred science etc. see J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2 (Göttingen, 1954), p. 336 ff.

frequent in passages describing the behaviour of the divine Soma during the process of clarification. RV. 9, 107, 14 is of special interest: the soma juices are conceived as *āyavaḥ* "promoting longevity", *matsarāṣaḥ* "exhilarating", *svarvidah* "finding (or procuring) the light of heaven" and *manīṣiṇaḥ* which must mean "possessing (and giving) immediate insight into the essence of things etc.". In 9, 91, 1 it reads: *dhiyā manotā prathamam manīṣī*; in 96, 8 he is qualified as *matsarah ... | indrāya ... pavamāno manīṣī* ... "intoxicating (i.e. giving inspiration) ... clarifying thyself for Indra ... possessed of *manīṣā*" (Geldner's "gedankenreich" may easily be misunderstood!); in 97, 56 *viśvavit pavate manīṣī somo viśvasya bhuvanasya rājā* "the omniscient Soma, the one qualified by the faculty of having an immediate insight into reality without the help of discursive thought is clarifying himself, the king of the whole world".¹⁶¹ Cf. also 9, 78, 3, where Geldner's "sinnreich" fails to convince me. In 9, 65, 29 the adjective is coupled with *vipra-*.

Qualifying, in 5, 57, 2, the Maruts who are among the gods concerned with vision and inspiration, the adjective occurs among some other possessives describing the military equipment of the divinities.

The adjective occurs however also so as to qualify human beings. Those who attempt to gain an intuitive, "irrational" insight into the origin of the universe are in 10, 81, 4 quite consistently called *manīṣiṇaḥ*; they are invited to investigate into this problem *manasā* "with their organ of thought". Similarly, with reference to the mystery of speech: 1, 164, 45 *tāni vidur brāhmaṇā ye manīṣiṇaḥ* "these (the four "quarters" of speech), the ... brahmans know them". Cf. also 2, 21, 5; 9, 68, 6 (where Geldner's "Denker, die alten Opferpriester" may create misunderstanding). The poet of 10, 63, Gaya, son of Plati, in addressing the gods in general states, in the final stanza (17) of the sūkta: *evā plateḥ sūnur avīṛdhad vo ... manīṣī* "thus the son of P. has made you increase (strengthened you), the possessor of *manīṣā*", that is to say: by means of this eulogy (*astāvi* in pāda d). There is hardly room for doubt that the adjective is in all respects motivated and very deliberately used and placed: "... (car) il a eu l'inspiration".¹⁶² The effect on the gods addressed, who are here described as *dhiyaṃjinvā* "animating or promoting vision", is in 1, 182, 1 indicated by the verb *madata* "exhilarate, animate". In 9, 72, 2 they are stated to speak simultaneously; cf. 85, 3. The *manīṣiṇaḥ* obviously belong to those who partake of the soma draught: 2, 19, 1; 9, 85, 3. They are

¹⁶¹ For soma as a king see J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 75 ff.

¹⁶² Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 55.

also said to clarify their words in the soma-sieve: the duplication of the process of clarification in the poet's inner self.¹⁶³ The words 7, 22, 6 *bhūri manīṣi havate tvām it* were translated, to the neglect of the special semantic nuance of the adjective, by: "vielmals ruft dich der Dichtende an" (Geldner); here again this activity consists in *vardhanam*¹⁶⁴: *tubhyam brahmāṇi vardhanā kṛṇomi*. Soma is in 9, 107, 11 to be cheered or praised – as is well known, this is a form of strengthening – by the *manīṣiṇaḥ* and the moved ones who know the *ṛcas* or sacred stanzas recited in praise of the deities (*viprebhir ṛkvabhiḥ*). In 8, 14, 2 the word again applies to the man who composes or pronounces the products of inspiration, now Geldner translates: "Liedersinner". Cf. also 10, 111, 1 *manīṣiṇaḥ prabhāradhvam manīṣām*; 8, 5, 16; 10, 64, 15 *avīvaśanta matibhir manīṣiṇaḥ*.

Sometimes however the term seems to have a wider application. In 1, 13, 5 those who are requested to spread the barhis are addressed as *manīṣiṇaḥ*, which was explained as *buddhimanta ṛtvijaḥ* (Sāyaṇa), *medhāvino 'dhvaryavaḥ* (Skandasvāmin), or *prājñāḥ* (Mādhava). In 9, 72, 6 it reads, with reference to those who press the soma, *kavayo 'paso manīṣiṇaḥ* "the inspired sages, who are skilful in their art and possessed of *manīṣā*". Cf. especially 9, 79, 4 *apsu tvā (somaṇ) hastair duduhur manīṣiṇaḥ*. The words *tvām agne manīṣiṇaḥ ... / ... indhate sam* "the m. ones ignite thee, O Agni" in 3, 10, 1 need not refer to those who perform manual labour (1, 144, 5; 8, 44, 12; 22); cf. especially 8, 43, 19; 44, 19 *tvām agne manīṣiṇaḥ tvām hinvantī cittibhiḥ*. It is therefore questionable whether Geldner's interpretation of 9, 99, 5 "die Nachsinnenden, (i.e.) die Priester" is completely correct. Grassmann's¹⁶⁵ opinion that in 1, 52, 3 *madavṛddho manīṣibhiḥ* means "(Indra ist) von den Somabereitern durch Somatrunk gestärkt" is deceptive. He is however followed by Renou¹⁶⁶ whose translation in 9, 64, 13 "par (les opérateurs) qui-savent-le-sens" is only a possibility, cf. e.g. 9, 86, 4; 15, 8; 17, 7 *dhūbhir viprā ... mṛjanti*; 74, 9 *mṛjyamānaḥ kavibhiḥ*. The same difficulty arises with regard to 9, 76, 2 *ajyate manīṣibhiḥ*: cf. 6, 5, 6 *akto vacobhiḥ*. Cf. also 9, 86, 19 and 20 *manīṣibhiḥ pavate*; 9, 96, 15 *matibhiḥ punānaḥ*; 113, 5 *punāno brahmaṇā*.

Among the verbs which are worthy of a short note is also *ci-*. Without entering into a detailed examination of its meaning, it may be observed that in ṚV. 5, 66, 4 *adhā hi kāvyā yuvaṇ dakṣasya pūrbhir adbhitā | ni*

¹⁶³ Particulars are to follow in chapter II.

¹⁶⁴ See *Notes on brahman* (Utrecht, 1950), p. 40 f.

¹⁶⁵ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 996 f.

¹⁶⁶ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII, p. 38.

ketunā jānānām cikethe pūtaḍakṣasā stating in a rather unclear way¹⁶⁷ that Mitra and Varuṇa who are concerned with *kāvyā*, i.e. with the manifestations of that wisdom which is characteristic of a *kaviḥ*, observe or understand these through (or, by means of) the "intelligence-signal" (Renou), the internal light of insight (*ketu-*) which belongs to men. The tenor of the statement seems to be that it is the *ketu-* of men as well as the skill of the gods themselves which enable the god to perceive or observe the products or manifestations of kaviship.¹⁶⁸ In 10, 114, 2 it is the sages (*kavayaḥ*) who have perceived or understood (*ni cikyuh*) the cause or motive (*nidānam*) of three "goddesses" of destruction. Whatever the author's intentions,¹⁶⁹ so much is clear that sages are said to see through deep mysteries (*pareṣu ... guhyeṣu vrataṣu*). The same action is ascribed to the *kavayaḥ* who in 10, 124, 9 are stated to perceive *manīṣā*, i.e. by their faculty of inspired thought, the god Indra, who had transformed himself into a swan or goose (*haṁsa-*): "eine Vision ...; die Seher ... erkennen in diesem Schwan den Indra" (Geldner). In 8, 25, 9 it is told that Mitra and Varuṇa who in st. 8 are qualified as *sukratū* "very resourceful", perceive with infallible sight and better than with the bodily eye, even when their eyes are closed; the verb used is, again, *ni cikyatuḥ*. In 10, 51, 3 the verb is used of Yama who locates and detects Agni who had concealed himself. Elsewhere it means "to perceive, see" in a more common sense of the term (e.g. 10, 114, 8). The "original" sense of *ci-* is, in all probability, "to observe, pay attention to".¹⁷⁰

A short note may also be inserted here on *medhā*,¹⁷¹ a term belonging to the same semantic field as *dhī-* and *matī-*,¹⁷² "notant quelque objet digne d'être gagné ou dont le bénéfice est lui-même quelque chose qu'il faille acquérir de haute lutte" – the last words to be accepted with all proper reserve. Geldner's translations are inconsistent and inadequate: in 1, 18, 6 he renders the phrase *sanīm medhām*, which is of special interest,

¹⁶⁷ For this difficult stanza see e.g. Oldenberg, *Rgveda*, Noten, I, p. 359; Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 74; Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VII, p. 47, who takes the stanza to come to this: "vous possédez les *kāvyā*, vous vous en êtes rendus maîtres grâce à votre *dakṣa*, ces *kāvyā* qui existent à travers les *ketu-* des humains = à travers leur conscience".

¹⁶⁸ If this interpretation holds true the assumption of ellipsis is a superfluity.

¹⁶⁹ See also H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch vrata und awest. urvāta* (Hamburg, 1958), p. 87.

¹⁷⁰ See e.g. J. Pokorny, *Indogerm. etymol. Wörterbuch* (Zürich, 1948 ff.), p. 636 ff.; *Petr. Dict.*, II, 1002 ff.

¹⁷¹ See, recently, Renou, *Études sur le vocabulaire du Rgveda* (Pondichery, 1958), p. 29, n. 1.

¹⁷² Cf. also Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 240.

by "Verdienst und Eingebung", in 2, 34, 7 by "Gabe des Geistes".¹⁷³ It would appear to me that both stanzas are prayers for obtaining enlightenment, wisdom,¹⁷⁴ inspiration or spiritual power worded through the syntactic structure of an appositional group: cf. 9, 32, 6 and *medhasāti*-, e.g. 7, 94, 6; 8, 40, 2; 69, 1; 71, 5; and *medhayu*- 4, 38, 3. The compound *medhasāti*- moreover combines with *vipra*- in 7, 66, 8; 8, 3, 18; 71, 5.

It is not my intention to discuss, in this volume, all relevant terms and phrases, part of which have already been ably elucidated by my predecessors and colleagues whereas some others may be made the subject of one or more short papers. Let it suffice for the moment to wind this survey up with a few additional notes.

If that etymology of *chandas*- "a metrical Vedic text" which has repeatedly been proposed is the right one,¹⁷⁵ we may surmise its original sense to have been "a manifestation of a power which pleases, delights, invites".

Significantly enough the verb *pra bharati* "to bring forward, offer" is not rarely used to denote the process of "reciting" and especially of "starting" a hymn: 1, 64, 1 *suṣṛktim pra bharā marudbhyaḥ* (the "poet" Nodhas stimulates himself) "den Marut trag das Preislied vor, O Nodhas" (Geldner); 102, 1; 7, 4, 1 *pra vaḥ... bharadhvam havyam matiṃ cāgnaye*; 5, 1 *prāgnaye tavase bharadhvaṃ giram*. The seer and reciter, the medium of revelation, carries the lively and invigorating words of praise, the products of their inspiration to the gods.¹⁷⁶

It is therefore no strange thing for those 'poets' to say that they engender the sacred hymn: 7, 31, 11 *suṣṛktim indrāya brahma janayanta viprāḥ*; 10, 23, 6 *stomaṃ ta indra vimadā ajījanann apūrvyam*. Some interesting similes are used to illustrate this process: 7, 94, 1 "(the hymn) has been generated like rain which comes from the cloud". The seer emanates, emits or discharges his words or eloquence, being desirous of *vāja*: 2, 35, 1 *upem asṛkṣi vājayur vacasyām*; 6, 16, 37 *upa tvā raṇvasaṃ-dṛśam prayasvantaḥ... | agne sasṛjmahe giraḥ*.

¹⁷³ See A. Hillebrandt, in *Album-Kern* (Leiden, 1903), p. 263, and especially H. Oldenberg, in *Festschrift-F. Andreas* (Leipzig, 1916), p. 10; F. B. J. Kuiper, "The ancient Āryan verbal contest", in *Indo-Ir. Journal*, 4, p. 248.

¹⁷⁴ Wisdom transcendently conceived as partaking of the One Mind is a homogeneous whole, incapable of differentiation and transcending the concrete and utilitarianism. Being complete and independent, it is the unique root of all understanding, enabling the sages to apply knowledge - which is essentially mundane and utilitarian-wisely.

¹⁷⁵ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 461; Wackernagel-Debrunner, *o.c.* II, 2, p. 222; Mayrhofer, *o.c.*, I, p. 404.

¹⁷⁶ Compare the use of *pra-ñi*-, e.g. Bhavabhūti, *Uttarar.* 2, 51.

As is well known the importance of inspiration as a factor in the creation of literary art was, whatever name was given to it, very well recognized by the ancient poets themselves. Does not Hesiod (*Theogony* 32) refer to the authority of inspiration when he says that the Muses appeared to him on Helicon and gave him a voice to tell of the past and the future? Did not the Homeric Phemius, the bard at Odysseus' home, emphasize that he is self-taught and that his songs come from a god (χ 347); that means, that he is able to produce inspired improvisations? "I can sing every song", a Kara-Kirghiz bard told, "for God has planted the gift of song in my heart. He gives me the word on my tongue without my having to seek it, I have not learned any of my songs; everything springs up from my inner being, from myself".¹⁷⁷ There is also evidence for India. "Our" father, the generator, extolled in AV. 2, 1, 3 i.e. the Gandharva¹⁷⁸ who knows the abodes and all the beings, may be regarded as the divine father of those speaking, that is, of the poets. In archaic and "primitive" societies bards and singers are, indeed, not rarely so convinced of their inspiration as to believe themselves to derive everything from a god or from the Muse. Besides, they are sometimes convinced that they have been inspired to their calling by a vision or divine visitation.¹⁷⁹ Sometimes our sources inform us of prayers, formulas or other texts composed or pronounced by "inspired priests or poets" which generally speaking are considered to possess a special power. The "prayers", uttered for instance by certain members of the community of Malaita (Solomon Islands) and addressed by them to the unseen powers for the cure of sickness, for help in battle, for abundant crops or other things are believed to be especially efficacious.¹⁸⁰ "Within the stream of divine utterance there resounds the word of man; but we are very far from being able to distinguish, always and precisely, between God's word itself and human expression. For the word of Power is mighty in man's mouth just as it is in God's".¹⁸¹ The prayer and the powerful formula cannot be kept apart, because to pray is also to exercise potent influence over man, powers and gods and the prayer of the man who notoriously is a bearer of divine power is doubly potent. Hence also in all probability the juxtaposition of thoughts attested by RV. 5, 45, 5 *eto nv adya sudhyo bhavāma*

¹⁷⁷ V. V. Radlov, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme* (St. Petersburg, 1866-1904), V, p. XVII, quoted by C. M. Bowra, *Heroic poetry* (London, 1952), p. 41.

¹⁷⁸ See the present author's *Die Religionen Indiens*, I (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 101 f.

¹⁷⁹ For examples Bowra, *o.c.*, p. 427 f.

¹⁸⁰ R. H. Codrington, in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, 10 (1881), p. 301 f.; *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), p. 192.

¹⁸¹ Van der Leeuw, *o.c.*, p. 422.

pra duchunā minavāma varīyaḥ "well then, let us today be of the right inspiration and drive misfortune ¹⁸² far away!"; 9, 79, 1 *vi ca naśan na iṣo arātayo 'ryo naśanta saniśanta no dhiyaḥ* "wenn Miszungunst unsere Speisegenüsse erreicht, sollen (unsere Gebete) die Nebenbuhler einholen, unsere Gebete sollen den Gewinn davon tragen" (Geldner).

The Indian theorists of a later period were very well aware of the resemblance between a poet and a visionary sage: "the poet is like the ṛṣi who brings through the power of this vision the past and future into the present", ¹⁸³ cf. Murāri, Anargharāghava 2, 34 *avidyābījavidhyaṃsād ayam ārṣeṇa cakṣuṣā | kālau bhūtabhaviṣyantau vartamānam avīviśat*. As one hears a poem it should begin to live before one's eyes or mind. It is the quality which the inaugural recitation of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa possessed when it was recited to the *ārṣa-saḥrdayas*: 1, 4, 17 *ciranirvṛttam apy etat pratyakṣam iva darśitam*. In harmony with the Vedic practice the theorists also understood that poetry is not mere "thought" or "vision", but *darśana*- "vision" which was to be followed by, or had to wait for, *varṇana*- the description, picture, or elaboration. Poetry requires not only feeling and inspiration but also an attractive form.

The special "virtue" of these persons which must be born with a special assortment of talents may be transferable.¹⁸⁴ It is for instance believed to have descended to them from some eminent ancestor.¹⁸⁵ Many communities ascribe particular powers and extraordinary faculties to certain families or groups. The Vedic hymns and formulas are therefore not alone in being inherited and renovated by the ancestors of the composers and reciters. The Viśvāmitras, Atris, Bharadvājas etc. are too well known as families of ṛṣis and authors of parts of the corpus of the R̥gveda to need special mention. References to inherited gifts of vision and poetic talent occur e.g. R̥V. 7, 72, 3; 8, 6, 10. According to the author of 3, 39, 2 his *dhiḥ* is, as we have seen, his ancestral "vision". Sometimes such family traditions may last for centuries and are often strengthened by other traditions derived from the locality.¹⁸⁶

A particular emotion, an idea without a definite form presses for expression in the poet's mind or "heart". Under the influence of the

¹⁸² See J. Scheftelowitz, in *Zeitschr. f. Ind. u. Iran.*, 6, p. 103 ff.

¹⁸³ V. Raghavan, *Studies on some concepts of the Alampkāra Śāstra* (Adyar, 1942), p. 118.

¹⁸⁴ Or it is emphasized that the actual intuition or its product is identical with that of the mythical past (see e.g. R̥V. 5, 45).

¹⁸⁵ Ch. S. Burne, "Occult powers of healing in the Panjab", in *Folk-Lore*, 21 (1910), p. 313 ff.

¹⁸⁶ For examples see Bowra, *o.c.*, p. 430.

emotional urge to give form to his inner experience the poet attempts to express it by a suitable, rhythmical arrangement of words. How the conscious mind helps to transform the intuitive images or emotions into a piece of literary art is difficult to ascertain. To Rabindranath Tagore it was a mystery, something beyond him that directed his impulse in a definite way so as to give form and shape to the intuited vision within.¹⁸⁷ The well-known passage in the first book of the Rāmāyaṇa (1, 2, 8 ff.) in which the sage Vālmiki, the reputed author of this epic, narrates the incident which was responsible for the poetic inspiration which he received and for the ensuing utterance in well-chosen words and ordered metre, is too instructive to be left unmentioned. When the sage once stood, in the forest, gazing at a couple of *krauñca* birds which were enjoying amorous sport the male bird was suddenly killed by an arrow. This cruel event caused a terrible shock to the surviving female. The intensity of her grief changed her twitter into a shriek. The sage was so deeply moved by this incident that, completely forgetting himself, he was for the moment identified with the broken-hearted female. Then he spontaneously called, in the outward form of a verse, misfortune down upon the fowler. This passage clearly shows that the author¹⁸⁸ understood that a fact of life and nature was by the genius of the poet and by means of his imaginative gifts spontaneously transformed into an artistic fact. The Indian aestheticians whilst understanding that an inspired work of literary art is an expression of a basic mental state aroused because of identification with the focus of the situation, a mental state which in the utterance is only suggested, were moreover of the opinion that the experiences of the poet, representing the hero of his work and that of the listener, reader or, in general, enjoyer of the work are identical.

Also in plastic and pictorial art one of the most important elements is the mental vision or intuition by which ideas are intuited and coordinated in the receptive mind of the artist. In his intuitive vision vibrant with emotion the object of representation often appeared in its reality without the limitations of time and space. In India the artists dealing with sculpture or painting have from of old to follow a mental model which they must make the object of *dhyānam* or intensive contemplation. This concentration of attention is not only a necessary element of the worship of the gods, it is also the duty of the artist to pass through the physical image of the represented deity and to bring himself into communion with

¹⁸⁷ S. N. Dasgupta, *Fundamentals of Indian art* (Bombay, 1954), p. 5.

¹⁸⁸ And, for instance, Abhinavagupta, *Dhvanyāl.* 27. See K. Ch. Pandey, *Comparative aesthetics*, I: *Indian aesthetics* (Benares, 1950), p. 210 ff.

the spiritual essence or idea for which this stands. The representation of superhuman persons or ideas should express their superhuman sublimity and excellence, to which the artist can only have access by the intuitive and meditative way. His meditative intuition translates itself into the visual forms of his art. Although faithfulness to natural forms was to a considerable extent attended to, it was transcended by the inner vision.¹⁸⁹

"In India, as elsewhere, art is the form which the artist impresses on life, but in Indian art more than in any other, form results from performance. Making a work of art is a ritual. Its magic acts on the form. By performing the rites of art, the craftsman transforms himself as well as his materials. Form, ritual performance, and transformation are simultaneous and inseparable aspects of Indian art. They are inherent in its creation, and produce their effect in its concrete shape".¹⁹⁰ This art "hat einerseits Anteil am Absoluten, dessen Wesen sie durch einen geistig-mystischen Akt bewusst zu ergreifen und dem glaubigen Betrachter zu ermitteln sucht. Insofern sie dadurch selber von mystischer Macht erfüllt ist, hat sie eine 'magische' Funktion und besitzt sie eine numinose Wirklichkeit und Wirksamkeit".¹⁹¹ These statements hold good also for the earlier periods, because whatever processes of growth and development Western science is rightly inclined to assume, definite fundamental principles have – as far as we are able to know – been in existence from the very beginning. If, with many Asiatics, these are emphasized, it is easily intelligible that the historical development is considered to be an affair of minor importance.

"Art does not mean merely the copying of nature, but creating nature from out of the creative contributions of one's own personality. It is a representation of the streams of life flowing through man and nature..."¹⁹² Only when it has been created in this way, a work of art may fulfill its function as a *yantram*,¹⁹³ i.e. a material object in which an aspect of the highest principle has been materialized and which may help a man as an object of meditation and a basis of self-realization or identification with the divine power expressed or represented. "The image-maker should fashion images in such a manner that they would conduce to the

¹⁸⁹ See e.g. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Pour comprendre l'art hindou* (Paris, 1926); M. N. Hirianna, "Indian Aesthetics", in *Proc. and Trans. of the 1st Orient. Conference, Poona* (1919) (1922), p. 229 ff.; O. Gosvāmi, *The story of Indian music* (Bombay, 1958), p. 233 ff.; J. Herbert, *Introduction à l'Asie* (Paris, 1960), Ch. XVII.

¹⁹⁰ S. Kramrisch, *The art of India* (London, 1954), p. 26.

¹⁹¹ D. Seckel, *Grundzüge der buddhistischen Malerei* (Tokyo, 1945), p. 26 ff.

¹⁹² Dasgupta, *o.c.*, p. 18 f.

¹⁹³ See e.g. H. Zimmer, *Kunstform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild* (Berlin, 1926).

success of the dhyānayoga."¹⁹⁴ Perfect beauty which is identical with truth and the ultimate reality reveals itself only to the human being who knows. Whereas we perceive the material from which an object of art is made and the outward symbols and we may even describe these as beautiful in a secondary sense, true beauty and the ultimate reality with which it is identical are neither knowable objectively nor expressible in words; they can only be realized and disclosed to the "inward eye". Aesthetic sensibility – the idea is expressed by *sahṛdayatva* – "consent of the heart" – is the capacity to identify oneself with the heart of the inspired poet (Abhinavagupta, *Abhinavabhāratī*, II, p. 339: *kaviḥṛdayatādātmyāpattiyogyatā*).

The Indians were well aware that the blow delivered by any perfect and therefore convincing statement of truth, the state of shock, awe, fear, wonder, delight or agitation induced by a mentally poignant experience – expressed in Pāli by the term *saṃvega*¹⁹⁵ – may also be aesthetic in character. Hence the use of the term *saṃvega* to denote the shock or wonder felt when the perception of a work of art becomes a serious experience. Moreover, "Truth" which is, in the Hindu view of life and world, immutable and unchangeable, cannot be realized merely by the imagination of any individual. Like religious men and philosophers, the artists also had to follow the intuitions of the ancient sages who, in their meditation, visualized the various aspects of divine power. The unbounded scope of individual imagination was limited by what was considered spiritual realities derived from the experiences of recognized authorities, whose visions were moreover unanimously accepted to be essentially identical. That meant that any artist who would be faithful to tradition was guided by traditional conceptions of the aspects of the unseen powers. In this sense it may be maintained that the creation of the artist, on the one hand, expressed the ideally conceived and mentally intuitive significance of the deity and, on the other hand, his creations were a part of his own personality as manifested in thoughts, volition and emotions.

This consciousness of the presence of truth, of the divine, the eternal or ultimate reality in a work of art which has been created by a truly inspired artist has, together with the almost universal belief that words, especially duly formulated and rhythmically pronounced words, are bearers of power, has given rise to the traditional Indian conviction that

¹⁹⁴ J. N. Banerjea, *The development of Hindu iconography* (Calcutta, 1956), p. 23 ff.; Seckel, *o.c.*, p. 37.

¹⁹⁵ A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Saṃvega- 'aesthetic shock'", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 7 (Cambridge, Mass., 1942-3), p. 174 ff.

"formulas" are a decisive power: that whoever utters a mantra sets power in motion. It has conditioned the belief in the superhuman power of the verses and stanzas of the Veda, in the eternity and superhuman nature of the Veda in its entirety. "Wie es im ersten Lautwerden beschwörender Zwang war, mit dem Unmittelbares den Seher-Dichter als Bild und Wort überkam, Zwang mit dem der Dichter Unmittelbares in Bild und Wort bewältigte – so ist es für alle Folgezeit, die mantra-Worte zu brauchen weisz, beschwörender Zwang, magisches Mittel um unmittelbarer Wirklichkeit – Erscheinung der Götter, Spiel der Kräfte – zu wirken."¹⁹⁶ Revered as the formal expression of truth and the ultimate reality these texts which are revealed by "vision" or "inspiration" are recited as a rite to give immediacy to their inherent power.

Anticipating our observations to be made in the following chapters on the meaning of *dhiḥ* and *dhītiḥ* in the R̥gveda it may be stated here that already the Vedic poets themselves were, in a more rudimentary form, aware of the decisive importance of visions and inspiration in creating works of art or in achieving productions of extraordinary technical skill – the R̥bhuv were, for instance, only able to create a cow by their *dhītayah* (RV. 1, 161, 7) –; they were likewise deeply convinced of the existence of a sort of interplay of factors, reciprocity¹⁹⁷ or cyclical process with regard to the divine power inherent in inspired "poetry". It is the intuition which is expected from the divine powers – see e.g. 4, 11, 2 *tan no rāsva sumaho bhūri manma* "give us, O very sublime one (Agni), that abundant (or, mighty) 'thought'" – and which enables the seer¹⁹⁸ or "poet" to compose "texts" which conform to the requirements of religious hymns and formulas, that is to say, which may be expected to influence the deities presiding over the powers and phenomena on which man feels himself dependent. It is these "poets" and reciters who by means of their stanzas and formulas which they obtained for them (5, 81, 5 *stomam ānaśe*) praise and "confirm" the divine powers (8, 13, 8), affect the actions and dispositions of these divinities (e.g. 1, 134, 2 *sadhrīcīnā niyuto dāvane dhiya upa bruvata im dhiyah*; 6, 21, 1) and strengthen or invigorate them (cf. e.g.

¹⁹⁶ Lama Anagarika Govinda, *Grundlagen tibetischer Mystik*, p. 5. – For the function of the "hymn" etc. see also K. R. Potdar, *Sacrifice in the R̥gveda* (Bombay, 1953), p. 19 ff.

¹⁹⁷ The reciprocity between a god and his worshippers is also apparent in cases such as RV. 9, 110, 7 where Soma, being called a hero, is implored to urge the worshippers on in order to achieve a deed of heroism.

¹⁹⁸ Almost forty years ago J. W. Hauer, *Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis im alten Indien* (Stuttgart, 1922), p. 159, formulated the desideratum that "der Zusammenhang zwischen der Schöpfung des Liedes, seinem Gebrauch beim Zauber und Opfer und den ekstatischen Erlebnissen" should be thoroughly studied.

6, 38, 3; 8, 3, 3); nay, they may even be an essential factor in generating them, preserving their specific might and in causing the powers of nature to become and remain operative. When man, by his rites and "eulogies", succeeds in supporting and maintaining life and order in the universe, nature will continue to meet his wants. Strengthened, the gods are expected to hand over to their devotees part of their abundance and to help them in case of need: 6, 22, 7 *taṃ vo dhiyā navyasyā paritaṃsayadhyai sa no vakṣad ... viśvāny ati durgahāni*. They will also be disposed to give the ṛṣis inspiration (10, 25, 1), further their intuitions: 1, 61, 16 *evā te ... suvṛktīndra brahmāṇi gotamāso akran | aiṣu viśvapeśasaṃ dhiyaṃ dhāḥ* "thus the members of the Gotama family have made thee, O Indra, by means of an excellent hymn of praise, a support; do thou place into them vision of complete elaboration"; 5, 12, 1–2 *prāgnaye ... yajñīyāya ṛtasya vṛṣṇe ... manma | giram bhare ... || ṛtaṃ cikitva ṛtam ic cikiddhy | ṛtasya dhārā anu trndhi pūrvīḥ* "I offer to Agni ..., who is worthy of worship, the bull of ṛta,¹⁹⁹ ... an expression of thought, viz. a eulogy, O thou who observeth the ṛta do thou attend to ṛta; split open the many streams of ṛta", the last words no doubt meaning "give us vision and inspiration". Possessing that which man would like to have they are implored to make his prayers successful: 7, 36, 7 *uta tye no maruto mandasānā dhiyaṃ tokaṃ ca vājino vantu*. The same process, that of "urging on, setting in motion" (*hi-*) which is executed by the gods (e.g. in RV. 10, 139, 5 by a solar deity) with regard to the intuitions of the seers, is also performed by the intuitions when they have assumed the form of "texts": 1, 144, 5 they incite Agni (cf. also 8, 60, 4); 9, 8, 4 they urge Soma on (cf. also 9, 9, 4 etc.²⁰⁰); who in his turn is the deity of inspirations and creative impulses *par excellence* (cf. e.g. 4, 58, 2) and to the sages, poets and reciters who insist on the god's partaking of the sacrificial gifts (8, 43, 19). The well-inspired man who has transformed his vision and creative inspiration into powerful words captivates the god and holds him fast like a door-post: 1, 51, 14 *indro aśrāyi sudhyo²⁰¹ nir eke pajreṣu stomo duryo na yūpaḥ*; the god, on the other hand, is the sole granter of possessions: *indra id rāyah kṣayati prayantā*. Similarly 6, 1, 7: *taṃ tvā vayaṃ sudhyo navyam agne sumnāyava īmahe devayantaḥ* "once more we approach thee, O Agni, well-inspired (and hence possessed of efficacious liturgical words), devoutly making an appeal to thee". Hence also the statement (4, 21, 8) that it is the *sudhiyah* who set out to win the most important power called *vājaḥ* and the con-

¹⁹⁹ For this expression see H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, II (Göttingen, 1959), p. 443, n. 1.

²⁰⁰ See also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII, p. 57.

²⁰¹ Geldner's translation "des Gutgesinnten" is not to be preferred.

fession that "whatever we have done for thy sake, O Agni, we have conformed to the universal law and had the right 'intuition'" (4, 2, 14 *ṛtaṃ yemuḥ sudhyaḥ*²⁰²). Hence also such allusions to a cyclical process or a "circular course" of the *dhiyaḥ* or the *manma*: the godhead from whom the "thought" or inspiration is expected is at the same time invited to like it or to accept it graciously, e.g. 4, 11, 2 *viśvebhir yad vāvanāḥ śukra devais tan no rāsva sumaho bhūri manma*. In this circular course man plays an obligatory part. It is he who after receiving the powerful "thoughts" and "visions" transforms them so as to be conducive to the well-being of the world and his fellow-men.

The resemblance to the later doctrine of the power of mantras, the "instruments of thought", nay, the essential identity with that doctrine, because the Vedic verses are mantras, is obvious. The mantras of the Veda are according to the systematized doctrine of the Mīmāṃsakas everlasting and as so many representatives of eternal principles co-existent with the cosmic process, and even survive that process. They represent the essence of the "gods".²⁰³ They are not made, but "seen" by those men who have the privilege of direct contact with divinity or the supra-mundane. The Divine, the Highest assumes the form of sound substantialized in mantras, in which It, or He, reveals Its, or His, particular aspects. These mantras existing in the minds of men, in embodied souls, may "work" or become effective when the consciousness of that man, the worshipper or aspirant to self-realization, achieves its union with that Consciousness which manifests itself in the form of the mantra. To produce the designed effect the mantra must be pronounced in the proper way. Then the worshipper has *mantrasiddhiḥ*, i.e. the ability to make the divine verses and formulas efficacious and to reap their fruit; then the mantra is a potent compelling force, a word of power effective both to accomplish wordly desires as also to promote higher knowledge and liberation, in short to acquire *siddhiḥ*, i.e. complete attainment of ambitions and aspirations.²⁰⁴

²⁰² One is also reminded of the 'deification' of those who by way of meditation seek unity with the god they adore; see e.g. G. Tucci, *The theory and practice of the maṇḍala* (London, 1961), p. 29.

²⁰³ S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II (New York-London, [1927] 1951), p. 387 ff.; G. V. Devasthali, *Mīmāṃsā, the vākyaśāstra of ancient India* (Bombay, 1959).

²⁰⁴ See e.g. S. N. Dasgupta, *Hindu mysticism* (New York, [1927] 1959), p. 3 ff.; S. K. Das, *Śakti or divine power* (Calcutta, 1934), p. 161; J. Woodroffe, *Śakti and Shākta* (Madras-London, 1929), ch. XXIV; Sh. Bh. Dasgupta, *Aspects of Indian religious thought* (Calcutta, 1957), p. 22 ff.; A. Daniélou, *Le polythéisme hindou* (Paris, 1960), p. 501 ff.

Hemacandra (Kāvyān., viv. p. 380) describes, by means of an image borrowed from mystical thought, poetic intuition as the third eye of Śiva, in virtue of which one perceives, by direct intuition, independently, that is, of discursive knowledge every form of existence. The categories of language are, so to say, a diaphragm, an obstacle which comes between the reality and our consciousness. Whereas in ordinary usage this diaphragm makes its existence and influence felt, poetical language is devoid of these categories and therefore attains reality before its solidification into discursive thought.²⁰⁵ Thus poetical language is related to other extraordinary forms of expression, for instance, on the religious plane with mantras.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ See also R. Gnoli, *The aesthetic experience according to Abhinavagupta* (Roma, 1956), p. XXXI f.

²⁰⁶ Abhinavagupta, *Parātriṃśikāvivaraṇa* (Bombay, 1918), p. 202.

II DHIH IN THE ṚGVEDA

Since the term under discussion is of considerable frequency, and differences in interests and spheres of thoughts between the corpora constituting the Vedic literature are likely to occasion more or less important contextual deviations in the use of the word, it seems expedient to examine each division of the Veda separately. Embarking upon an investigation into the sense of the word *dhih* in the Ṛgveda I must apologize for the length of this chapter and for some repetitions which are however well-nigh unavoidable. Almost all places exhibiting the term will need quoting and discussing, because, on the one hand it is only the context which can elucidate the "shade of meaning" of a particular word and, on the other, the translations and interpretations proposed by my predecessors will often be subjected to criticism. In so doing it will, in most cases, be needless to quote all translations. Geldner's work has of course always been consulted. I must confess – with all due appreciation of his important achievement and with a grateful recognition of the many merits of his commentary – that it often elicits dissentient views.

For the sake of convenience those passages will be discussed first in which, in the author's opinion, the contextual sense of "vision" or "intuition" shows more clearly than elsewhere. For this seems to be the central sense of the word, the semantic nucleus, the basis of some contextual variants, "developments" and applications. It will no doubt strike the reader that the terms "vision" and "intuition" are printed between inverted commas. The reason for this is to prevent him from supposing the ancient Indian *dhih* to be, on the strength of this translation, completely identical with whatever modern definition of the English "vision" or "intuition" he may be acquainted. These English terms have been preferred to others (e.g. inspiration) mainly because of their etymological and primary sense: the Skt. noun *dhih* is like *vision* closely associated with a verb expressing the idea of "seeing". By "vision" is, in the following pages, to be understood the exceptional and supranormal faculty, proper to "seers", of "seeing", in the mind, things, causes, connections as they really are, the faculty of acquiring a sudden knowledge of the truth, of the functions and influence of the divine powers, of man's

relations to them etc. etc. It is this "vision" which they attempt to give shape, to put into words, to develop into intelligible speech, to "translate" into stanzas and "hymns" of liturgical value.

The stanza ṚV. 1, 139, 2 is to begin with worth quoting in full: *yad dhatyan mitrāvaruṇāv ṛtād adhy ādadāthe anṛtaṃ svena manyunā dakṣasya svena manyunā | yuvor itthādhi sadmasv apaśyāma hiraṇyayam | dhībhiś cana manasā svebhir akṣabhiḥ somasya svebhir akṣabhiḥ* "since ye, O M. and V., separated, as it is known, the "chaos" from the "cosmos",¹ through your own zeal,² through the zeal proper to your skill, from then verily we saw in your seats, something golden (the golden throne (?)),³ with our power of vision – in whatever way (that is) –, with our mind, through our own eyes, through the eyes proper to Soma". From this instructive place we learn that the seers were convinced that their mental "eyesight" enabled them to see an important object in the world of the gods, to cast, perhaps, a glance at their throne, to obtain, in any case, an impression – which for want of a more adequate expression may be called visual – of something perceptible in the divine world or sphere, which therefore may be qualified as "golden", an adjective often used to characterize objects possessed by Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Soma, Savitar and other deities. They are, however, not too positive that they owe this privilege to their *dhih*, or perhaps, they make an attempt at explaining their experiences: *dhībhiḥ* is followed by *manasā*: they ascribe the supranormal sight to *dhiyah*, and to their mind as the organ and the seat of mental activity, – in the alternative, or, perhaps at the same time, they ascribe it to (their) eyes and "to the eyes of Soma" (*akṣabhiḥ somasya*), i.e. to the special visual faculty granted by Soma. Lüders' remark with regard to the last words: "mit den eigenen Augen des Soma" soll wohl heißen 'so wie Soma es gewöhnlich sieht' doch könnten die 'Augen des Soma' schliesslich auch der Rauschtrank sein" could be modified into: "with the faculty of universal vision proper to Soma – who in 9, 60, 1 and 2; 65, 7 is called "thousand-eyed", in 9, 86, 23; 107, 16 "clear-sighted", etc. – which he also grants to his devotees": according to 9, 95, 1 and 9, 96, 5 (*janitā*

¹ See W. Norman Brown, "The Rigvedic equivalent for Hell", in *J.A.O.S.*, 61, p. 76; the same, "The creation myth of the Rigveda", in *J.A.O.S.*, 62, p. 85.

² See H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1951-1959), p. 619 f.; cf. also Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes* (Paris, 1955-), IV, p. 31.

³ Cf. 5, 62, 8; 7, 64, 4. Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 619 "das goldene Rta". The ellipsis is perhaps deliberate. Compare however also A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, I (Paris, 1878), p. 150, n. 1: "d'après le vers 1, 139, 2 les prêtres ont vu la demeure de Mitra et Varuṇa en pensée, avec leurs propres yeux (ceux de leur esprit?) et avec les yeux de Soma." I cannot agree with Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 619 "nicht nur mit dem Gedanken".

matinām) Soma produces, generates the “thought” (*mati-*), he gives wealth and (thoughts): 6, 44, 2; in the state of intoxication caused by soma the priests may produce stanzas or hymns by which the gods are strengthened (cf. 1, 80, 1). If the above translation of *svebhir akṣabhiḥ* be right – *svebhiḥ* might also with Renou be considered to refer to Soma – the seer, being non-committal with regard to the organ of the supranormal sight, qualifies the statement that he is able to cast a glance at the unseen world of the gods by his “mental” and “visual” faculty by the addition that it is properly speaking “Soma’s eye” by which he can receive “visions”.

The instructive simile in 1, 112, 2 *yuvor dānāya subharā asaścato ratham ā tasthur vacasaṃ na mantave | yābhir dhiyo ’vathaḥ karmann iṣṭaye tābhir ū ṣu ūtibhir aśvinā gatam* shows that the way in which the thoughts or visions – if this is the idea to be supplied⁴: cf. *dhiyaḥ* in pāda c – are revealed to a human being can be vaguely described by the verb *ā sthā* – “to stand by, go towards”: “towards your chariot the greatly supporting, inexhaustible manifestations of favour or helpfulness⁵ have come in order to be bestowed as gifts (like visions, inspirations, thoughts) on a man who has the gift of speech in order to concentrate his mind (upon them)”.⁶ If this interpretation be right, the *dhiyaḥ* were supposed to approach spontaneously.

If a god is considered able and willing to allow some gifted men to cast a glance at that reality behind mundane existence which is its cause and foundation, and where are the sources of life and welfare, a plausible inference is that the god can only do so because he possesses the faculty of supranormal vision himself. Gods are, as will be seen in another chapter, not rarely described as “wise” and “omniscient” and Agni’s quality of “omniscience” is closely connected with his status as a *kaviḥ* i.e. an inspired sage or an enlightened person of extraordinary wisdom and insight. From Agni the qualities of the inspired seers emanate, from him proceed the inspired and directed thoughts, and from him come the eulogistic recitations that are able to achieve successes⁷: 4, 11, 3 *tvaḍ agne*

⁴ See K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt* (Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass., 1951), I², p. 144.

⁵ Cf. st. 1: *ūtibhiḥ*, Geldner otherwise: “Gaben oder Genüsse”.

⁶ The second line will be discussed further on.

⁷ For this sense of adjectives in *-ya-* (which I prefer to “to be accomplished, won, propitiated” given by the *Petr. Dict.*, Monier-Williams, etc.; cf. also 1, 116, 11 *rādhyam* ... *varūtham* “an effective shelter”; 1, 156, 1 *stomo yajñas ca rādhyah*, not “zur Zufriedenheit” (Geldner)) see J. Wackernagel (-A. Debrunner), *Altind. Grammatik*, I, 1 (Göttingen, 1905), p. 192; II, 2 (Göttingen, 1954), p. 801: cf. e.g. *nirbādhyā* – “able to remove”.

kāvyā tvaṃ manīśās tvaḍ ukthā jāyante rādhyāni. Significantly enough the text continues: *tvaḍ eti draṇam vīrapesā itthādhiye dāṣuṣe martyāya* “from thee comes property adorned by heroic sons to the devout mortal man of that true *dhīh*”.

These considerations may perhaps suggest to us an explication of a difficult place in RV. 6, 3. In st. 3 the god Agni is said to be terrible when he sets out for booty; grammatically it is his *dhīh* to which the action is ascribed: *bhīmā yad eti śucatas ta ā dhīh | heṣasvataḥ śurudhaḥ*.⁸ After Sāyaṇa who guessed *dhīh* to mean *dhārayitrī jvālā*, Grassmann,⁹ to whom this place was “unklar”, and Ludwig¹⁰ – “des Anblick wie der Sonne fleckenlos ist, wenn dein des Glühenden, furchtbare Absicht naht” – Geldner furnished his readers with the translation “furchtbar, wenn deine, des Glühenden, Hastigen Absicht auf Beute ausgeht”. I have my doubts about this “Absicht”, a sense which can hardly be attributed to *dhīh*. When a divine power like Agni manifests itself as a power of nature, as a destructive phenomenon, as the devouring element that acts spontaneously and autonomously its divine wisdom, foresight, omniscience and intuition adopt the character of an “instinct”, of a natural propensity to behave in such a way as to safeguard one’s interests, to preserve one’s existence etc., and this “instinct” may have been ascribed to an “intuitive knowledge”. I would therefore translate *dhīh* by “instinct, intuition”.

It seems possible to provide a suitable interpretation of 8, 3, 1 where Geldner’s translation “Absichten” is no improvement upon Grassmann’s¹¹ “Einsicht, Weisheit” (cf. Sāyaṇa: *buddhaya ’mugrahātmikāḥ*). After asking Indra to drink and to be a friend and fellow-reveller with a view to the prosperity of those on behalf of whom he is speaking (*vr̥dhe*) the eulogist continues: *asmāṃ avantu te dhiyaḥ* “thy visions (inspirations) must help (favour) us”. There seems to be only one difficulty and this too is, in all probability, only a pseudo-problem: does the vision belong to Indra? or does he impart it to the ṛṣi? Although in translating I would prefer the latter alternative because only by obtaining the *dhīh* the ṛṣi is able to execute his religiously and socially important task, the god is no doubt also supposed to possess *dhīh*, for only then can he be considered

⁸ For *surudh-* see Thieme, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 95, p. 341; H. W. Bailey, *B.S.O.A.S.*, 21, p. 532 (“booty”); Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 82; VII, p. 59.

⁹ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 684.

¹⁰ A. Ludwig, *Der Rigveda ... übersetzt*, I (Prag, 1876), p. 389.

¹¹ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 684 f.; also the same, *Rig-veda übersetzt*, I (Leipzig, 1876), p. 391 “es fördre deine Einsicht uns”; Roth in the *Petr. Dict.*, III, 964: “Gedanken, Vorstellung, Absicht”.

able to place it at the disposal of the ṛṣi. The next stanza confirms this interpretation: *bhūyāma te sumatau vājino vayam | mā na star abhīmātaye | asmāñ citrābhir avatād abhiṣṭhibhir | ā naḥ sumneṣu yāmaya* "we would like to be the objects of the favourable disposition of thou that art rich in vāja; do not lay us low for him who strives to injure us; do thou then favour us with thy excellent help and protection; receive us into thy grace and benevolence".

The interpretation of R̥V. 8, 63, 1 is disputed: *sá pūrvyó mahānām venāḥ krátubhir ānaje | yásya dvārā mānuṣ pitā devēṣu dhiya ānaje*: "als der erste (der Vorzeit), als Vena ward durch der Groszen (der Vorzeit) Einsicht er verherrlicht, als des (Zugang gewärende) Tore Manus der Vater unter den Göttern (seiner) Gedanken Erzeugnisse herrlich ausgeführt hat" (Ludwig); "der Freund der groszen Götter wird zuerst mit Geisteskraft gesalbt, dess Haus und Sinn im Götterreich der Vater Manu hat gesalbt" (Grassmann). So much is certain that *krátubhiḥ* belongs to *mahānām*; *dvārā* and *dhiyaḥ* as well as the identical verb forms must, moreover, if possible, be regarded as syntactically equivalent.¹² It is warranted to identify the *venāḥ* "seer"¹³ (with Sāyaṇa and Oldenberg) with Indra: the term applies in 1, 83, 5 to Sūrya; 1, 139, 10 to Bṛhaspati. A tentative translation is: "the first (or, ancient) seer anointed (decorated) himself with the inventiveness of the great ones, (the seer) whose "visions", the access (entrée) to the gods, were anointed by Father Manu". For the locative¹⁴ one might compare Kāl. Mālav. 69, 2 T. *devagrhe labdhapraveśayā*. As to Manu and Indra, it was also the latter who found the light (10, 43, 4; 8) and a way (10, 49, 9; 104, 8) for the ancestor of mankind, who was also an ancient and exemplary sacrificer (1, 31, 17; 26, 4). The verb for "anointing, (be)smearing" being not rarely used in connection with a transfer of power,¹⁵ the general meaning may be: "Manu developed the *dhiyaḥ* – which are an entrée to the world of the gods – so as to compose hymns; he had received them from Indra who, being a seer, had enhanced his potency by assuming the inventiveness of the gods".

¹² Otherwise H. Oldenberg, *R̥gveda. Textkrit. u. Exeg. Noten*, II (Berlin, 1912), p. 125 (as to the accusatives) and Geldner (as to the verbs), *o.c.*, II, p. 385.

¹³ See also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 118.

¹⁴ Which seems to have escaped the notice of H. Willman-Grabowska, *Le locatif dans le R̥g-veda* (Warsaw, 1928).

¹⁵ See *Four studies in the language of the Veda* (s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 74 etc.; J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation* (Zürich, 1937), III, p. 294 s.v. *Einschmieren*; for "Salbung als Zufuhr menschlicher, tierischer (usw.) Kraft" see also A. Bertholet und E. Lehmann, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1925), Register, s.v. *Salbung*.

If Geldner's interpretation is right, the frequent association of *dhiyaḥ* and "gain" may have given rise to a case of breviloquentia in 10, 143, 3 ... *atraye ... siṣāsataṃ dhiyaḥ* "ihr (the Aśvins) wünschet für Atri den Sieg seiner Gebete".¹⁶ However, the literal translation "you wish to gain, to procure, on Atri's behalf, 'visions'" does not appear to be unwarranted. The expression recurs and the same difficulty arises in 8, 3, 12¹⁷ where I am tempted to interpret the crucial text *śagdhi no asya yad dha pauram āvitha | dhiya indra siṣāsataḥ* as follows: "do thou exert thyself for us, O Indra, since indeed thou hast assisted Paura, in the interest of him (i.e. the eulogist) who wishes to gain (receive) 'visions'", and not, with Grassmann: "sei hold ... dem Bitten des Begehrenden", or, with Ludwig: "hilf uns diesen Gedanken hier des Gewinn Anstrebenden" (*karmāṇi stotrāṇi vā*, Sāyaṇa). That is to say: the god is implored to endeavour to procure (also in the future, other) visions for the eulogist. This translation would be in harmony with the meaning of the preceding stanza inviting the god "to exert himself now that the eulogist solicits the same god for property and brave sons, to exert himself with a view to vāja (*vājāya*), in the interest of his eulogy (*stomāya*, *hysteron proteron*) on behalf (of the eulogist) as soon as he wishes to gain (*vāja*)".

In this connection attention must be drawn to the phrase *patir dhiyaḥ* which is applied to Soma in 9, 75, 2 and 99, 6. The former place runs as follows: "as the tongue of ṛta the dear sweet draught is purifying itself, as a reliable¹⁸ speaker and lord of this *dhiḥ*". There can be hardly any objection to connecting *dhiyaḥ* also with *vaktā* (cf. also 7, 104, 8 *asataḥ ... vaktā*). "Zunge der Wahrheit, sofern er die wahren Seherworte eingibt".¹⁹ The god is clearly considered to be the proclaimer of the *dhiḥ* and the power who wields it. As there is a lord of the way (Pūṣan, 6, 53, 1), a lord of speech (10, 166, 3), a lord of heroic power (Indra, 1, 11, 2 etc.), a lord of vājas (Indra, 1, 29, 2 etc.), there appears also to exist a "lord of vision", and it is perfectly intelligible that this function should be ascribed to Soma. The epithet *adābhya-* – which is to express the conviction that the guidance and protection of a divine power is proof against, and free from, deceit, weakness, unreliability – is especially given to gods who are characterized as lords (*pati-*), protectors (*gopā-*), leaders (*netṛ-*

¹⁶ "O reine, wunderkräftigste, gewährt dem Atri sein Gebet" (Grassmann, *R̥g-veda übers.*, II, p. 414).

¹⁷ See Th. Baunack, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 50, p. 276, and *K.Z.*, 36, p. 250 (*dhi-* "Gegenstand der Wünsche"); Oldenberg, *R̥gveda, Textkrit. u. Exeg. Noten*, II, p. 78 (who connects, not only *pauram āvitha*, but also *dhiya āvitha*).

¹⁸ *Epithets in the R̥gveda* (s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 141.

¹⁹ Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 70; cf. also Lüders, *o.c.*, III, p. 471.

etc.). Now, it is a well-known fact that a god who is regarded as the lord or possessor of a certain power is also believed to display that power or to place it at the disposal of his worshippers. Thus it reads 1, 131, 4 *śāsas tam indra martyam ayajyūṃ śavasas pate* “thou wilt chastise the mortal, O Indra, Lord of heroic strength, who doest not worship”; 1, 170, 5 “thou (Indra), lord of wealth, art master of goods, thou, lord of friendship, art the greatest giver (*dheṣṭhaḥ*) of friendships”; in 4, 17, 6 the statement “thou art throughout the lord of wealth” is followed by “thou hast helped all races of men to a donation”; 8, 61, 10 “desiring wealth we invoke the lord of wealth”; 1, 53, 2; 10, 112, 10 etc.²⁰ It may therefore safely be contended that the qualification “Lord of *dhīh*” was given to Soma to characterize this divine power as being able or willing to dispense visions. Translations such as “Herr dieses frommen Worts (Andachtswerks)” (Grassmann) are certainly erroneous. The same phrase combines in 9, 99, 6 with the verb *vacasyate* “to be audible, to make a sound”: “being clarified the soma, intoxicating *par excellence*, sits down in the *camū* vessels; placing his seed (like a male animal) in the cow, he, the lord of *dhīh*, makes sounds”. Could we – to wind up this paragraph with a mere guess – perhaps associate the epithet (the “visions” fecundating the mind of those who receive them), the reference to impregnation, and the making of sounds with the recitation of the *dhīh* when converted into liturgical words? In 9, 75, 2 *ṛtasya jīhvā pavate madhu priyaṃ vaktā patir dhiyo asyā adābhyaḥ* one understands at once that Soma, being called “the tongue of *ṛta*”, the speaker and lord of this “vision” who is not to be deceived is therefore considered to be the god who, as the instrument (tongue) of the universal and fundamental order, harmony and structural unity, of the ultimate “truth” on which the world and the ritual is founded,²¹ imparts the vision to the *ṛṣi*’s mind. That is to say: the ultimate source of the visions is the *ṛta*, the god Soma transmitting them to the *ṛṣi* by the instrumentality of his tongue. For “tongue” – which is in harmony with the Rgvedic usage accompanied by the “possessive genitive”²² – compare 4, 58, 1 where Soma is characterized as *jīhvā devānām*, “sofern er die sakrale Rede, die Geheimsprache der Götter spricht und ihre geheimen Namen offenbart, dasz man sie bei dem Opfer verkünde” (9, 95, 2).²³

²⁰ Cf. *Epithets in the Rgveda*, p. 75 ff.

²¹ For *ṛta* – see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 77 ff.

²² Otherwise Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 70, and Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 471 “Eingeber wahrer Lieder”.

²³ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 488.

Similes not rarely throw a vivid light on a special aspect of a concept. In 9, 100, 3 Soma is invited to pour the *dhīh* yoked by directed, emotional and intentional thought²⁴ forth (or let it go) like thunder the rain: *tvam dhiyam manoyujam srjā vṛṣṭim na tanyatuḥ*. This must mean that *manah*, i.e. the psychical organ in which the processes of thought, will and feeling take place, the psychical principle that is “essentiellement façonnant” (Renou), produces the *dhīh*, or, to express myself more cautiously, that *manah* is its birth-place. Does it likewise imply that the *dhīh* is also in other respects comparable to rain?

A dubious occurrence is 9, 12, 7 *nityastotro vanaspatir dhīnām antaḥ sabardughah | hinvāno mānuṣā yugā*, where Renou’s translation²⁵ – if at least the reading *dhenām* “cow” of SV. 2, 552 is not the correct one – is to be preferred to Geldner’s: “lui (Soma) qui a son mode-de-louange propre, Arbres des intuitions (sises) au-dedans (du cœur), surnaturellement trait, mettant en branle les âges humains”.²⁶ This could mean that Soma, who is addressed, is so to say a “source” of *dhiyaḥ*. One might compare expressions such as *utsam vasunah* (2, 16, 7), *utso hiranyayaḥ* (8, 61, 6) and, in later language, figurative phrases such as Vi. Pur. 1, 17, 91 *samāśritād brahmataror anantāt ... prāpsyatha vai mahat phalam*; Mārķ. Pur. 24, 21 *phalam puṇyavanaspateḥ* “the fruit of the tree of good works”.²⁷ The belief in a divine presence or epiphany²⁸ in a tree was wide-spread,²⁹ and the representation of soma as a tree or as the fruit of a tree may be substantiated by a variety of text-places.³⁰ The juice, plant, or tree of life can moreover bestow “immortality” and “knowledge”, but it is not easy of attainment.³¹

I cannot agree with the translations proposed for 9, 22, 3 *ete pūtā vipāścitaḥ somāso ... | vipā vy ā naśur dhiyaḥ*. The soma juices, which

²⁴ For *manas* see e.g. H. Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft* (Göttingen, 1919), p. 69; E. Abegg, *Indische Psychologie* (Zürich, 1945); Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VII, p. 61.

²⁵ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII, p. 10, 62.

²⁶ Otherwise, but improbably (“dwells in the midst of thoughts”) S. S. Bhawe, *The soma-hymns of the Rgveda*, I (Baroda, 1957), p. 62.

²⁷ For the idea of *Kalpavṛkṣa* see e.g. O. Viennot, *Le culte de l’arbre dans l’Inde ancienne* (Paris, 1954), p. 258.

²⁸ For epiphany as a springing from the realm of the unattainable see also G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London, 1938), p. 110.

²⁹ Viennot, *o.c.*, p. 13 ff., 104 ff. etc.

³⁰ Viennot, *o.c.*, p. 26 ff.

³¹ Cf. e.g. M. Eliade, *Patterns in comparative religion* (London-New York, 1958), Index, s.v., p. 483. For the tree of knowledge see also H. Bergema, *De boom des levens in Schrift en historie*, Thesis Amsterdam V.U., 1938, Register, p. 623 s.v. Boom der kennis.

are described as purified and "inspired" (acquainted with the inward excitation of inspiration and supranormal knowledge), do not, as far as I am able to see, "penetrate thoughts"³² or "pervade the praises"³³; they rather have gained, obtained, arrived at "visions" by means of the excitation of inspiration: that is to say, on behalf of the devotees, the ṛṣis. It will be remembered that the *somaḥ pavamānaḥ* is often called *vicakṣaṇa*- "experienced, wise": being clarified to become an intoxicating beverage, the soma reveals the true nature of a divine draught (9, 105, 1; 2; 97, 32); its juice is intoxicating, wise and a bestower of the light of heaven (9, 107, 14). One might compare 1, 2, 8 *kratum br̥hantam āśāthe* (subject: Mitra and Varuṇa); 10, 92, 3; 6, 15, 11 *yas* (an earthly "poet") *ta* (Agni) *ānaḥ kavaye dhītīm*. For the meaning of *vi-aś-* compare e. g. 8, 31, 8 ("to penetrate" Kāl. Ragh. 4, 15).

It is worth dwelling also on the statement of the poet of 5, 44, 13 *sutambharo yajamānasya satpatir viśvāsām ūdhaḥ sa dhiyām udañcanaḥ* "S. est le maître du siège du sacrificiant (laïc); c'est lui qui puise (à) la mamelle de toutes les inspirations" (Renou).³⁴ For *ūdhan-* compare 1, 64, 5 where the rain-cloud is called an udder (see also 7, 101, 1) and, in connection with soma, 9, 93, 3 *uta pra pipya ūdhar aghnyāyā indur dhārābhiḥ sacate sumedhāḥ* (cf. 9, 91, 3), and 9, 107, 20 *utāhaṃ naktam uta soma te divā sakhyāya babhra udhani*. The stanza 5, 44, 13 obviously states that a man called S., who probably is the "poet", draws the "visions" out of the udder which is the soma. One may insert here a reference to 8, 63, 1 which has already been discussed in the preceding pages: Father Manu "anointed" the visions, which are an access to the gods, the first (ancient) seer having anointed himself with the *kratuḥ* of the gods.

With regard to 8, 102, 22 *agnim indhāno manasā dhiyaṃ saceta martyaḥ* / *agnim idhe vivasvabhiḥ* one may ask oneself whether Geldner had the right intuition when he translated: "indem er den Agni im Geiste entzündet, soll der Sterbliche dabei dem Gedanken nachgehen: 'Ich habe den Agni mit den Morgenstrahlen entflammt'"³⁵. Referring, for *manasā*, to AV. 9, 4, 10 *antarikṣe manasā tvā juhomi*, I would attribute to *dhīh* its usual meaning, rendering the phrase *dhiyaṃ saceta* in the light of 7, 74,

³² Thus Geldner (*vipā* "Beredsamkeit") and Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII, p. 15; *asmadyāni karmāni*, Sāyaṇa.

³³ Thus Bhawe, *o.c.*, II (Baroda, 1960), p. 25.

³⁴ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 13; cf. IV, p. 71 f. ("ist aller Gebete Euter und Schöpfgefäß", Grassmann, *Rig-veda übers.*, I, p. 542).

³⁵ Grassmann, *Rig-veda übers.*, I, p. 521 "entzündend Agni frommen Sinns, vollführe sein Gebet der Mensch"; Ludwig, *o.c.*, I, p. 444 "den Agni entflammend begleitet der sterbliche das Lied mit seinem Geiste"; *dhiyam*: *karma*, Sāyaṇa.

5 *adhā ha yanto aśvinā pr̥kṣaḥ sacanta sūrayaḥ* "then the institutors of sacrifices who ask the Aśvins (for it) will participate in the restorative power-substance called *pr̥kṣ-*³⁶"; 7, 104, 14 *droghavācas te nirr̥thaṃ sacantām* "die Falschredenden sollen dem Tode durch dich verfallen" (Geldner). Thus *dhiyaṃ saceta* seems to mean: "he should obtain (experience) a vision, or gain an intuitive insight". The content of this insight is expressed in pāda c. If this interpretation is right, this stanza resolves itself into this: "the man who in the early morning kindles his sacrificial fire mentally should acquire, by way of a 'vision', a flash of intuition, the knowledge of the deeper sense of what he is doing: 'I have kindled the fire with the rays of the matutinal light'".

The stanza 7, 79, 5, which will be discussed further on, contains another reference to the part played by Dawn in the transmission of "visions": "impart to us, while shining, 'visions'" (*vyuchantī naḥ ... dhiyo dhāḥ*).³⁷

The relation between *dhīh* and the early morning is in all probability also emphasized in 3, 39, 2 *divas cid ā pūrvyā jāyamānā vi jāgrvir vidathe śasyamānā* / *bhadraḥ vastrāṇy arjunā vasānā seyam asme sanajā pitryā dhīh* "born still before daylight, attentive, recited, in parts, when the sacral functions are performed,³⁸ dressed in beautiful-and-auspicious white clothes is this our ancestral *dhīh* which was born long ago". This place is the more interesting because the "vision" – Sāyaṇa explains by *stuti*- "eulogy" – is on the one hand said to be born in the early morning, and on the other to be "ancestral" and to belong to the far past. Obviously the poet, Viśvāmitra, is of the opinion that the vision which comes to him at daybreak is identical with that which manifested itself to his father Gāthīn and his grandfather Kuśika, or to express myself otherwise, that all *dhiyaḥ* are reproductions of one and the same archetype.

While the poet of 3, 39, 2 states that the *dhīh* (his *dhīh*) is his ancestral *dhīh*, a similar thought is in a somewhat different way expressed in 10, 67, 1 *imāṃ dhiyaṃ saptaśīrṣṇīm pitā na ṛtaprajātām br̥hatīm avindat*: "our father found this seven-headed *dhīh*, which is born from ṛta and firm". "Die Dichtung oder Dichtkunst – again another attempt of Geldner's at translating the word under discussion – wird als altererbt bezeichnet.

³⁶ *pr̥kṣ-* ... "les 'forces' des Aśvin sont éventuellement celles que leur confère leur propre attelage, symbole de vitesse et d'efficacité".

³⁷ Not, with Grassmann (*Rig-veda übers.*, I, p. 362) "aufleuchtend schafft Gewährung unsern Bitten".

³⁸ I am not completely convinced by the explication of the word *vidatha-* proposed by P. Thieme, *Untersuchungen zur Wortkunde und Auslegung der Rigveda* (Halle S., 1949), p. 35 ff.

Brhaspati (the subject of the sentence) hat die ganze erfunden".³⁹ Brhaspati was also the god who enabled Devāpi to officiate as a priest for Śantanu by granting him the favour of speech, heard by the gods and causing rain (10, 98, 7, cf. 2). He is also known as a "praising reciter" (*rkvaḥ*, 10, 36, 5), who is accompanied by a shouting and reciting host (4, 50, 5). He himself pronounces the hymn (*mantram ukthyam*) in which Indra and other gods take pleasure (1, 40, 5). In short, later texts not unjustly call him "Lord of speech" (Vācaspati: MS. 2, 6, 6). As such he is also a sage, the most famous of all sages (*kaviṃ kavīnām*; RV. 2, 23, 1). Being a sage he is regarded as able to give wisdom (2, 23, 15). The epithet *saptaśīrṣan-* is in 4, 50, 4 given to Brhaspati himself. As is the case with other compounds beginning with the numeral seven it probably expresses the idea of totality or completeness.⁴⁰ In 10, 67, 1 it is – possibly under the influence of the phrase *sapta dhītayaḥ* – transferred to the *dhiyaḥ*.⁴¹ No less interesting is the second line of this stanza: *turīyaṃ svī janayad viśvajanyo 'yāsya uktham indrāya śaṃsan*. In accordance with 1, 164, 45 where men are stated to speak only a fourth part of speech,⁴² the sage Ayāsyā produced only a fourth of the "visionary speech" when he recited, in honour of Indra, a song of praise.

That the early morning was the point of time that was especially proper to the manifestation of "visions" appears also from other places. RV. 10, 172, of uncertain addressee,⁴³ refers in any case to daybreak (st. 4) and to the resumption of the ritual activities in the early morning (st. 3). There is therefore no objection to our translating the words *ā yāhi vasvyā dhiyā* in st. 2 by "do thou approach with a bright⁴⁴ 'vision'" (not: *anugrahābuddhyā karmaṇā*, Sāyaṇa or "mit gütiger Absicht", Geldner). The god meant by the author is addressed as "the most generous one" (*manhiṣṭha-*). If we may rely on the parallelism between 1 a and 2 a the words (in st. 1) *ā yāhi vanasā saha* might be rendered by "do thou approach

³⁹ Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt*, III, p. 241.

⁴⁰ For the number seven see e.g. Th. Zachariae, *Kleine Schriften* (Bonn-Leipzig, 1920), p. 39 ff.; M. Eliade, *Le chamanisme* (Paris, 1951), p. 248 ff.; W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, IX (Münster), p. 91 f.

⁴¹ For transference of epithets – e.g. from divine persons to their properties, utensils etc. – see *Epithets in the Rgveda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 192 f., 199, 215, 258.

⁴² Cf. also the well-known place 10, 90, 3 and Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 236.

⁴³ See Oldenberg, *Rgveda. Noten*, II, p. 363; Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 396. – For daybreak and "Belebung" see also K. L. Janert, *Sinn und Bedeutung des Wortes "dhāsi"* (Wiesbaden, 1956), p. 13.

⁴⁴ Renou's remark on *vasu-* ("vasu 'lumineux' ... n'est nulle part nécessaire", *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 28), though not incorrect in itself, does not settle the semantic difficulties presented by this adjective.

with the power-of-winning", ⁴⁵ *vanas-*, in accordance with its formation and etymology, being the "Daseinsmacht, power, faculty, ability of winning or gaining"⁴⁶ rather than "Verlangen, Anhänglichkeit oder Lieblichkeit".⁴⁷

In the stanzas called *Raibhīh* (RVKh. 5, 9, 1–3; AV. 20, 127, 4–6; ŚāṅkhŚrS. 12, 15, 1; 14, 4; 5) the *rebhāh* – who are a class of "bards" or panegyrists, and possibly the special heralds of the morning (cf. RV. 1, 127, 10; 6, 3, 6; 9, 71, 7)⁴⁸ are said to "start forth with 'wisdom' (*manīṣā*) at will like cows ...", and are requested to "bring forward their *dhīh* which procures cows (*govidam*) and goods".

The matutinal character of the Aśvins, who are succouring gods par excellence, needs no comment: they are *prātaryāvānau* (e.g. 2, 39, 2), i.e. "they go out early"; they are the children of heaven, the brothers of Dawn (1, 180, 2), the husbands of the daughter of the sun, the speediest helpers and deliverers from distress, and constantly praised for helpful deeds.

The poet of 8, 35 invites the Aśvins to partake of the soma while being accompanied by Agni, Indra, Varuṇa ... all *dhiyaḥ*, the world, heaven and earth, the mountains, the waters, etc. Here the *dhiyaḥ* are obviously distinct from the *stomaḥ* and the *giraḥ* which are, like the *yajñāḥ* in st. 4, to be enjoyed (st. 5 and 6) by the Aśvins (*juṣethām yajñam, stomaḥ, giraḥ, adhvaram*). The *dhiyaḥ* are, moreover, doubtless regarded as divine in character, as a divinity comparable to heaven and earth, water, mountains. Now, what does it mean that the Aśvins are accompanied not only by the matutinal gods Agni, Uṣas, Sūrya (cf. e.g. st. 16), and other divinities but also by the mountains, water, heaven and earth? The answer seems to be that these brothers of Dawn (1, 180, 2) arrive as the deities of morning light before daybreak (e.g. 3, 58, 4) and disperse darkness (3, 39, 3; 4, 45, 6), so that the mountains become visible (cf. 1, 187, 7 *yad ado ... ajagan vivasva parvatānām*) and the world seems so to say to re-appear (in 1, 134, 3 Vāyu – who is also a matutinal deity – is requested to illumine heaven and earth). Heaven and earth are moreover, in 10, 35, 1 called upon to pay, in the early morning, attention to the ritual work.⁴⁹

Thus the *dhīh* obviously belongs to those power-concepts which become manifest or re-appear before daybreak.

Among the many German expressions used by Geldner to render what

⁴⁵ For the ἀπαξ *vanas-* see Oldenberg, *l.c.*; Geldner, *l.c.*

⁴⁶ See *Ancient-Indian ojas*, Latin **augos* and the I.-E. nouns in *-es/-os* (Utrecht, 1952), esp. p. 46 ff.

⁴⁷ Roth in the *Petr. Dict.*, VI, 673.

⁴⁸ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 52.

⁴⁹ Cf. also Geldner's note on 1, 112, 1 (*o.c.*, I², p. 144).

in his opinion is the idea expressed by the term *dhīh* in particular contexts is, in 8, 86, 2, "Erkenntnis". Addressing the Aśvins and imploring them to restore his lost son, Viśvaka observes: *yuvam dhīyam dadathur vasya-iṣṭaye*. Sāyaṇa explaining *dhīyam* by *buddhim*, Geldner translates: "ihr habt (von jeher) die Erkenntnis verliehen, auf dasz man sein Heil suche". Grassmann at the time proposed "Andachtswerk, Gebet". I for one am convinced that this place bears out the evidence furnished by other passages: it is visionary sight, higher knowledge, that is given by the god to those men who are worthy of it, or who are receptive to it and which they may use in order to seek help, refuge or welfare. Compare also the parallel st. 3: "you who give enjoyment to many, have given this prosperity to Viṣṇāpu that he may attain to welfare".

The first stanza of the otherwise rather obscure sūkta 10, 106 furnishes us with a welcome simile: addressing the Aśvins the poet observes *vi tanvāthe dhiyo vastrāpaseva* "ye spread out the *dhiyaḥ* like two skilful men pieces of cloth". That means: the Aśvins are said to unfold the *dhiyaḥ*, to give them full scope. Since the next pāda *sadhrīcīnā yātave prem ajīgaḥ* no doubt refers to the eulogist who is considered to have awakened the gods by means of his recitation (cf. 1, 127, 10; 7, 67, 1; 10, 29, 1), the latter are in all probability not responsible for the eulogist's activities as such; nor are they regarded as the originators of all the words, formulas and stanzas pronounced by the eulogists. If they are the originators of the *dhiyaḥ* these cannot be identical with the recitations which have roused the gods up, unless the latter could inspire a man with *dhiyaḥ* before being awakened. Perhaps however these considerations are too logical.

In 8, 8 the same gods are with considerable repetition invited to come, to enjoy the eulogies and oblations, and to bestow their favour upon their devotees. In st. 2 they are called *kavī gambhīracetasā* "inspired seers of profound mind"; in st. 5 *stomasya vardhanā* "increasers of the eulogium" who are *pra kavī dhītibhiḥ* "being seers are ahead of (others) through (on account of) their 'visions'". Stanza 7 *divaś cid rocanād adhy ā no gantaḥ svarvidā | dhībhir vatsapracetasā stomebhir havanaśrutā* they are requested to come even from the luminous space of heavens, finding (procuring) heavenly light, mindful of (the poet) Vatsa and willing to hear the invocations. What is the function of the two instrumentals? At first sight Geldner's view, according to which they both mean "auf (die Gebete, Loblieder) hin" (and similarly, st. 3 *suṛktibhiḥ*) seems acceptable,⁵⁰ but the order of the words may perhaps be in favour of Sāyaṇa's

⁵⁰ "durch Bitten ... durch Lieder" (Grassmann, Ludwig).

interpretation according to which *dhībhiḥ* (explained as *ātmīyābhir buddhibhiḥ*) belongs as a sociative instrumental to "come" and *stomebhiḥ* (i.e. *stotrair asmatkṛtaiḥ*) as a pure instrumental (sc. *yuyamānau*). Then the gods' sympathy with the "poet" is shown by the "vision" with which they come, their readiness to hear invocations is apparent from the statement that they arrive as soon as they are praised.

The meaning of 6, 50, 10 is ambiguous because the instrumental *dhībhiḥ* may not only belong to the Aśvins who are addressed – and this is in view of the position of this word more probable – but also to the eulogist who by means of the product of his inspiration prevails upon the gods to hear his call (8, 9, 21). The line running as follows: *utā tyā me hāvam ā jagmyātāṃ nāsatyā dhībhir yuvām aṅgā viprā*,⁵¹ "il y a chance que *dhībhiḥ* signifie '(venez) avec vos inspirations', c'est-à-dire avec le pouvoir 'inspirant' qui est le vôtre"⁵²: "et encore: veuillez venir à mon appel ... car vous êtes (donneurs) de pensées-poétiques, ô inspirés!", or rather: "pray come to my call with (your) visions; you only (are able to grant us visions), O inspired ones!", or, with Geldner, *viprā* as a predicative vocative.⁵³ For the Aśvins as *vipras* see 7, 44, 2; 8, 26, 9 *sumatībhir ūpa viprāv ihā gatam*.

Mention must now be made of 8, 26, 25, being the final stanza of a hymn dedicated to the Aśvins and Vāyu. It reads as follows: *sa tvam no deva manasā vāyo mandāno agriyaḥ | kṛdhi vājān apo dhiyaḥ* "while thou, O god, Vāyu, rejoicest with all thy heart as the foremost, create, for us, manifestations of vegetative power and new life, "work" (probably: a product of inspiration), 'visions'". Vāyu, Wind, who is entitled to the first draught of soma (cf. e.g. 1, 134, 1)⁵⁴ because he is (AiBr. 2, 25, 1) the swiftest of the gods, or rather, because as the morning wind he is the first of the divine powers to manifest himself in the early morning and, crossing "all that whatever there is here, he carries the oblation to the gods" (AiBr. 2, 34, 6). There is however room for another observation. Among the gods who are credited with omniscience among many peoples is the Wind.⁵⁵ Like the omniscience of other gods, that of the wind depends upon sight. Like Agni and Varuṇa Vāyu has a thousand eyes (RV. 1, 23, 3). According to the Ngada of Flores the winds have

⁵¹ Grassmann's "ihr vor allen achtsam" (*Rig-veda übers.*, I, p. 280) is erroneous; Ludwig, *o.c.*, I, p. 234: "durch (meine) Gedanken fürwahr".

⁵² Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 85; see also V, 10.

⁵³ For which see A. A. Macdonell, *A Vedic grammar for students*³ (Oxford, 1953), p. 298 f.

⁵⁴ See e.g. A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II³ (Breslau, 1929), p. 294.

⁵⁵ R. Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing god* (London, 1956), p. 10.

eyes to see and ears to hear. The invisible Babylonian Enlil is likewise all-knowing, and the same quality was attributed to Air by Diogenes of Apollonia. As we shall see further on gods who are all-knowing themselves were readily believed to confide at least part of their secrets to those few men who as sages or seers knew how to come into touch with the divine powers.

The same god is together with Indra mentioned in 1, 23, 3: *indravāyū manojuvā viprā havanta ūtaye | sahasrākṣā dhiyas patī* "the inspired sages invoke Indra and Vāyu, who are swift as thought, the thousand-eyed lords of 'visions'". They are in the Vedic ritual the gods of the praūgaśas-tra, one of the hymns at the morning libation during the great soma sacrifice,⁵⁶ which is introduced by the stanza R̥V. Khila 5, 6, 1 = VS. 27, 31 etc.⁵⁷; being recited before the principal hymn it runs as follows: *vāyur agregā yajñapriṣ sākam gan manasā yajñam | śivo niyudbhiṣ śivābhiḥ* "that Vāyu, who goes in front, who delights in worship, come to the act of worship together with manas (wilful, directed, intentional thought) propitious (benevolent), with propitious (benevolent) teams". Referring for the expressions *viprā* and *sahasrākṣā* to the relative observations made in the above pages I would, for a moment, dwell on the phrase *dhiyas patī*, which designating deities presiding over the particular domain of *dhī-* is one of the rather frequent combinations with *pati-* which, as such, are, in the Veda, representatives of a rather "primitive" type of appellations.⁵⁸ Compare e.g. in Lithuanian *Laūkpatis* "Lord of the field"; with the Eskimos all things, even a "concept" like *silā* "universe; weather; intelligence" have a particular "possessor"; the natives of the Indonesian island of Flores call the power of the wind which blows from a certain direction the "Lord" of that direction or quarter of the sky.⁵⁹ These personal lords of impersonal "concepts" or "entities" rule them, represent them and may dispose of them. One might compare Soma's being called (9, 11, 8; 28, 1) *manasas patiḥ*; in 9, 28, 1 this god is at the same time described as *viśvavid-* "all-knowing". The all-knowing one is lord of "thought", he is able to rule or influence the *manaḥ* of men.

The interesting place 1, 88, 4, describing the behaviour of ṛṣis of the Gotama family, states that they have "for days like vultures circled round

⁵⁶ See W. Caland et V. Henri, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906), p. 239 ff.

⁵⁷ J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des R̥gveda* (Breslau, 1906), p. 141.

⁵⁸ I refer to J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 1 (Göttingen, 1905), p. 246; O. Strauss, *Brhaspati im Veda*, Diss. Kiel (Leipzig, 1905); H. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1923), p. 61 f., and to my *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 37.

⁵⁹ See *Notes on Brahman* (Utrecht, 1950), p. 68, 87.

(or pursued), for the Maruts, this *dhīh* and the goddess *Vārkāryā*: *ahāni grāhrāḥ pary ā va* (i.e. the Maruts) *āgur imām dhiyaṃ vārkāryāṃ ca devīm*. "Sie verehrten also die Göttin V. – die die besondere Sangeskunst der Gotama's vorzustellen scheint – und die *dhīh* – wir würden sagen die Muse der Dichtkunst, dasz sie ihnen die Lieder eingeben möge" (Geldner).⁶⁰ Like vultures circling and waiting for an opportunity to snatch away, suddenly and unexpectedly, a prey that comes into their field of vision, thus the ṛṣis after having waited and exercised patience make themselves so to say masters of a "vision" when it suddenly flashes into their minds. With regard to pāda cd it may suffice to quote Geldner's commentary: "Nach solchen Vorbereitungen haben die Gotama's ein feierliches Somaopfer veranstaltet" (*brahma kṛṇvanto gotamāso arkaiḥ* ...).

In R̥V. 10, 11, according to Geldner "der Prolog zu einer Morgensomafeier", it reads (st. 4): *yadī viśo vṛṇate dasmam āryā agniṃ hotāram adha dhīr ajāyata*. I would not translate "das andächtige Lied",⁶¹ but, briefly and to the point, "vision", the sentence meaning "whenever the Aryan communities choose the accomplisher of wonderful deeds Agni as their priest, then a "vision" came (always) into existence". I would therefore hesitate to agree with Geldner in regarding the "Lied" as "fertig".⁶² It would appear to me that the occurrence of *dhiyaḥ* is attributed, by the poet of this sūkta, to Agni.

We may of course ask ourselves how the ancient imagined the "mechanism" of visionary inspiration or of the transmission of visions. Of course, a complete description or theoretical discussion of the ideas they formed of this process may not be expected and we must attempt to discover from places such as the following what it meant to them when they considered a definite activity of the god Agni a determinant factor in their receiving visionary thoughts. In 7, 10, 1 it reads: *vṛṣā hariḥ śucir ā bhāti bhāsā | dhiyo hinvāna uśatīr ajīgaḥ* "the yellow, radiant bull shines brightly, he has stimulated the eager visionary thoughts and has roused them".⁶³ The meaning obviously is that Agni while inflaming exerts a stimulating influence on the mind of the ṛṣi, awaking thoughts which are

⁶⁰ Not, with Sāyaṇa *jyotiṣṭosmādilakṣaṇam karma* or with Grassmann (*Rig-veda übers.*, II, p. 444). "... betrieben die begierigen (Gotamer) dies an euch gerichtete Gebet" ("die tage hindurch haben sie begerend euch umsungen" Ludwig, *o.c.*, II, p. 291).

⁶¹ "Lied" also Grassmann and Ludwig; *yāgādikriyā*, Sāyaṇa.

⁶² Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 136, introductory note.

⁶³ Not "hat angespornt, erweckt inbrünst'ge Andacht" (Grassmann, *Rig-veda übers.*, I, p. 310).

converted into verses, stanzas and hymns. Whether the thoughts or visions are inspired by the god or whether the eulogist possessed them already is not explicitly stated. As however it is the poet himself who describes the process the probabilities are that the *dhiyaḥ* are at least in his opinion new or “original” *dhiyaḥ* and that the process of arousing refers to what we would call inspiration rather than recollection.

Sometimes the *dhiyaḥ* are Agni’s, or to express myself more cautiously, a text speaks of Agni’s *dhiyaḥ*. Cf. 1, 14, 2 *ā tvā kaṇvā ahūṣata | gr̥ṇanti vipra te dhiyaḥ | devebhir agna ā gahi* “the Kaṇvas (the family of the ṛṣi Kaṇva) have invoked thee; O inspired one, they praise thy visions (not with Sāyaṇa: *karmāṇi*, with Ludwig and Grassmann: “Lieder” or with Geldner: “(weise) Gedanken”); come, O Agni, together with the gods”. The sense seems to be that the Kaṇva’s praise – i.e. strengthen or increase⁶⁴ – the god’s “visions” in which they hope to participate. A god or power is sometimes expressly praised in order to aid the eulogist or his patron: 7, 26, 5; 8, 71, 15; cf. also 10, 84, 5.

In accordance with the preceding place Agni is in 6, 1, 1 *tvam hy agne prathamam manotāsyā dhiyo abhavo dasma hotā* explicitly called the first to devise, invent, or “find” by wilful and directed thinking *dhiyaḥ* (“dieses Gedankens erster Erfinder”, Ludwig; “Erreger dieser Andacht”, Grassmann); moreover, he is addressed as a *dasma*, i.e. “an accomplisher of wonderful deeds, i.e. of deeds that are beyond human understanding”. That the *dhiyaḥ* belong to the god Agni who dispenses them to the seers appears also from 1, 14, 2 *gr̥ṇanti* (sc. the Kaṇvas) *vipra (Agni) te dhiyaḥ*.

ṚV. 9, 91, 1 *asarji vakvā rathye yathājau dhiyā manotā prathamam manīṣi*. Here Soma is not only compared to a galloping horse that hurries along in a race, but is also described as the first one to possess the special form of mental activity called *manīṣā*- and a *manōtar*- by means of *dhiḥ*. Whatever the sense of this word, Geldner’s “mit Verständnis nachdenkend” cannot be a suitable translation. The word occurs three times, always characterizing Agni: 2, 9, 4 “thou art the lord of wealth, thou ‘der Erdenker glänzender Rede’” (Geldner) what is more to the point (*tvam śukrasya vacaso manotā*); and 6, 1, 1 *tvam hy agne prathamam manotāsyā dhiyo abhavo dasma hotā* “thou, O Agni, wast the first (ṛṣi who was) inspired with this “vision”, the hotar, O accomplisher of wonderful deeds”. As the god who conveys the offerings to his celestial colleagues Agni is called the hotar, who at the same time guarantees the success of the sacrifice. As a true hotar he is wise, has the gift of speech and the

⁶⁴ Cf. e.g. *Four studies in the language of the Veda* (s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 77; 79 f.

visionary faculty of a seer, that is to say, he is able to “see” the secrets of the divine powers and the hidden connections between and behind the phenomena. The translation of ṚV. 9, 91, 1 must be brought into harmony with that of the other places and considered another piece of evidence of the belief that the seer-god is willing to impart the gift of vision to his worshippers.

To round off the arguments which point to Agni’s possessing the faculty of vision we may briefly consider 10, 11, 1 the second half of which must, with Sāyaṇa and Geldner, be regarded as referring to the god of fire: *viśvaṃ sa veda varuṇo yathā dhiyā sa yajñīyo yajatu yajñīyām ṛtūn*. Geldner’s “Einsicht” – compare also Grassmann’s “er kennt durch Einsicht alles gleich dem V.”⁶⁵ – should be understood as “visionary insight or omniscience” (*ātmānūrūpayā prajñayā*, Sāyaṇa): “he knows all, like Varuṇa, by his *dhiḥ*”. Varuṇa is the omniscient god par excellence, and Agni, the omnipresent one, the *viśvavedas*- (1, 147, 3 etc.), is all-knowing especially in connection with his office of a hotar. Hence also *pāda d*.

That an important part in this process was also played by Sarasvatī, the river goddess, who is in 5, 43, 11 invoked to descend from sky and mountain, is emphasized in 6, 49, 7 *pāvīravī kanyā citrāyuh sarasvatī vīrapatnī dhiyaṃ dhāt | ... gr̥ṇate śarma yaṃsat* “that the daughter of P.”⁶⁶ of wonderful vitality, Sarasvatī whose husband is a heroic man, produce-and-bestow (on us, or help us to) “vision” (not, with Geldner “(gute) Gedanken”); that she extend ... protection to the eulogist”. “Es handelt sich um die Eingebung der dichterischen Wahrheit. ... Es liegt ... die Abfolge von göttlicher Eingebung, Singen und Gewährung des göttlichen Schutzes vor.”⁶⁷ If the word *pāvīravī* really means “proceeding from, or belonging to, the thunderbolt” (cf. *pāvira*- “a weapon with a metallic point”; *pāvīrava*- “having a metallic share (as a plough)” etc.), the epithet may point to the well-known fertilizing or creative function of lightning and beings or phenomena allied with it.⁶⁸ The term *vajra*- the “thunderbolt weapon” is moreover applied to various objects or entities which are instrumental in producing what is good and useful for man in a more general sense. Being a manifestation of celestial light it could, then, have been credited also with a rôle in the process of the manifesta-

⁶⁵ Grassmann, *Rig-veda übersetzt*, II, p. 298.

⁶⁶ Of uncertain significance: see Bergaigne, *Religion védique*, I, p. 252, 327; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 86; M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgef. etym. Wörterbuch des Altind.*, II (Heidelberg, 1957-), p. 238 f.

⁶⁷ H.-P. Schmidt, *Vedisch vrātā und awestisch urvātā* (Hamburg, 1958), p. 30.

⁶⁸ *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (s-Gravenhage, 1954), p. 36 ff.

tion of “visions”. The same goddess functions as a promoter of *dhiyaḥ*: 6, 61, 4 *pra no devī sarasvatī vājebhir vājinīvatī dhīnām avitry avatu* “the goddess S., who is rich in a variety of manifestations of vāja, must further us, as a promoter of *dhiyaḥ*”.

We now come to Pūṣan who may – in prehistoric times – have been a deity of the solar type, worshipped by a pastoral people; he also has such functions and specializations as are connected with ways and paths, with the herds, with the distribution of food, wealth and prosperity and with the conveyance of souls to heaven. This god is in 10, 26, 4 described as furthering inspired thoughts (or making them successful) and as the exciter of the moved poets (*matīnām ca sādhanam viprāṇām cādhavam*). He is moreover in Upanishads the god in charge of the unveiling of “the face of truth which is covered with a golden plate”. BārUp. 5, 15, 1 “unveil it, O Pūṣan, so that I who love the truth may see it” (“it is hidden, for no one whose mind is not concentrated can see it”, Śaṅkara), MaitUp. 6, 35 “do thou, O Pūṣan, uncover that unto the Truly Real, the Pervader” (see also ĪśaUp. 15 f.). This place throws a welcome light upon the function of this god. RV. 6, 53, 1 *vayam u tvā pathas pate ratham na vājasātaye / dhiye pūṣann ayujmahī* “O Lord of the way, we have yoked thee like a chariot for the winning of vāja, for our ‘materialized vision’, O Pūṣan”. Neither “Preisgewinn”⁶⁹ nor “Lohngegnung” (st. 4) is a right translation of *vājasātaye*. For the final dative (“with a view to ...”) compare 10, 105, 3 *śubhe yad yuyuje taviṣīvān*. Geldner’s interpretation “zum Preisgewinn für unser Gebet” is not convincing; both datives are rather syntactically equivalent. The yoking of the god – who is compared to a chariot and not put to the carriage of the poet’s *dhīh* – takes, in my opinion, place in order to obtain a successful vision as well as to gain vāja, both processes being of course a notional hendiadys, as appears also from the final stanza of this hymn: *uta no goṣaṇīm dhiyam aśvasām vājasām uta / nṛvat kṛṇuhi vītaye* “make our *dhīh* one that wins cattle, horses and vāja for our profit in the manner of men”.⁷⁰ The reason why the god of the paths is invoked is clear from st. 4 where the poet expresses the same idea without going into details: *vi patho vājasātaye cinuhi vi mṛdho jahi / sādhanām ugra no dhiyaḥ* “make the paths free for the acquiring of vāja; crush the contemners; let our *dhiyaḥ* attain to their

⁶⁹ Grassmann; cf. also S. D. Atkins, *Pūṣan in the R̥g-veda* (Princeton, 1941), p. 58 “winning of a prize”. Sāyaṇa’s *annasya lābhāya* is more to the point (for *dhiye* he gives: *karmārtham*).

⁷⁰ Geldner otherwise; compare also st. 2 *abhi no naryam vasu naya*; for other attempts to translate this stanza see Atkins, *o.c.*, p. 61.

purpose, O mighty One”. Here it is also completely clear what is meant by the verb *sādh-* in connection with *dhiyaḥ*. Anticipating some passages to which we will have to revert we might observe that in 6, 49, 8 the guardian of the pathways is in a similar way implored to bring every *dhīh* to fulfilment: *dhiyaṁ dhiyaṁ sīṣadhāti pra pūṣā*. Pūṣan’s interest in a successful *dhīh* is also excited in 3, 62, 8 “take pleasure in my eulogy, further my *dhīh* that strives after vāja (*vājayantīm avā dhiyam*)”. In 1, 90, 5 Viṣṇu is invoked also: *uta no dhiyo goagrāḥ pūṣan viṣṇav evayāvah / kartā naḥ svastimataḥ*: “make our *dhiyaḥ* ‘propres à culminer en (un don de) vaches’”.⁷¹

It is now time to turn to the phrase *dhiyaṁ dhā-*. As stated elsewhere it means in 6, 49, 7, where the goddess Sarasvatī is the subject, “to produce and bestow ‘vision’ on (the ṛṣi)”. A similar sense must be attributed to this word group in the parenthesis in 1, 168, 1 *dhiyaṁ dhiyaṁ vo devayā u dadhidhve*, where the interpretation proposed by Oldenberg⁷² and Geldner⁷³ *devayāḥ (dhiyaḥ) dhiyaṁ dhiyaṁ dadhidhve* is possible, although *devayā(h)* which 3, 8, 5 belongs to the *viprah* whose words go to the gods (cf. 5, 76, 1) might, as an example of a *persona pro re* construction,⁷⁴ qualify the subject, i.e. the Maruts. The middle form of the verb may however also induce us to translate: “you possess (keep) every *dhīh* of yours” – as is well known, a mighty being known as possessing a desirable good is expected to be liberal and munificent and to place part of his specific possessions at the disposal of his devotees.⁷⁵ RV. 7, 34, 8 *sādhann rtena dhiyaṁ dadhāmi* was however translated by Geldner “ich mache ein Gedicht, es mit der Wahrheit vollendend”, by Lüders⁷⁶: “ich bringe das Lied dar, durch die Wahrheit zum Ziele dringend”. Since the poet, who must be the subject of these verbs, continues (st. 9): *abhi vo devīm dhiyaṁ dadhidhvam* “put on (clothe yourselves with) the divine *dhīh*”, the meaning of st. 8 b seems to be “I produce (i.e. turn by intellectual effort ‘raw material’ into something useful) or execute (give concrete shape to) the *dhīh*” so that this phrase could obviously be used in connection with the deity as well as the poet who had received the “vision” and

⁷¹ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 21; V, p. 4.

⁷² Oldenberg, *R̥gveda. Noten*, I, p. 168.

⁷³ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 244.

⁷⁴ I refer to W. Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax* (Heidelberg, 1931), p. 165 f. and my treatise *Ellipsis, Brachylogy ... in the R̥gveda* (Amsterdam Academy, 1960), p. 56 f.

⁷⁵ See *Epithets in the R̥gveda*, p. 42 ff.

⁷⁶ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 420.

now on the strength of the inherent ṛta (cf. 3, 4, 3) completes and performs it and pronounces it as a "hymn". Addressing the sacrifice on which he, so to say, bestows his *dhīh* and which is represented as a chariot he now asks it to convey the pronounced speech to the gods. Curiously enough, Geldner translates the same phrase in 10, 46, 5 by "halten sie ihre Andacht". This stanza deals with the priests conducting Agni – who is *inter alia* called "wise, sharp-sighted" (*amūram*) and "a bestower of inspiration" (*vipodhām*, not with Geldner, "den Reden Haltenden") – to his place on the sacrificial ground; while doing so they produce *dhīh* (*dhiyaṃ dhuh*), that is to say, they give concrete shape to the "visions" which they have received, reciting the texts into which they are converting them.

This explication is in harmony with the use of the adjective compound *dhiyaṃdhā-* in 1, 67, 4 *vidantīm atra naro dhiyaṃdhā hrdā yat taṣṭān mantrām aśaṃsan* "there the men who produce visionary texts, or, perhaps keep (possess) visionary insight, find (*sic*) him (Agni), when they recited (*sic*) the sacred-and-powerful texts, which they had fashioned with (in) their heart (mind)". Here neither Grassmann's "andächtig" nor Geldner's "sinnend" would be to the point. "Recipients of visionary insight" is, as far as I am able to see, also the shade of meaning in 1, 72, 2 describing the activity of the same patriarchs who succeed in finding Agni's hiding-place: *śramayuvāḥ padavyo dhiyaṃdhās tasthuh pade parame cārv agneḥ*.

The same compound occurs in the final (7th) stanza of 4, 45 which deals with the chariot of the *Ásvins*: *pra vām avocam ásvinā dhiyaṃdhā rathah ... yo asti* "ich habe dichtend von eurem Wagen Kunde gegeben, O *Ásvin*" (Geldner). Here also the poet may call himself a recipient of a *dhīh*. One might with regard to the "double aspect" of a compound in *-dhā-* compare *vayodhā-*: the son of a noble family, when called in 2, 3, 9 a *vayodhāḥ* is a recipient of youthful vitality although he may also be expected to develop this valuable quality and to bring it into play for the benefit of his family and relatives. When Indra is 3, 31, 18 described as a *vṛṣabho vayodhāḥ* he is no doubt supposed to part with this desirable vital power. In 3, 49, 3 qualifying the same god as victorious and liberal, the translation "kraftverleihend" (Geldner) is however perfectly apposite. Compare also *canodhāḥ* in VS. 8, 7: *sāvitro 'si canodhās canodhā asi cano mayi dhehi* "thou art Savitar's container (giver) of delight; thou art a container (giver) of delight; vouchsafe me delight".

Turning now to 10, 61, 18 ... *divi te dhiyaṃdhā nābhānediṣṭho rapati pra venan* I would modify Geldner's translation ("... auf dich im Himmel sein Denken richtend ... flüstert (im Geiste) weiterschauend also ...") as

follows: "Nābhānediṣṭha (the author of the hymn?"), the recipient of thy "vision" (of the vision given by thee, i.e. Agni) in heaven, whispers, looking out eagerly (for a "vision" or an inspiration)". Where however the adjective qualifies the gods in a context such as 7, 2, 2 Geldner's "(fromme) Gedanken (rather: vision, inspiration) eingebend" is decidedly to be preferred to Grassmann's "achtsam"⁷⁸ or Roth's "nachdenkend, andächtig; verständig"⁷⁹: the gods are *sukratavaḥ śucayo dhiyaṃdhāḥ* "well possessed of resourcefulness, pure, (possessing and) bestowing vision(s)". Similarly, 7, 13, 1 *agnaye viśvaśuce dhiyaṃdhe ... vaiśvānarāya yataye matīnām*.

The wealth and variety of expressions serving to denote the different attitudes of gods and seers to *dhīh*, the various ways in which the former were concerned with it, and the latter received it or benefitted by it may also appear from the following places. RV. 7, 37, 5 *sanitāsi pravato dāśuṣe cid yābhir viveṣo | haryaśva dhībhiḥ* can hardly mean: "du gewinnst selbst dem Freigebigen den Vorsprung ab nach den Absichten, mit denen du (etwas) unternimmst ..." (Geldner), because *dhīh* is not "Absicht" and *pravat-* stands for "sloping path, smooth or swift course". The sense must be that Indra "grâce aux inspirations par lesquelles il s'active (en faveur de son adorateur)"⁸⁰ gains, for his worshipper, a smooth course. I would prefer this interpretation to "... grâce à (ses) poèmes par quoi tu (Indra) es mis en branle".⁸¹

The passage 8, 92, 11 should be considered in close connection to the preceding: *ayāma dhīvato dhiyo 'rvadbhiḥ śakra godare | jayema prtsu vajrivaḥ* "well then, we should like to acquire the 'visions' of him (viz. a god) who possesses visions, as it were with the help of race-horses in contests, O mighty one, opener of (the byres of) the cows, bearer of the vajra". Taken by itself this stanza may admit of the translation: "we should like to score a victory over the *dhīh* "des priesterlichen Konkurrenten"⁸²; thus Oldenberg and Geldner ("die Dichtungen des Dichtenden (wie) mit Rennpferden in den Kämpfen besiegen"). The parallel passage 8, 68, 9 ... *mahad dhanam | jayema prtsu vajrivaḥ* is however unambiguous:

⁷⁷ Cf. Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 225.

⁷⁸ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 681.

⁷⁹ Roth, in the *Petr. Dict.*, III, 960.

⁸⁰ Cf. Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 100.

⁸¹ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 43. Anyhow, neither Grassmann's "... schenkest raschen Fortgang dem Frommen, wenn du seinen Bitten hold bist" nor Ludwig's "erbeuter des wassers bist du auch dem spender (mir) vermöge der gedanken, mit denen du wirktest" can serve.

⁸² Oldenberg, *Rgveda. Noten*, II, p. 143; here Sāyaṇa gives *yuddhajayārtham karmāṇi*

“... den groszen Preis in den Schlachten ersiegen” (Geldner). The verb *ji-* is, in the sense of “to gain”, several times connected with *vājam* (e.g. 9, 44, 6), *śravaḥ* “renown” (e.g. 9, 86, 40), the light of heaven (e.g. 8, 15, 12), the waters (e.g. 5, 30, 5), i.e. other highly desirable and important objects of value. The same verb may, it is true, govern, in the Rgveda, objects such as *spr̥dhaḥ* “rival, rivalry” (10, 18, 9), it does not, however, accompany words for “hymn, eulogy etc.”.

In inviting Indra to the soma feast the poet of 8, 3, 1 expresses two wishes: *āpir no bodhi sadhamādhyo vrdhe smāṃ avantu te dhiyaḥ* “be thou our friend⁸³ and fellow-reveller that we may prosper; let thy visions or visionary faculties assist us”. The term *dhiyaḥ* may refer to visions given by the god, to the “texts” representing the elaborated visions, or to the god’s own supranormal power of sight; and possibly to all three aspects of what was for the poet one indivisible concept. Sāyaṇa’s *buddhayo ’nugrahātmikāḥ* points to the right direction. Anyhow, Geldner’s “Absichten” is incorrect.

As is well known the Ṛbhus are frequently related to have acquired the rank of gods in consequence of their marvellous skill. They made one cup into four, fashioned a cow, forming her out of hide; in short, they are characteristically skilful and deft-handed. Now, according to 3, 60, 2 they formed the cups by means of powerful ability (*śacībhiḥ*), they “extracted” the cow from a hide by means of “the power of vision” (*dhiyā: prajñayā*, Sāyaṇa; “Erfindungsgeist” Geldner, rather a flash of intuition and a visionary insight into the possibility and the working of a new method), and they fashioned Indra’s two bay steeds by means of intentional and directed thought (*manasā*). By these deeds, the stanza concludes, they acquired the position of gods. The text remains silent on the question as to how the *dhīh* came to the Ṛbhus. So much seems however evident, that the word does not refer to a hymn or prayer. Cf. also 1, 161, 7 and 4, 36, 4 *nis carmaṇo gām ariṇā dhītibhiḥ*.

When it is, in 3, 38, 5, stated that the two grandsons or descendants of heaven wield power the poet seems to have in view Mitra and Varuṇa rather than the Aśvins who are usually known by that title,⁸⁴ because the dominion of the former pair is often mentioned. Geldner’s translation of this line is, however, highly improbable: *divo napātā vidathasya dhībhiḥ kṣatram rājānā pradivo dadhāthe* “... übet im Geiste der Weisheit von jeher die Herrschaft aus”.⁸⁵ Being convinced that *dhīh* does not mean

⁸³ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VII, p. 26.

⁸⁴ See also Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 380.

⁸⁵ Cf. also Grassmann, *Rig-veda übers.*, I, p. 531; Ludwig, *o.c.*, II, p. 79.

“Geist” in the above sense, I would propose: “... you wield from of old the sceptre over the performance of the rites⁸⁶ by means of your *dhiyaḥ*”. It might, it is true, be objected, that *kṣatram* “dominion” is, in the Rgveda, never qualified by a noun in the genitive. The statement, made in 7, 66, 10: *trīṇi ye yemur vidathāni dhītibhiḥ*, obscure though it is, may on the other hand point the in same direction.

It is therefore not surprising that the other beings of superhuman rank exert a beneficial influence upon the *dhiyaḥ*. According to 10, 139, 5 the gandharva Viśvāvasu may be expected to stimulate or promote the “visions” and to assist or favour them: *viśvāvasur abhi tan no gr̥ātu divyo gandharvo rajaso vimānaḥ | yad vā ghā satyam uta yan na vidma dhiyo hinvāno dhiya in no avyāḥ* “Viśvāvasu must direct his propitious words to us, the heavenly gandharva, the traverser of space, which are in accordance with reality, and which we do not know, stimulating our “visions” may he favour them”.⁸⁷ In the next stanza this gandharva acts as a revealer of a secret: *prāsāṃ gandharvo amṛtāni vocat* “the gandharva told (revealed) their (viz. of the cows) immortal names (i.e. he revealed their very nature)”, and a similar function is attributed to “the gandharva” in AV. 2, 1, 2 *pra tad voced amṛtasya vidvān gandharvo dhāma paramaṃ guhā yat | trīṇi padāni nihitā guhāsyā ...* “may the gandharva, knower of the immortal, proclaim that highest abode that is in secret; three quarters of it (are) deposited in secret ...”.⁸⁸ Being genii of conception and procreation, who keep watch over the place of conception and of the depository of the soma, they know the divine secret, and proclaim *vāc-* (“speech”: RV. 10, 177, 2). In the higher literature of later times they are the celestial singers and musicians: music was from the religious point of view important because it furthered and restored “majesty” and strengthened the good powers.⁸⁹ There can be hardly any doubt that “the gandharva” is represented as a mediator between the divine secrets and the minds of men: revealing speech and stimulating *dhīh* he disclosed to them what they did not know previously.

An enlightening statement is made in 8, 101, 16 where the cow, calling herself the mother of the Rudras, the sister of the Ādityas, the navel of immortality, refuses to be slaughtered as a sacrificial animal: *vacovidam vācam udīrayantīm viśvābhir dhībhir upatiṣṭhamānām | devīm devebhyah*

⁸⁶ For *vidatha-* cf. also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 36.

⁸⁷ For a discussion of this passage see Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 537 ff.

⁸⁸ For parallels and variants see W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā* (Harvard, 1905), p. 38.

⁸⁹ See, in general, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 100 f.

pary eyuṣīm gām ā māvr̥kta martyo dabhracetāḥ. In substantial accordance with Geldner's interpretation of the syntax of this stanza these words mean: "me who finds (produces, procures) speech, who causes speech to come forth, who approaches with all "visions", the divine cow, who has come from the gods – me, the mortal of deficient mind, has appropriated". There is however another possibility: "me, who raises my voice which knows how to find (procure) word(s), who comes friendly together with all "visions" etc." Here the cow, which in st. 15 has identified herself with Aditi,⁹⁰ is represented as having descended from the regions of the gods in order to rouse visionary speech to activity among men. The cow which by representing abundance of food preserves life appears, in this passage, also as a mediator between the Invisible and the world of men in that she transmits speech and "vision", two faculties indispensable to those beings who want to rise above the level of inertia, materiality or an animal existence, and who aspire to the higher forms of humanity. There are other passages in the Rgveda in which cow and speech are associated.⁹¹ The voice of this useful and beloved animal was according to 6, 28, 2⁹² auspicious, and the epithet which expressed this quality is coupled with the statement that the cow blesses the house: *bhadraṃ gr̥haṃ kṛṇuṭha bhadravācaḥ*. Cows are a manifestation of Bhaga, the god who dispenses fortune and happiness, of Indra and of a draught of fresh soma (st. 5). They are, indeed, bringers of happiness and prosperity (st. 1). These words refer to the earthly cow, but in 8, 101, 15 f. this animal appears to be in touch with the world of the gods. The same inference may be made from 1, 153, 3; 9, 96, 15 where Aditi, obviously as a cow, is said to yield milk. In 8, 100, 10 and 11 Vāk "Word, Speech" (la Parole), the ruler of the gods, speaking unintelligible (things), sat down pleasantly and gave from four (teats)⁹³ nutritive food and milk. The divine character of Vāk is confirmed by the next stanza: she (*devīṃ vācam*) has been generated by the gods; the animals of various forms utter her (*tāṃ ... vadanti*); she is a milch-cow of agreeable speech and yields refreshment and nutritive food; "highly praised she must come to us". The second pāda no doubt intimates that all animals, – and the word *paśavaḥ* includes man (cf. 3, 62 14) – owe their faculty of speech to this goddess Vāk who is imagined as

⁹⁰ I refer to M. A. Muusses, *Koecultus bij de Hindoes*, Thesis Utrecht 1920, p. 8 ff.; for Aditi, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 83 f., 102 f.

⁹¹ For some relevant observations see B. Essers, *Vāc. Het woord als godsgestalte en godgeleerdheid in de Veda*, Thesis Groningen 1952, p. 84 ff.

⁹² RV. 6, 28, 1-7 correspond to AV. 4, 21.

⁹³ See Oldenberg, *Rgveda. Noten*, II, p. 150; Geldner's note (o.c., II, p. 429).

a milch-cow.⁹⁴ The identity of Vāk and cow is taught also in the Naigh. 1, 11; according to BārU. 5, 8, 1 "one should in meditative thought identify speech with a milch-cow" (*vācam dhenum upāsita*); "she has four udders which are the sounds *svāhā*, *vaṣaṭ*, *hanta* and *svadhā*; the gods live on two of her udders, mankind on the sound *hanta*, the Fathers on the sound *svadhā*" "Speech yields milk and the milk is speech" is also the opinion of the author of the ChU. 1, 3, 7.

A tradition of special importance in this connection concerns Sasarparī, a name designating, according to a later interpretation, a particular kind of skill in speech which Viśvāmitra obtained from the Jamadagnis⁹⁵: "the former was once forcibly deprived of consciousness; the Jamadagnis gave him Speech called S. (*nāmnā vācam sasarpārīm*), daughter of Brahmā or of the Sun, having brought her from the dwelling of the Sun. Then that speech dispelled that loss of thought (*amatim*)". Now RV. 3, 53, 15 furnishes us with the information that this Sasarparī, the daughter of Sūrya, who drives away the *amatim*, lowed powerfully when she was given by (the) Jamadagni(s). "She – obviously again conceived as a cow – extended her immortal unfading fame (or, probably, rather: sound) far into (the realm of) the gods". The "image" of the cow, bearer of a mysterious and highly nutritive power, elucidates how Speech, daughter of the Sun, destroyed the unconsciousness of the ṛṣi. In 9, 72, 3 the beloved roar of Sūrya's daughter (*sūryasya priyaṃ duhitus ... ravam*) is (cf. also 9, 1, 6)⁹⁶ accordingly the sound of the priestly recitations accompanying the preparation of the soma, "die dem Viśvāmitra verliehene Rede- und Gesangesgabe". It may be remembered that the cow is, in the TaittS. 1, 2, 4 f., identified not only with Aditi, but also with the intellectual and perceptive functions, voluntative and directed thought, "vision", and the gift to be offered to the priest(s) officiating at the sacrifices; she is, moreover, worthy of worship and endowed with sovereignty (*cid asi manāsi*⁹⁷ *dhīr asi dakṣiṇāsi yajñiāsi kṣatriyāsy aditir asy ubhayataḥ śīrṣṇī*). The epithet which is added to the name of Aditi is of special interest, because "omniscient" gods are often supposed to possess two heads looking different ways. With the Greeks Argos Panoptes, "who sees everything", has more than the normal number of eyes, that means: he has a universal

⁹⁴ An individual example of this exalted kind of animal is the Sabardughā who fulfils all wishes (1, 134, 4).

⁹⁵ See Brhaddevatā 4, 112, ff. and Macdonell's notes (A. A. Macdonell, *The Brhaddevatā*, II, Cambridge, Mass., p. 156 f.).

⁹⁶ See Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, II: *Kommentar* (Stuttgart, 1909), p. 140.

⁹⁷ See A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School* (Cambridge, Mass., 1914), p. 24. For this passage cf. also W. Caland et V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906), p. 36.

power of sight. Sometimes he is shown with two faces which look opposite ways. Another bicephalous deity is Boreas, the wind-god, who goes about everywhere and therefore sees and knows everything. The Phoenician El, who was identified with the Greek Kronos, was credited with having four eyes, two before and two behind, which were the mark of his sovereignty. This El was the “father of mankind”, a judge and supremely wise, and may probably be identified with a two-faced figure on archaeological objects.⁹⁸ These considerations may perhaps induce us to follow, in attempting to explain the sense of the above epithet, the same course as Uvaṭa on VS. 4, 19 where the line recurs (*vākye padānām anyathā cānyathā ca kramo bhavatīty etadabhiprāyam*); see also Griffith’s commentary⁹⁹: “... facing both ways, regarded as Vāk or Speech”.

The above considerations may in interpreting the stanza 10, 101, 9 turn the scale in favour of the first possibility indicated by Geldner¹⁰⁰: “*vaḥ* kann mit *dhiyam* oder mit *ūtaye* verbunden werden. ... Im ersten Fall ist *dhī-* das göttliche Denken (rather the “(faculty of) vision” possessed and given by the gods: *devīm*), im zweiten die Dichtkunst”. I would therefore render the words *ā vo dhiyam yajñīyām varta ūtaye devā devīm ... iha | sā no duhīyad ... mahī gauḥ* as follows: “I draw hither, O gods, your divine (power of) ‘vision’, which is suitable for worship, in order to win your favour ...; she, the great cow, may give us milk ...”.¹⁰¹ Other elements of the sentence (*ā*; the use of *ūtaye*; the adjective *yajñīya-* which is in most cases an attribute of the gods or of *stoma-* (3, 60, 7), *manas-* (7, 67, 1)) point in the same direction. Compare also 7, 27, 5 *ā te mano vavṛtyāma maghāya*.

Once it is admitted that the central or most characteristic sense of *dhīh* is what may approximately be indicated by our “vision”, passages such as RV. 7, 94, 4 *indre agnā namo br̥hat suvṛktim erayāmahe | dhiyā dhenā avasyavaḥ* become perfectly clear: “being desirous of help, we direct (our) firm (resolute) adoration,¹⁰² (our) ‘hymn,’ our ‘prayers’, with

⁹⁸ See Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing god* (London, 1956), p. 17, 90, 151 etc.

⁹⁹ R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*² (Benares, 1927), p. 34.

¹⁰⁰ Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 316.

¹⁰¹ For the interpretation of this stanza see also W. P. Schmid, “Die Kuh auf der Weide”, in *I.F.*, 64, p. 4 f., who after considering the merits of a translation “zu euch lenke ich mein opferbereiten Gedicht, damit ihr uns beisteht, ihr Götter” prefers “wegen der Konstruktion darin das opfergeneigte Denken der Götter (zu) sehen”. When, however, he finally arrives at the conclusion that both senses are to be read in these words, I have my doubts, however much the *dhīh* moves, so to say in a cycle or, to quote Schmid, “turns a ‘Kreislauf’”. Sāyaṇa regards *dhiyam* as synonymous with *buddhim*.

¹⁰² What is “eine hohe Verbeugung” (Geldner)?

dhīh” – i.e. which have been achieved by means of *dhīh* i.e. “vision”, or, which presuppose *dhīh* – to Indra and Agni”. It seems warranted to infer that *dhiyā* far from answering to “unter Nachsinnen” (Geldner) expresses the author’s conviction that his liturgical words originated in vision and inspiration.

The question now to consider is whether the stanza RV. 1, 151, 6 has been correctly understood by Geldner, Lüders,¹⁰³ and Renou.¹⁰⁴ It was translated by the first as follows: “Die Langhaarigen schrieen eurem Gesetz zu, während ihr, Mitra und Varuṇa, den Weg vorsinget. Entbindet selbst, befruchtet die Gedanken! Ihr leitet das Dichten des Redekundigen” (*ā vām ṛtāya keśinīr anūṣata mitra yatra varuṇa gātum arcathah | ava tmanā srjataṃ pinvataṃ dhiyo yuvaṃ viprasya manmanām irajyathah*). Whereas the German authorities join Sāyaṇa in identifying the long-haired females with the flames of the sacrificial flames (*keśavatyō ’gner jvālāḥ*),¹⁰⁵ Renou prefers to view them as “type de femelles associées sur un plan mineur à une personnalité divine (mâle), en partie comme projections à partir d’elle”. There is something to be said for both points of view, but one is also reminded, first of the long-haired deities of 1, 164, 44, in all probability Agni, Sūrya and Vāyu, who are not rarely concerned in promoting the visions of the ṛṣi’s, and who are not rarely the addressees of hymns notable by their philosophical depth, and in the second place of the long-haired muni of 10, 136, who claims to speed along with the wind on the path of the Gandharvas and the Apsarasas, who being urged on by the gods who have entered into him and being wrought up into an ecstatic state, is the friend of Vāyu; who knows the secret desires, supports Agni and the two parts of the universe; who is heaven and light and whose soiled garments, like those of the ascetics of later and modern times, are of yellow hue.¹⁰⁶ If therefore in 1, 151, 6 some female deities are meant, the question arises as to why they are indicated by the adjective *keśinīh*. As is well known, shamans, magicians, yogins, ascetics not rarely allow their hair to grow long, never combing or cleaning it. The hair of these men is, moreover, often considered the token or seat of their special power, strength, “second soul” or whatever description may serve to give an idea of their special virtue.¹⁰⁷ Thus many interesting facts might be

¹⁰³ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 430 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 76; VII, p. 36.

¹⁰⁵ Similarly, Grassmann, *Rig-veda übers.*, II, p. 152; Ludwig, *o.c.*, IV, p. 102. The phrase *pinvataṃ dhiyaḥ* means, according to Sāyaṇa, *asmadiyāni karmāṇi vardhayatam*.

¹⁰⁶ See J. W. Hauer, *Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis* (Stuttgart, 1922), p. 169 ff.; E. Arbman, *Rudra* (Uppsala, 1929), p. 298 f.; cf. also *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 184.

¹⁰⁷ See e.g. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Abr. ed. (London, 1957), Index p. 948,

adduced from various countries to show the belief in the hair possessing a large and important part of the owner's “power” and personality,¹⁰⁸ one of the finest instances being Samson in Judges, ch. 13 ff. Among these is the custom obtaining among the Indian ascetics to dress their hair in some unusual fashion or to allow it to grow wild and matted¹⁰⁹; the fear of the Vedic Indian that the sacrificer's “lustre” (*varcaḥ*) should leave him together with the shaved or clipped hair, this part of the body being according to JaimBr. 2, 204 the seat of a man's *śrī*¹¹⁰; and the belief in the existence of long-haired male and female daemons (e. g. AV. 8, 6, 5; 12, 5, 48) are well known.

Among the ancient Indian gods it is Rudra, “die als göttlich erfahrene Macht der unkultivierten und daher ungebändigten, eigenwilligen, unberechenbaren, gefährlichen und gefürchteten Natur”,¹¹¹ whose hosts or attendants are described as “the hairy ones”: AV. 11, 2, 31 *namas te ghoṣiṇībhyo namas te keśiṇībhyah | namo namaskṛtābhyo namaḥ saṃbhuñjatibhyah | namas te deva senābhyah svasti no abhayaṃ ca naḥ* “homage to the noisy ones, homage to the hairy ones, homage to those to whom homage is paid, homage to those that enjoy together, homage, O god, to thine armies; welfare be to us and safety to us”. In later times Durgā, Śiva's spouse, is characterized as Keśinī. It may therefore be warranted to consider the possibility of the following explication of the word *keśinīḥ* in 1, 151, 6a: “(semi-) divine females wearing long hair as a token of their ‘yogic’ qualities.”

The translations “schriee zu” (Geldner) or “brüllten” (Lüders) are, in my opinion, not adequate. The verb *nu-* and its compounds express, in the Ṛgveda, also the idea of “cheering, applauding, praising”, an activity

s.v. (some Indian instances on p. 891 f.); H. Webster, *Magic* (Stanford Cal., 1948), p. 254; R. Thurnwald in *Archiv für Religionswiss.*, 27 (1929), p. 101 f.; M. Riem-schneider, *Der Wettergott* (Leipzig, 1956), p. 124 ff.; H. Wagenvoort, *Roman Dynamism* (Oxford, 1947), p. 141 f.; R. E. Onians, *The origins of European thought* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 109 ff., p. 130 f.; in general, Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics* (Edinburgh, 1908-1926), VI, p. 474 ff.; *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1927-1937), III, 1259 ff.

¹⁰⁸ For witches etc. in modern India see e.g. also W. Koppers, *Die Bhil in Zentral-indien* (Wien, 1948), p. 292; E. Thurston, *Omens and superstitions of Southern India* (London, 1912), Index, p. 315.

¹⁰⁹ See e.g. J. Campbell Oman, *The mystics, ascetics and saints of India* (London, 1903), p. 39; R. Schmidt, *Fakire und Fakirtum* (Berlin, 1921), p. 35; W. Croke, *Popular religion and folk-lore of Northern-India* (Westminster, 1896), I, p. 239; J. N. Farquhar, *The crown of Hinduism* (Oxford, 1913), p. 267.

¹¹⁰ For other details in connection with the hair in Vedic times see J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 215.

¹¹¹ *Die Religionen Indiens, I: Veda und älterer Hinduismus* (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 89.

to which the Indian attributed a fortifying and wholesome effect.¹¹² In 8, 63, 5 *śvātram arkā anūṣatendra gotrasya dāvane* the hymns of praise are said to have, by cheering, inspired the energy in the god Indra with regard to (for) giving the cow-herd.¹¹³ Elsewhere the eulogists “raise shouts with words of praise” to the same god on behalf of their patrons: 8, 88, 1 *indram gīrbhir navāmahe*; 6, 38, 3. In 6, 7, 2 and 4 it is Agni Vaiśvānara, the navel of the acts of worship, the seat of riches, who is in this way greeted with cheers by the gods. See also 10, 71, 3; 1, 164, 3-4; 8, 95, 1; 9, 12, 2. As the verb is regularly accompanied by an accusative of the person Geldner's and Lüders' translations are improbable, and the existence of an adverbial *ṛtāya* in the ṚV. is problematic. I would translate pāda a: “the long-haired females have cheered ye, M. and V., with a view to ṛta (i.e. for the furtherance or advantage of ṛta, so as to strengthen ṛta)”. As far as *ṛtāya* is concerned ṚV. 1, 153, 3 seems to be a parallel: *pīpāya dhenur aditir ṛtāya janāya mītrāvaruṇā havirde*¹¹⁴; one is tempted to compare also 1, 151, 3¹¹⁵ “the peoples celebrate your birth (O Mitra and Varuṇa) ... with a view to obtain great ability (*dakṣase mahe*). When ye bring (impart) that to the (manifestations of) ṛta, to the courser (which is to win *vājah*) (*yad im ṛtāya bharatho yad arvate*), then ye promote, by means of the oblation, the course of the sacrificial acts in an industrious way”. For the verb *bharathaḥ* compare 4, 16, 16, where Indra “brings” *vājah* to the eulogist; 2, 16, 4 where the same god receives, in a similar way *kratuḥ* “resourcefulness”; in 10, 30, 12 the waters bring *kratuḥ* and *amṛtam*.

Returning to 1, 151, 6 I would translate pāda b like Renou “when ye sing the progress (welfare, possibly for the singer *cum suis*, for the devotees, but preferably: the success of the actions to be mentioned in pāda 3)”; cf. st. 2 *gātum arcate*, and for the implications 1, 9, 10 *indrāya śūṣam arcati* “he sings Indra's strength”, i.e. “he strengthens Indra by singing (‘ein (Lied) als Ansporn’, Geldner)”; 10, 96, 2 *indrāya śūṣam ... arcata* (“singet dem I. ein stärkendes Lied” Geldner); 10, 133, 1.

In the third pāda the gods are requested to “discharge” or “emit from themselves” the visions or inspirations and to make these swell: the twofold activity expected, in connection with *dhiyah*, from those gods who concern themselves about them. If the above interpretation of the first

¹¹² I refer to my treatise “Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung und Wesen des indischen Dramas”, in *Acta Orientalia*, 19 (Leiden, 1943), p. 438 ff.

¹¹³ For *śvātra-* see Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 34.

¹¹⁴ Otherwise Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 212; Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 424 f.; Renou, *o.c.*, V, p. 77.

¹¹⁵ For this difficult stanza see also Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 432; Renou, *o.c.*, VII, p. 35.

line be correct, Mitra and Varuṇa are only expected to produce the visions when they themselves have started singing to the accompaniment of a strengthening applause of powerful beings (or phenomena). The verb *ava-srjate* is characteristically also used in connection with rain (5, 62, 3; 10, 113, 4), rivers (1, 32, 12), and water which is allowed to flow away.

Returning for a moment to the god Agni it may be observed that he is also requested to stimulate those speaking so as to enable them to achieve their purposes. 1, 27, 11 *sa no mahāṃ animāno | dhūmaketuḥ puruścandraḥ | dhiye vājāya hinvatu*.¹¹⁶ It is worth noticing that the name of the god is in this line accompanied by no less than three epithets. Although *dhūmaketu-* "(the) smoke-bannered (one)" has often become more or less fixed, serving merely to remind the hearers of the god's identity,¹¹⁷ it is also used to lay special emphasis on an important side of his character, viz. his going upwards and coming into contact with the celestial powers (cf. 5, 11, 3; 7, 2, 1; 3, 3).¹¹⁸ By the words "resplendent one" and "the one beyond measure" attention is no doubt invited to his character as a god of light and unlimited activity. For *hinvatu* compare 8, 71, 5 *yaṃ tvam vipra medhasātāv agne hinoṣi dhanāya* ("jemand dazu gelangen lassen" Grassmann); 6, 45, 30 *asme rāye mahe hinu* (Indra is the addressee); 9, 36, 3 *kratve dakṣāya no hinu* (Soma is the subject). Thus Agni is in 1, 27, 11 implored to stimulate the seer or poet who is speaking into an effort to obtain a "vision" and vāja (perhaps: a "vision" and, hence, vāja).

We now come to the famous stanza 3, 62, 10, the Sāvitrī or Gāyatrī: *tat savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi | dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt*. The more or less traditional interpretation: "eine Bitte um Erleuchtung, d.h. um Inspiration"¹¹⁹ is no doubt right. The injunctive *dhīmahi* being indifferent as to mood and tense should, also in connection with the following subjunctive, be best translated by an expression stating a wish or hope: "we should like (we hope) to obtain that desirable (excellent) radiance (light, brightness) of Savitar (the "generator" or divine "stimulator", the light of heaven in its dynamic, moving and mobile aspect, the divine "motor" which impels the sun with which it is sometimes

¹¹⁶ Not "zu Kraft und Einsicht führ' er uns" (Grassmann, *Rig-veda übers.*, II, p. 27).

¹¹⁷ See *Epithets in the Rgveda*, p. 82 f.

¹¹⁸ It may perhaps be remembered that the inhalation of smoke is a mode of producing temporary inspiration. "In the Hindukush a fire is kindled with twigs of the sacred cedar; and the Dainyal or Sibyl, with a cloth over her head, inhales the thick pungent smoke till she is seized with convulsions and falls senseless to the ground. Soon she rises and raises a shrill chant, which is caught up and loudly repeated by her audience. So Apollo's prophetess ate the sacred laurel and was fumigated with it before she prophesied ..." (J. G. Frazer, *The golden Bough*, Abr. ed., London, 1957, p. 125).

¹¹⁹ Geldner, o.c. I², p. 410.

identified (5, 81, 2-3)), who will (is expected to) excite (stimulate, inspire, urge on) our 'visions'". It may be useful to add here a traditional interpretation of this stanza, to which we will have to revert in another chapter of this publication. It is for instance followed in the translation given by Keith¹²⁰ (TS. 1, 5, 6, 4): "That excellent glory of Savitar, the god we meditate, that he may stimulate our prayers."

The twofold activity of a god in connection with the *dhiyaḥ*, giving or revealing and promoting or stimulating, is also apparent from 3, 34, 5 *acetayad dhiya imā jaritre premanī varṇam atirac chukram āsām* "he (Indra, to whom the hymn is dedicated) revealed these 'visions' to the praiser, he furthered their bright (pure) form (outward appearance)".¹²¹ The verb *acetayat* is worth noticing: *cit-* conveying the general meaning of "perceiving, being attentive, distinguishing, observing, taking notice of", the causative stem is regularly used in the sense of "to make somebody (acc.) attentive, to cause somebody (acc.) to perceive, to instruct somebody (acc.) etc.". Grassmann's¹²² interpretation of the above construction (dative of the person) "jemanden (D.) etwas (Acc.) lehren" is incorrect, because the non-causative stem occurs also to denote the idea of "appearing, becoming conspicuous": cf. 6, 12, 3 where Agni is the subject *adrogho na dravitā cetati tman* "von selbst erscheint er wie ein harmloser Ausreiszer (?)" (Geldner); cf. also 10, 3, 4; 5, 59, 3 *śriyase cetathā narah* "prächtig zu schauen zieht ihr Herren (viz. the Maruts) die Augen auf sich" (Geldner), rather: "ye appear (are conspicuous) with a view to welfare, so as to bring (us) *śrīh*"¹²³; in 10, 91, 5 Agni's *śriyaḥ* are said to be like the lightnings of the rain-clouds; the aorist *aceti* occurs to indicate the idea of "appeared, became light or visible": 1, 113, 4 (cf. also 7, 67, 2; 7, 78, 4; and 1, 92, 12) in connection with Uṣas (Dawn); 8, 56, 5 with Agni. The verb *cit-* obviously expressing some such idea as "to be-

¹²⁰ A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School* (Cambridge Mass., 1914), p. 75. Though intending to discuss the interpretations of, and variations upon, the Sāvitrī in a separate article which is to appear elsewhere, I may observe here that according to Ś.Br. 2, 3, 4, 39 this stanza dedicated to Savitar, the impeller of the gods, leads to the fulfilment of all the wishes of the sacrificer; that mystical and ritualistic applications occur e.g. already in G.Br. 1, 1, 36 and Bār. Up. 6, 3, 6; that the periphrastic interpretation given by Sir William Jones ran as follows: "Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun who illuminates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct our understandings aright in our progress towards his holy seat."

¹²¹ The latter activity will be commented upon in the following pages.

¹²² Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 447; in *Rig-veda übers.*, I, p. 82 however: "dem Sänger zeigt' er diese Andachtslieder".

¹²³ See *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 176 ff.

come visible, obvious, manifest, to stand out" the transitive use may be considered to be based on a general sense of "distinguishing, perceiving, noticing, being attentive to", and the causative admits, in 3, 34, 5, of the translation "to make visible, or manifest to, to reveal" (in both senses of "to exhibit to the sight" and "to disclose something not previously known"). The phrase *acetayad* (subject: a god) *dhiyah* is so to say the grammatical counterpart of *dhiyā cetati* in 3, 11, 3 *agnir dhiyā sa cetati ketur yajñasya* / *artham hy asya tarāṇi* where Geldner's translation: "denn Agni, das erste Banner des Opfers, versteht es mit Kunst, sein Ziel zu erreichen" should, in my opinion, be replaced by "Agni, the 'signal' of worship, becomes visible (appears) with *dhih*; for his business is to the purpose".¹²⁴

As to the crucial stanza 4, 21, 7¹²⁵ – "st. 6–8 rätselhafte Anspielung auf unbekannte Vorgänge ..." – one might consider the admissibility of translating the last pāda *prā yād dhiyē prāyase mādāya* as follows: "when he (Indra) is of use to (is capable of promoting) *dhih*, the ritual proceedings (cf. e.g. 5, 22, 2 *pra yajña etu*; 7, 66, 1 *pra ... stoma na etu*) and the excitement-of-intoxication-and-inspiration".

Before turning to the task of the seer who has received a *dhih* it is interesting to draw attention to some passages which though, if the present author is not mistaken, being in perfect harmony with the general meaning to be attributed to the term under examination are more or less special cases, because they do not appear to have a direct bearing upon the usual "visions" of the inspired sages who are concerned with hymns and eulogies.

Sometimes it is easier to disagree with Geldner's "mit Kunst" (*dhiyā*) than to substitute the right translation. In 9, 71, 6 soma is stated to long for his golden seat (cf. 9, 75, 3), *dhiyā kṛtam*: "prepared with 'vision'" (*dhiyā: svakarmanā*, Sāyaṇa). Does that mean: "while pronouncing 'a vision'" that is to say: does the term refer to "ritual or sacramental words", such as are, for instance, prescribed in PB. 1, 2, 3 f. in connection with the "installation" of the *droṇakalaśa*¹²⁷: "thou art the vessel of ṛta; thou art of the lord of the forest (i.e. of wood), of Bṛhaspati, of Prajāpati ... ; here I push myself forward for the sake of glory and spiritual lustre"? Or does *dhiyā* mean the "vision" or "intuition" proper, the specific mental picture evoked by, or infused into, the mind of the creative artisan who

¹²⁴ For *tarāṇi* see also Oldenberg, *Rgveda, Noten*, I, p. 190.

¹²⁵ See Oldenberg, *o.c.*, I, p. 286; Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 446.

¹²⁶ Geldner, *l.c.*

¹²⁷ W. Caland-V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906), p. 159.

had "visions", in the same manner as, for instance, the sculptors of later times had to produce their idols after mental images and examples? We would, in my opinion, do wisely if we viewed this passage in the same line as the next, 10, 53, 6.

In 10, 53, 6 Agni is addressed as follows: *tantuṇi tanvan rajaso bhānum anv ihi jyotiṣmataḥ patho rakṣa dhiyā kṛtān* "stretching the thread (cf. 1, 142, 1 etc.) do thou follow the light of space; pay attention to (do not disregard) the light paths which have been made by (means of) *dhih*". Here the spokesman implores the god to take up his office and to conduct the gods to the sacrificial ground (cf. pāda d). Therefore he has to go along the paths in the infinite space which are illuminated by the sun. These paths are said to be made by *dhih*. This is not "Kunst", but may be "vision" in the sense of "faculty of evoking by the power of inspiration or imagination specific mental pictures and realizing these so as to create concrete objects". The supposition that *dhih*, in this context, stands for the words constituting the "translation" of the vision is less probable. The poet does not say – and in all probability did not know – whose *dhih* made the paths. One might suggest: the power-substance or Daseinsmacht *dhih* acting spontaneously or set in operation by a divine power which is left unmentioned.

Of the latter procedure an explicit mention is perhaps made in 4, 1, 10. After having praised, in the stanzas 6–9, the god of fire the author continues: "this Agni will conduct us to the treasure a share in which is allotted by the gods (*ratnam devabhaktam*), which is his, which all the immortals, Father Heaven, the generator, realized (converted into actuality: *akṛṇvan ... satyam*) by virtue of *dhih*". As observed by Geldner¹²⁸ Agni is not rarely said to give a *ratnam*. Cf. especially 4, 2, 13; 15, 3; 7, 16, 6; 12. This treasure is no doubt light. For *satyam kṛ-* compare e. g. 4, 17, 10; 20; 5, 45, 7; 9, 78, 5. The purport of this stanza is to a certain extent elucidated by st. 18: "when they (the Aṅgiras) woke up they looked about; then they held the treasure allotted by heaven (*ratnam ... dyubhaktam*) (saying): 'all the gods are in all houses'; O Mitra and Varuṇa, be there realization for this vision! (*dhiye ... satyam astu*)". Whether or not these translations hit the mark, there is no reason to follow Geldner who in st. 10 renders the crucial words by "nach (deinem oder unserem) Sinne", in 18 by "dem Wunsche (soll Erfüllung werden)". The awakening of the Aṅgiras to which the text refers is not the normal daily experience, but the mythical event of the recovery of

¹²⁸ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 414, who is however wrong in adding "es ist an die Kühe und die Dakṣiṇā zu denken".

light (cf. st. 14; 17; cf. also 3, 31,4), which they had "found" when it was "imprisoned". This act of seeing after the universal darkness could, from the point of view of the poet, appositely be regarded as an event replete with supranormal power. In st. 14 the Aṅgiras are described as having found the light, to which they had accommodated themselves by virtue of their "visions" (*vidanta jyotiṣ cakṛpanta dhībhiḥ*). Are the *dhiyaḥ* in st. 14 the supranormal visionary sight which had enabled them not only mentally to anticipate, but also to find the real light the realization of which is the *ratnam* in st. 18? The form *cakṛpanta* does not seem to present difficulties, deriving from *kṛp-* = *kṛp-* "to be adapted etc."¹²⁹; cf. e.g. 10, 130, 5 and 6.

RV. 9, 112 has often been incorrectly understood.¹³⁰ Winternitz¹³¹ is for instance wrong in considering it "ein satirisches Gedicht, welches über die mannigfachen Wünsche der Menschen spottet". The initial words of the line *nānānaṃ vā u no dhiyo vi vratāni janānām* do not exactly mean "different indeed are our skill and talents", nor can Geldner's "Kenntnisse (Gedanken)" – Sāyaṇa explains by *karmāṇi* – be considered a completely adequate rendering of *dhiyaḥ*. The second pāda meaning "the functions of human beings are of many and different kinds" and the second line furnishing us with a specification: "the carpenter wants (*ichati*) a thing that is broken, the physician somebody who is wounded, the brahman one who presses out the soma ..." the *dhīh* may be "the mental image, the idea or mental archetype awaiting realization, a mental conception determining a man's action or conduct". This somewhat less defined and at least in this context more "popular" nuance is not out of tune with the popular character of this text in general,¹³² which together with 113 and 114 constitutes some additions to the ninth book from which it also differs in tone. The author describes the various ways in which people seek their own advantage. Between the lines we should read "Indra, give them (give us) the things they (we) long for, each in his own way", that is: "let their *dhiyaḥ* be realized". The adj. *nānādhiyaḥ* in st. 3 seems to admit of a similar interpretation: "I am a proclaimer (of religious and eulogistic truth), papa is a physician, mama grinds the grain; with various "ideas" (*nānādhiyaḥ*) we all wish to obtain property ...". Instead of Oldenberg's comment: "es war bestimmt der *dhī-* dieses

¹²⁹ Cf. also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 49.

¹³⁰ See my remarks in "The so-called secular, humorous and satirical hymns of the R̥gveda", in *Orientalia Neerlandica, A volume of Oriental studies, published by the Netherlands' Oriental Society* (Leiden, 1948), p. 325 ff.

¹³¹ M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, I² (Leipzig, 1907), p. 96.

¹³² See *Secular ... hymns*, p. 327; Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, I, p. 107.

vasūyu- die Erfüllung zu sichern"¹³³ I would observe: by cultivating the *dhīh* one no doubt added to one's chance of obtaining a suitable job.

Let us now return to the *dhīh* received by the inspired seer who is engaged in producing ritual hymns.

Geldner renders 8, 6, 28 as if *dhiyā* denotes the attendant circumstance under which the inspired one was born: *upahvare girīnām saṃgathe ca nadīnām dhiyā vipro ajāyata* "im Versteck der Berge und in der Vereinigung der Flüsse wurde der Seher unter Gebet geboren". Although Sāyaṇa explains this stanza so as to refer to Indra (cf. also st. 20), at whom the hymn is aimed, the commentaries on VS. 26, 15 where it recurs, regard Soma as the subject. For us, this difference of opinion is immaterial, because what matters is that a divine being, defined as an "inspired seer", is said to have been born by, through (thus Sāyaṇa: *yāgakriyayā stutyā vā prādurbhavati*, his conclusion of the purport of the stanza being that "we also ought to worship or to praise where Indra is said to be manifested"), with (thus Mahīdhara, on VS. 26, 15: "the sage, i.e. Soma, was born with the thought 'the inspired seers and others will worship with me'", or together with 'vision'"). I would prefer the last possibility: compare 1, 130, 9 *sūras cakram pra vrhaj jāta ojasā* "he (Indra) born together with ojas tore the wheel of the sun off". Now, the power-substance of supranormal creativeness and powerful energy and vitality ojas is in the R̥gveda especially proper to Indra¹³⁴; possessing this desirable "power" or "quality" this god is able to perform various exploits of manly courage. According to 10, 153, 2 he is born from ojas, that is to say: he is a manifestation of that power, to 7, 82, 2 the gods presented him with it; singers praise him *ojase* i.e. "in order to provide him with ojas" (8, 12, 22 f.). He is born in order to display this energy (8, 61, 2) and elsewhere (1, 130, 4) he girds himself with ojas, heroic superiorities (*śavobhiḥ*) and greatness. The text under discussion quite appropriately describes him as having come into existence together with his most characteristic power or quality. An illustrative parallel is 2, 22, 3 where the same god is said to have been born together with (*sākam!*) his inventive resourcefulness (*kratunā*), together with (*sākam*) his ojas, and to have increased together with manly energy. Compare also 8, 62, 10 *ut jātam indra te śava ut tvām ut tava kratum* / ... *vāṛdhuḥ* "they have, O Indra, increased thine innate heroic power and thyself and thine inventiveness". It would appear to me that in 8, 6, 28 the *vipra* is in a similar way stated to have been born together with the power or faculty which is characteristically his, *dhīh*.

¹³³ Oldenberg, in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1909, p. 80.

¹³⁴ See *Ancient-Indian "ojas"* ..., p. 9 ff.

Here it is interesting to note that the *viprāḥ* are stated to aspire by means of *dhīh* to *medhā* "wisdom",¹³⁵ and the question arises whether Geldner was right in translating 8, 3, 18 *ime hi te kāravo vāvaśur dhiyā viprāso medhasātaye* as follows: "denn diese deine Dichter, die Redegewaltigen, verlangen mit ihrer Dichtung die Meisterschaft zu gewinnen". I would prefer "for these proclaimers, these men who are transported with their visionary thoughts long by means of (or through) (their) *dhīh* eagerly for the attainment of wisdom". These words hardly admit of an explication other than this: men who are susceptible to extraordinary contact with the unseen consider the visions which they receive and which they attempt to give the shape of audible, rhythmic, and meaningful speech, a means of attaining to a state of mind which may tentatively be indicated by our expression "wisdom". What is *medhā*? In 1, 165, 14 the words *ā ... kārur asmāñ cakre mānyasya medhā* must mean: "the proclaimer (more precisely) the 'wisdom' of the descendant of Māna has called us (Indra is speaking) near"; here *medhā* obviously is a means of influencing the gods. In 9, 65, 16 it is *medhābhir* that king Soma is purified and proceeds to go through the air: to Geldner's "dichterischen Gedanken", Lüders¹³⁶ "Liedern" or even to Renou's¹³⁷ "les sages-paroles du laudateur (professionnel)" I would prefer "by the manifestations of (practical) wisdom (of the eulogists)". As is well known "wisdom" was, in a primitive milieu, decidedly "practical" or creative in character, enabling its possessor to do something extraordinary, to fulfil individual wishes which cannot be attained by ordinary means, etc.¹³⁸ Cf. 9, 26, 3 (Geldner: "Eingebung"; Bhawe¹³⁹ "heart-felt song"); 7, 104, 6. This *medhā* is on the other hand granted by a god: by Soma in 9, 32, 6 *asme dhehi dyumad yaśo ... | sanim medhām uta śravaḥ* (cf. 9, 107, 25); by Sadasaspati in 1, 18, 6; by the Maruts 2, 34, 7. It does not however follow that *medhā* "n'est autre que la faculté poétique"¹⁴⁰; nor should we yield to the temptation to conclude with Bhawe¹⁴¹ that *medhā*- and *dhī*- are used in an identical sense: real homonyms are extremely rare. That the eulogists exert or manifest their *medhā*- (cf. e.g. 5, 27, 4; 42, 13¹⁴²) as well

¹³⁵ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, I, p. 3; IV, p. 13.

¹³⁶ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 215.

¹³⁷ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII, p. 98, cf. p. 40.

¹³⁸ See *Four studies in the language of the Veda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 183 ff.

¹³⁹ Bhawe, *o.c.*, II, p. 43, 45.

¹⁴⁰ Renou, *o.c.*, I, p. 3.

¹⁴¹ Bhawe, *o.c.*, II, p. 45.

¹⁴² Here *pra- ... medhām giram bhare* I can of course subscribe to Renou's (*Ét. sur le vocab. du RV.*, p. 29, n. 1) interpretation: "forme de sagesse (consistant ou aboutissant en) poème".

as their *dhī*- by means of their words or hymns, neither means that they are synonyms nor that they are simply equivalents to "hymn" or "eulogy" (*stutyā*, Sāyaṇa). It is in any case difficult to assume the sense of "poetical inspiration" in passages such as 4, 33, 10 where the Rbhus made Indra's horses *medhayā* "by their skill or (practical) wisdom".¹⁴³

With regard to 1, 95, 8 *c kavir budhnam pari marmṛjyate dhīh | sāv devatātā samitir babhūva* "the inspired seer, (his) 'vision' wipes the base (of Agni); he (Agni) became, in the cult of the gods,¹⁴⁴ (their) meeting-place" Geldner furnishes his readers with the annotation: "als Asyndeton statt des Genitivverhältnisses: der (dichtende) Gedanke des Sehers". We would rather consider the construction an example of the well-known *σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος*,¹⁴⁵ *dhīh* being a more detailed statement concerning the organ or faculty which enables the seer to perform his function or which performs the function on his behalf.

In the purification stanzas RV. 9, 67, 22-27 the poet addressing Soma Pavamāna implores (st. 22) the divine draught, whom he calls a purifier: *pavamānaḥ so adya ... punātu naḥ* "this one being purified must now purify us"; in st. 23 the prayer is somewhat more specified: *brahma punīhi naḥ* "purify our brahma (i.e. the fundamental power manifesting itself, inter alia, in the words of the poet)"; in 24 the addition is made *brahmasavaiḥ punīhi naḥ* "purify us by means of vivifications, instigations or generations of brahma": this no doubt means by stimulating the specific power called *brahma* (not: "Andachtserguss", Grassmann; Geldner's "Eingebungen feierlicher Worte" may for practical purposes serve as a makeshift). Then, in st. 25 the poet implores the god Savitar to purify him by the sieve as well as the stimulations (viz. of brahma): it might be remembered that the production of *savāḥ* is Savitar's concern. In st. 26 Agni completes the triad of gods, contributing his specific skill called *dakṣa*- to the process of purification which the poet wishes to undergo. The climax is reached in st. 27: "all gods, the Vasus must purify me with 'vision' (*dhiyā*, certainly not 'Verständnis'", Geldner; Sāyaṇa gives *ātmīyena karmaṇā*). One might subscribe to Geldner's¹⁴⁶ interpretation: "Im RV. beziehen sich ... die Verse auf die vorbereitende innere Läuterung und Weihung des Dichters für die Dichtung und heilige Handlung". The majority of these

¹⁴³ For ved. *medhā*- = Avestan *mazdā* compare B. Geiger, *Die Amēša Spēntas* (Wien, 1916), p. 213; S. Konow, "Medhā und Mazdā", in *Jha commemoration Volume* (Poona, 1937), p. 217 ff.; K. Barr, *Øst og Vest* (København, 1945), p. 136; F. B. J. Kuiper, in *Indo-Ir. Journal*, 1, p. 86 ff.

¹⁴⁴ See Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 101, 105.

¹⁴⁵ See e.g. W. Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax* (Heidelberg, 1931), p. 46.

¹⁴⁶ Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 56.

stanzas is found, with considerable varieties of reading, also in other texts: thus st. 27 returns as AV. 6, 19, 1 *punantu mā devajanāḥ punantu manavo dhiyā* “let the troop of the gods, let men purify me with *dhīh*”; similarly, TB. 1, 4, 8, 1 and MS. 3, 11, 10, whereas VS. 19, 39 has *p. m. d. p. manasā dhiyaḥ* “... *dhiyaḥ* must purify me with *manah*”.¹⁴⁷ The stanza is in association with others used in various rites of purification and of “appeasement” of evil (*śāntiḥ*).¹⁴⁸ Whatever the reason of these alterations, *dhīh* i.e. “vision”, that is a special form of contact with, and “inspiration” by, the unseen obviously was considered a source of purification. For this purification cf. also RV. 10, 17, 10 *āpo asmān mātaraḥ ... ghr̥tena no ... punantu*; 10, 18, 2. – Compare also in RV. khila 2, 7, 2 *punantu manasā dhiyaḥ punantu viśvā bhūtāni | jātavedo yad astutam*.

An interesting place, RV. 1, 61, 16, informs us about the descendants of Gotama who have composed, for Indra, stanzas representing, or consisting of, brahman: *evā te ... suvṛktīndra brahmāṇi gotamāso akran*. In pāda c the god is requested to “place the *dhīh* which is to be given every form in them”: *aīṣu viśvapeśasaṃ dhiyaṃ dhāḥ*. There is, in my opinion, no doubt whatever about the purport of this question: the Gotamas ask, in this final stanza, after having explicitly stated that they have strengthened the god with a eulogy, not to withdraw from them the power of vision.¹⁴⁹ The final verse *prātar makṣū dhiyāvasur jagamyāt*¹⁵⁰ is, then, not out of place here.

A close examination of all the R̥gvedic texts exhibiting the term under discussion will however show that the mere “revelation” of a “vision” did not suffice. The supranormal sight, the privilege of a temporary initiation into the divine secrets was necessary; it was however only the initial stage of a process. It was left to the seer to foster, develop, cultivate the *dhīh* which he had acquired, which had been given to him or which had come to him. He had to “translate” it into audible and intelligible words, to turn the material received into something intelligible and liturgically useful, to adapt it so as to make it suitable for recitation, to develop the initial nucleus into a more or less coherent series of stanzas. Enabled by the creative impulse he had to compose a series of stanzas which were to be intrinsically powerful because they were intended to exert influence upon the gods, to arouse the divine powers and to stimu-

¹⁴⁷ M. Bloomfield, F. Edgerton, M. B. Emeneau, *Vedic Variants*, III (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 191 (§ 411).

¹⁴⁸ I refer to W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā*, p. 294.

¹⁴⁹ The aorist may be used also when the author views a process as continuing.

¹⁵⁰ The final verse of Nodhas and his family, occurring also 1, 58, 9 etc.; cf. Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 74.

ate them to activity in the interests of the sacrificers and their relatives including the poets and eulogists themselves. It will be seen that the Vedic vocabulary furnished the authors with some expressions to indicate this side of their activities. It will also be clear that *dhīh* is one of those Vedic terms which denote, not only a “power concept” but also an empirical phenomenon.

That the Vedic poets were completely conscious that the process of composing liturgical “hymns” had to pass through different stages appears from the Jñāna-sūkta (RV. 10, 71) in which, according to the Bṛhaddevatā (7, 109), Bṛhaspati praised that knowledge “which is immortal light and by union with which one attains to brahma” (*yaj jyotir amṛtaṃ brahma yadyogāt samupāśnute...*). In this sūkta the problem of sacral speech, its origin, secret and production is, of course in an archaic and unsystematic way, discussed.¹⁵¹ One of its themes is the “invention” of sacral speech by the ancient seers, another its discovery by the wise (cf. Bṛhadd. 7, 112 *yathaitām anvavindanta vidvāmsarsigatām satīm*).

Some parts of this sūkta may be quoted in full: (st. 1) *bṛhaspate prathamam vāco agram yat prairata nāmadheyaṃ dadhānāḥ | yad eṣāṃ śreṣṭham yad aripram āsīt preṇā tad eṣāṃ nihitam guhāviḥ* “O Bṛhaspati, when they (the wise seers of the mythical ‘Urzeit’) started instituting name-giving, the first and foremost part of Speech,¹⁵² which was the most excellent (of what they possessed) which was pure (blameless), [that] being concealed became manifest through their sympathetic disposition”; (st. 2) *saktum iva titaiṇā punanto yatra dhīrā manasā vācam akrata | atrā sakhyāḥ sakhyāni jānate bhadraiṣāṃ lakṣmīr nihitādhi vāci* “where the wise seers (i.e. those who were to be characterized by *dhīh*), cleaning it like ground meal with a sieve, produced Speech by means of their intentional thought (*manah*), then the partners (in a collective interest) became conscious of their partnership; their auspicious ‘sign’ (prognostication of luck and prosperity¹⁵³) was placed on speech”. In contradistinction to

¹⁵¹ I refer to Geldner’s introductory note, *o.c.*, III, p. 248 f.; B. Essers, *Vāc, Het woord als godsgestalte en als godgeleerdheid in de Veda*, Thesis Groningen 1952, p. 97 ff. Compare also TB. 2, 8, 8, 5 *sā no havam juṣatām indrapatnī | vāg akṣaram prathamajā ṛtasya | vedānām mātāmṛtasya nābhiḥ | sā no juṣānopayaḥ āgāt | avanti devī suhāvā me astu | yām ṛṣayo mantrakṛto manīṣiṇaḥ | anvaichan devās tapasā śrameṇa | tāṃ devīm vācam haviṣā yajāmahe | sā no dadhātu sukṛtasya loke* / etc.

¹⁵² Cf. RV. 8, 100, 10.

¹⁵³ For *lakṣmī*- (“an object or a being the very existence or presence of which means something”; cf. e.g. AiB. 2, 40, 8 “the offering verse is acquisition, is *punā lakṣmīḥ*; verily thus he creates (further) *punā lakṣmīḥ* “a condition of prosperity”) see G. Hartmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Göttin Lakṣmī*, Thesis Kiel 1933, p. 3, and my *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (s-Gravenhage, 1954), p. 215 ff.

Geldner who translating 2 c by "da erkennen die Genossen ihre Genossenschaft" is of the opinion that this stanza also describes the ancient seers as turning their "visions" into poems "in gegenseitiger Freundschaft, im kollegialen Verkehr und Zusammenwirken", I would draw attention to such occurrences of *sakhi-* and *sakhya-* as e.g. 5, 52, 2 where the Maruts are called *sthirasya śavasah sakhāyaḥ* "Freunde aus dauernder Stärke" (Geldner) i.e. "Theilhaber an gemeinschaftlichem Besitz eines Gutes" (Grassmann); 4, 33, 2 where the Ṛbhus attain to the *sakhyam* of the gods, i.e. to partnership in their community.¹⁵⁴ That is to say: these words may emphasize the close relations between the members of a group on the one hand and a common interest or another group on the other. The sūkta continues (st. 3) *yajñena vācaḥ padavīyam āyan tām anv avindann ṛṣiṣu praviṣṭām | tām ābhṛtyā vy adadhuḥ purutrā tām sapta rebhā abhi sam navante* "by means of worship (the sacrifice) they (another group, the "historical seers", ¹⁵⁵ or "second generation", being interested in the liturgical function of speech) went the way of Speech; they discovered her that had entered the ṛṣis (viz. the *dhīrāḥ* "wise seers" of st. 2); they fetched her and distributed her over many places (persons)¹⁵⁶; since the seven rebhas (a definite class of eulogists,

¹⁵⁴ Compare also the use of Avestan *haṣay-* which occurs Yt. 11, 16 f. in the sense of "Genosse" (thus F. Wolff, *Avesta*, Strassburg, 1910, p. 224) of Sraosa (i.e. the hypostasis and genius of Obedience or Discipline: E. Benveniste, in *Rev. hist. rel.*, 130 (1945), II, p. 13 f.; *Journ. As.*, 1954, p. 304), of Rašnu "the Judge", of Mithra, of the true Mazdayasnian religion, of Justice, of Mithra's companion Aši "Award", and of other divine powers and hypostases, among whom are, interestingly enough, "Holy (or, rather, "energetic, wirksames": see *Oriens*, 2, 195 ff.) Word" (*maṇra-spənta-*) the Laws against the Daēvas, and finally to denote the companions "des ganzen der Wahrheit zugehörigen Daseins" (H. Lommel, *Die Yāst's des Avesta*, Göttingen-Leipzig, 1927, p. 91); it is moreover found in Yt. 19, 89, and 95 to denote the "companions" of the eschatologic figure Astvaṛəta; see e.g. H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, Tübingen, 1930, p. 215 ff.; (19, 95) "the companions of the victorious A. will appear on the scene, whose thoughts, words and works, and whose *daēnā* ('Religion') are right and who will never speak untruth ..." The term applies however also to partners, associates, 'business friends' (Yt. 10, 116, see I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge, 1959, p. 266 f.). In Y. 68, 12 the meaning of the word seems to be "fellow of a fellowship of priests". The English *fellow* is likewise used so as to characterize a person's association with a professional body, learned society etc., as well as to denote a member of a corporation in his relation to the other members; similarly, *associate*, etc.

¹⁵⁵ For the human ṛṣis, our Fathers, appearing on the scene when the sacrifice has been instituted see RV. 10, 130, 6; cf. also 150, 4 and, on the other hand, 82, 4 where the 'first seers' – who are also elsewhere distinguished from the later ṛṣis – act as assistants of Viśvakarman in creating the world.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Brhadd. 7, 112 "and how the wise (*vidvāṃsaḥ*) found her when she was located among the seers (*ṛṣi-*), and how they divided her at the sacrifice ...".

here ¹⁵⁷ probably identical with the seven ṛṣis, "our Fathers" occurring e.g. in 4, 42, 8; 10, 109, 4), cheer together at her". That is to say: the liturgical word which was hidden in the ancient ṛṣis was at a given moment disclosed and given to many seers in historical times.

According to st. 4 those who see or hear do not always perceive Vāc; but to another she "unfolds" herself, like a willing wife to her husband, that is to say: she reveals herself only to the chosen one. Here Geldner appositely reminds his readers of Kaṭhop. 2, 23: "the ātman cannot be attained by instruction, nor by intellectual power, not even through much study of the sacred tradition; he is to be attained only by the one whom the ātman chooses himself; to such a one he reveals his own nature". Other partners – or fellows, as members of the same group – however are not encouraged to join in the ceremonies conducted for the acquisition of vāja because their words have become sterile (st. 5). The man who has deserted a partner (fellow) has no longer a share in Speech; he does not know the way of the meritorious act (*sukṛtasya panthām*) (st. 6). After having pointed out, in st. 7, the difference in swiftness of thought between the fellows the author draws attention to those brahmans who "worship, as fellows, together while the impulses of their 'mind' were fashioned in their heart": *hṛdā taṣṭeṣu manaso javeṣu yad brāhmaṇaḥ samyajante sakhāyaḥ*, referring no doubt to the further development and completions of the "impulses", their turning into liturgical hymns, during the performance of the rites. In stanza 9 those who are not real brahmans, ¹⁵⁸ who do not fulfil duties as officiants, who use speech in a bad way are blamed (cf. also Brhadd. 7, 111), the tenth stanza "praising the wise men" (Brhadd. 7, 113), whereas the final verses (st. 11) state the function of the chief priests: one of them is engaged in developing (or, increasing) the abundance of the sacred verses in praise of the gods (*ṛcām tvaḥ poṣam āste pupuṣvān*), another sings a hymn..., a third, the brahman, enunciates the 'knowledge of what exists' ...".

The elaboration of a "thought" or "vision" is also clearly described in 8, 6, 32 f., not, it is true, with regard to *dhīh*, but in connection with *matih* "the initial or inspired thought": "have, O Indra, pleasure in this eulogy of mine, please assist me and cause my 'thought' (*matih*, not 'Absicht', Geldner) to thrive and increase (*pra vardhaya*). And by virtue of our brahmanhood ¹⁵⁹ we, inspired seers (*viprāḥ*), fashioned (*ataḥṣma*)

¹⁵⁷ See also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 52.

¹⁵⁸ I cannot agree with Essers, *o.c.*, p. 99, who speaks of a 'college' of sacrificial priests.

¹⁵⁹ For *brahmaṇyā* (instr.) cf. *asurya-* "the state, condition, quality of being an asura-", *rājya-* "royalty"; *sakhya-* "friendship".

for thee, O thou increased bearer of the vajra, (this *matih*, i.e. we developed it so as to become a 'eulogy') in order to live (i.e. that we may live: *jīvase*). For *takṣ-*,¹⁶⁰ a verb specially used to express ideas such as "fashioning, forming, cutting, etc. out of some material or other", of the handicraft of artisans, but also found suitable for the expression of the processes by which the sky was "manufactured" (3, 38, 2), the sacrifice was "made" (3, 54, 12), the race of the *dāsas* was created (5, 33, 4), the sun was produced (5, 33, 4) and other important cosmogonical deeds were performed, compare also the above 10, 71, 8; 1, 67, 4 *hrdā yat taṣṭān mantrām aśaṃsan*. In 10, 53, 10 the inspired poets (*kavayaḥ*) are encouraged to whet the chisels with which they *takṣ-* with a view to *amṛtam*, i.e. to "immortality", that is to say: with a view to continuance of life or to safeguarding against death. The object of the verb is no doubt the secret or mystic words of sacral speech, mentioned in the second line by which the gods have attained to "immortality", and those who elaborate these words are explicitly called "knowing": *vidvāṃsaḥ padā guhyāni kartana yena devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuḥ*. In this connection one might refer to 7, 87, 4 where Varuṇa is said to have revealed to the poet who calls himself "wise" i.e. "initiated" (*medhira-*), that the man who has knowledge of the "mystic word" should utter it as (one reveals) mysteries, if he wishes to offer, as an inspired seer, his service to the later generations¹⁶¹: *vidvān padasya guhyā na vocad yugāya vipra uparāya śikṣan*. The poet of 1, 72, 6 likewise expatiates upon the *guhyāni padā* which were concealed with Agni and found by those active in worship, who by means of these words guard "immortality" (*rakṣante amṛtam*). The verb *takṣ-* is also used in 2, 19, 8: (the family of the ṛṣi Gr̥tsamada) *manma takṣuḥ* "fashioned a piece of "poésie héritée, mémorisée",¹⁶² and 1, 130, 6 where the sons of the ritual officials called Āyus¹⁶³ have on behalf of Indra fashioned "this word" like an "inspired" (*dhīrah*) artisan a chariot; 1, 67, 4 *vidantīm* (Agni while being hidden) *atra naro dhiyaṃdhā hrdā yat taṣṭān mantrām aśaṃsan*; 1, 171, 2 where a *stoma-* has been fashioned, "with heart and mind" (*hrdā manasā*) for the Maruts.¹⁶⁴

Thus the author of R̥V. 1, 109 after stating in st. 1 that, in default of relatives, the gods Indra and Agni are his only "providence" or "protection" (*pramatih*) says that that is why he "fashioned" (*ataṣam*) for

¹⁶⁰ See Renou, *Études sur le vocabulaire du R̥gveda*, I (Pondichery, 1958), p. 23 ff.

¹⁶¹ See also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 71; VII, p. 86.

¹⁶² Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, I, p. 2.

¹⁶³ See H. W. Bailey, in *Bull. School Or. Afr. Stud.*, 20 (1957), p. 41 ff.

¹⁶⁴ Compare also Renou, *o.c.*, I, p. 16.

them a *dhiyaṃ vājayanīm* "an inspired hymn that is to acquire manifestations of generative and recreative energy". The gods are to benefit by the activity of the author who on the other hand hopes to acquire *vāja* by composing and reciting his work.

The realization of hopes and wishes is the aim of the author of 2, 11, 12: *tve indrāpy abhūma viprā dhiyaṃ vanema ṛtayā sapantaḥ*. Instead of Geldner's translation: "bei dir, O Indra, haben wir Redekundigen Zuflucht gesucht; wir wollen Gewinn von der Dichtung haben, indem wir sie richtig pflegen" or Lüders' "... wir möchten (dir) das Lied darbringen, es in (mit) Wahrheit pflegend"¹⁶⁵ I would however prefer: "... we should like to acquire a 'vision', cultivating (developing) it with *ṛta*".¹⁶⁶ One might compare the phrase *dhiyaṃ san-*. For *van-*, active, in the sense of "to win, acquire", see e.g. 1, 129, 7 *vanema tad dhotrayā citantyā vanema rayiṃ rayivāḥ suvīryam...*; 4, 44, 2 (*śriyam*); 6, 6, 3 (*vanā*). The process taking as a rule place in a friendly or pacific way the forms of *van-* are frequently used to convey the meaning: "accepting (kindly)".¹⁶⁷ The same idea and not "to love" is, as far as I am able to see, expressed in 4, 44, 3¹⁶⁸: *ṛtasya vā vanūṣe pūrvyāya nāmo yemāno āsvinā vavartat* "or (who) paying homage will induce you, O Āsvins, to turn towards him who from of old endeavours to win (a manifestation of) *ṛta*" and 4, 23, 10 *ṛtaṃ yemāna ṛtam id vanoti* "who holds to *ṛta-* endeavours to win (manifestations of) *ṛta*".

Those occurrences of *dhīh* are of special interest in which it combines with other terms of religious or *weltanschauliches* import. Thus it reads 8, 42, 3 *imāṃ dhiyaṃ śikṣamāṇasya deva kratuṃ dakṣam varuṇā saṃ śisādhi* "moi qui m'exerce à ce poème-ci, dieu, ô Varuṇa, aiguisse (en moi) la force inspirante, la force agissante!" (Renou,¹⁶⁹ who observes: "*kratu-*: *dakṣa-* nettement complémentaires: les deux stades de la réalisation, conception et mise en oeuvre"). In my opinion, *kratu-* may for the sake of brevity be translated by "resourcefulness" or "inventiveness",¹⁷⁰ *dakṣa-* by "ability, dexterity, expertness". These two "qualities" are needed to bring a "poetical experiment" to a happy conclusion. They are the vessel that according to the second half of the stanza takes the ṛṣi across. The chances of failure are characterized as *duritā* "bad courses, danger, discomfort, evil".

¹⁶⁵ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 446. For *ṛtayā sap-* the same, p. 447 ff.

¹⁶⁶ Instrumental of procedure.

¹⁶⁷ See also Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 437 f.

¹⁶⁸ Otherwise Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 476; Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 438, n. 1.

¹⁶⁹ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 93; VII, p. 71.

¹⁷⁰ See e.g. *Epithets in the R̥gveda*, p. 159.

According to Grassmann's *Wörterbuch* the term *dhīh* is in a number of places used to convey the sense of "Achtsamkeit, von den Göttern, sofern sie auf die heiligen Werke der Menschen achten, auch mit dem Nebenbegriff des Wohlwollens, der Fürsorge (auch pl.)". However, it is in cases such as 1, 3, 2 as difficult to adopt this translations as it is to subscribe to Geldner's view that the word answers to "Verständnis": "O Ásvins who exhibit many acts of marvellous skill (*purudaṃsasā*), by thy mighty 'vision' accept graciously (*vanatam*) the words of praise" would appear to be a more satisfactory interpretation.¹⁷¹

The combination of *dhīh* and *daṃsaḥ* occurs also in 1, 166, 13, stating that the Maruts formerly favoured the eulogy, showing their consanguinity (viz. with the ancestors of the 'poet' who is speaking); "with this vision (*ayā dhiyā*)", the text continues, "the lords (i.e. the Maruts) have become visible to Manu together with their exploits of marvellous skill (*daṃsanaiḥ*)". I for one would not object to the above translation which seems in any case to be preferable to Geldner's "mit dieser Gesinnung" (*anayānugrahātmikayā buddhyā*, Sāyaṇa). The pronoun *ayā* may in the usual way¹⁷² refer to what is present or in possession of the speaker: so the Maruts showing their *daṃsaḥ* came to the ancestor of men with, or being in the possession of, the *dhīh* which is identical with the vision obtained by the present seer.

I subjoin here a third place exhibiting *dhī-* and *daṃs-*. "Ganz nach ihrem Sinn" (Geldner) can hardly be a correct equivalent of *itthā dhiyā* in 1, 159, 1 "I start praising Heaven and Earth... who accomplishing together with the gods deeds of marvellous skill (*sudaṃsasā*) increase the objects of value (*vāryāṇi prabhūṣataḥ*)"¹⁷³ in such an (extraordinary way) with 'vision', i.e. with such 'vision' (*itthā dhiyā*). The indeclinable *itthā* is always expressive: "in the way we see", "in an extraordinary way". As these deities are in the same stanza also described as *ṛtāvṛdhā*¹⁷⁴ "(growing (having grown) by, or in, *ṛta-*)" and *pracetasā* "clever, wise" (an adjective qualifying a special aspect of practical knowledge) the *dhīh* ascribed to the gods may be their extraordinary insight into the essence of reality, and their faculty of imagination which while depending on that insight assists them in promoting the welfare of the world. We may compare the use of *addhā veda* which was touched upon in chapter I, that of *evamvid-* etc.

¹⁷¹ For the construction cf. 3, 61, 1 *uṣo vājena vājini* "O Dawn, rich in vāja".

¹⁷² See e.g. A. A. Macdonell, *A vedic grammar for students*³ (Oxford, 1953), p. 293.

¹⁷³ For *pra-bhū-* see *Four studies in the language of the Veda* (s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 83.

¹⁷⁴ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 555 ff.

Let us by way of digression discuss here the other cases in which *dhīh* combines with *itthā*.

Instead of Geldner's translation "recht nach seinem Sinn" I would prefer, in 5, 61, 15, "you (the Maruts) conduct the mortal with such 'vision' (*itthā dhiyā*), you hear, when (you are) invoked for assistance". The Maruts are considered competent guides of men because of their extraordinary faculty of sight and insight, which they impart to their worshippers. Being implored to further, by their benevolence, the interest of their devotees, they are repeatedly stated to assist, reward, and especially to protect the sacrificers.

The same phrase occurs 1, 2, 6 *vāyav indraś ca sunvata ā yātam upa niṣkṛtam | makṣv itthā dhiyā narā* "O Vāyu and Indra, come to the rendezvous¹⁷⁵ of him who presses (soma), promptly, in such a way, with vision, i.e. such 'vision', O lords". In any case, not "so recht nach Wunsch" (Geldner).

In these cases the phrase *itthā dhiyā* applies, as far as I am able to see, to activities of gods. The compound *itthādhī-* which is in the Pada-pāṭha constantly analysed as *itthā* and *dhī-* is on the other hand used in connection with men. These men belong, at least in two cases, to those groups of the ancient Indian society which did not as a rule receive visions or "poetic" or religious inspiration. Cf. 2, 20, 2 where Indra is stated to be a protector of the devout man who approaches the god *itthādhīh* ("à la pensée correcte", Renou¹⁷⁶); it may be noticed that Sāyaṇa combines the adjective (*evamvidhopadravopasaṃmarūpakarmāsi*) with *varutā* (Indra), which, though syntactically possible, is less probable from the point of view of versification; 4, 11, 3 *tvad eti draviṇaṃ vīrapeśā itthādhīye* ("aspirant", Renou) *dāśuṣe martyāya*; 9, 61, 2 "who (Indra) destroyed strongholds for (king) Divodāsa, who was *itthādhīh* ("der darnach trachtete", Geldner; "dont la pensée était (fixée) ainsi qu'il convient", Renou)". It seems preferable to assign to this word, in all three cases, the same meaning, which, if appearances are not deceptive, is the same as in 9, 112, 1, viz. "mental image formed with regard to a 'profane' object".

That the "inspiration" was to be worked up, couched in intelligible words, moulded into a suitable metrical form is also evident from passages such as 2, 28, 5... *ṛdhyāma te varuṇa khām ṛtasya | mā tantuś chedi vayato dhiyam me mā mātrā śāry apasaḥ pura ṛtoḥ*. Geldner is no doubt right in providing this stanza with the comment: "drei verschiedene

¹⁷⁵ See Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 60.

¹⁷⁶ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII, p. 89, 31.

Bilder für die religiöse Dichtung". Since the words *ṛtasya dhārā anu tṛndhi pūrvīh* may, with Lüders,¹⁷⁷ be taken to be a "dichterische Umschreibung der gewöhnlichen Bitte um Inspiration" (and perhaps Lüders is not right in adding: "und Hilfe für Abfassung und Vortrag des Kultliedes"), the meaning of 2, 28, 5 b probably is "may we succeed (in finding) the aperture (well) of thy ṛta", that means: "may we obtain visions or receive inspirations". The next pādas: "let not the thread break when I am weaving my *dhīh*", etc. must refer to the process of converting the inspiration into audible speech and metrical stanzas.

In his introductory note to RV. 10, 101 Geldner observes: "Der Dichter fordert seine Amtsbrüder auf, das Opferwerk am frühen Morgen zu vollziehen, und zwar kleidet er diese Aufforderung in eine Reihe von Bildern und Metaphern, die dem praktischen Leben und der in der Frühe beginnenden Tätigkeit aller Berufsstände (this term is somewhat anachronistic) entnommen sind... Das Opferwerk besteht aus der Dichtung und der Somabereitung". After awakening his colleagues from sleep and arousing them to activity and after having invoked some of the morning deities the author continues: (st. 2) *mandrā kṛṇudhvam dhiya ā tanudhvam nāvam aritrāparaṇīm kṛṇudhvam | iṣkṛṇudhvam āyudhāraṇ kṛṇudhvam prāñcam yajñam pra ṇayatā sakhāyah* "make the *dhiyah* pleasant (so as to sound pleasantly); spread (stretch, extend them); construct a ship that ferries across by means of oars; make the weapons ready; hold them in readiness; lead the worship forwards (promote it), O companions". The similes and metaphorical expressions are instructive. The singers or reciters are to give the *dhiyah* an agreeable form and to transform them into a means of overcoming difficulties (the frequent simile of the ship that saves and protects; cf. e.g. 1, 131, 2; 140, 12), into a weapon with which to conquer the evil powers of distress and obstruction. By doing so they are to promote the ceremonies. The use of the verb *tan-* is instructive: it occurs also to denote the performance of a sacrifice or prolonged act of worship, implying that like the warp of a woven fabric it is put on the stocks and elaborated (e.g. 1, 170, 4; 3, 3, 6 *agnir... tanvāno yajñam puruṣeśasaṃ*¹⁷⁸ *dhiyā*; 10, 130, 2). In st. 4 the seers are compared to ploughmen: *sīrā yuñjanti kavayah*, being *dhīrāh*, i. e. characterized by the possession of *dhīh*, they aim at the gods' benevolence. The metaphor of the well and the pail in st. 5 and 6 throws some light on another aspect of the activities of the officiants: (5) *nir āhāvān kṛṇotana saṃ varatrā dadhātana | siñcāmāhā avatam udriṇaṃ vayaṃ suṣekam*

¹⁷⁷ Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 443, 474 ("erbohre viele Ströme der Wahrheit").

¹⁷⁸ See also Renou, *Ét. Voc. RV.*, I, p. 25 f.

anupakṣitam "set the pails in order, fasten the straps (to them); let us pour out (water drawn from) the hole which contains water, which flows well and is inexhaustible". If these stanzas should refer to the *dhiyah* the images would be clear: the vision or "inspiration" is "drawn", not without man's exertion, from a well which in itself is inexhaustible. In view of st. 7 which is quite unambiguous these stanzas should however rather be made to refer to the preparation of the soma. The likewise interesting stanza 9 of the same hymn has already been discussed.

The question may to begin with be raised whether we are to interpret the phrase *yuñjate dhiyah* so as to refer to the initial stage of receiving visions or inspirations or to the poet's elaboration: 5, 81, 1 *yuñjate mana uta yuñjate dhiyo viprā viprasya brhato vipāscitah*. It is obvious that a literal translation such as given by Geldner: "sie spannen den Geist an, und spannen die Gedanken an..." is of little use. Is the subject, i. e. the inspired sages, said to put their "mind" and *dhiyah* to the sacrificial performances like horses to a chariot? – cf. 10, 13, 1 *yuje vām brahma pūrvyaṃ namobhih* – or do they turn, direct or concentrate their thoughts (upon the source of inspiration) – cf. 1, 48, 4 *yuñjate mano dānāya sūrayah*? – Or is the difference between these interpretations in fact not so substantial as it appears to be from our translations? Is moreover *vipāscitah* sing. gen. (Sāyaṇa, Grassmann) or plur. nom. (Geldner)? Although the middle forms of the verb, the position of the words *manah* and *dhiyah* point to a translation "they ... their thought and their *dhiyah*", it would be an attractive hypothesis to connect these nouns with the second pāda, considering *vipāscitah* a genitive. The adjective *vipāscit-* is not rarely used to qualify gods: Agni in 3, 27, 2; Indra in 8, 13, 10; 98, 1; Soma Pavamāna 9, 86, 44; Mitra and Varuṇa 5, 63, 7. Gods are said to possess, or to have the disposal of, a *manah* in 7, 20, 6; 8, 92, 28 (Indra), or a *dhīh*: 1, 3, 2 (Aśvins); 166, 13 (Maruts) etc. The verb *yuj-*, *yuñkte* with an accusative is in post-Vedic texts used in the sense of "sharing, participating in": Bhāg. Pur. 7, 9, 32 *na nu tamo na guṇāṃś ca yuñkṣe*. Compare also *yoga-* in the sense of "acquisition, gain". If we should hesitate to assume this sense we could consider the meaning implied in the image occurring in 7, 27, 1 where Indra is invoked to put the *dhiyah* (to his chariot), or to employ, apply or utilize these *dhiyah*. The translation: "the inspired seers utilize the *manah* and the *dhīh* of the inspired one (Savitar)" therefore seems to present no difficulties, and "they participate in the *manah*... of the inspired one" is, perhaps, not beyond possibility. It may therefore have been the poet's intention to say that in fact the *manah* and the *dhīh* employed belong to the god, that they are placed by

him at the ṛṣi's disposal. Some light may be thrown on the ideas formed by the ancient Aryans on the divinity of the *manaḥ* and related "concepts" or "entities" by RV. 6, 9, 5 where Agni Vaiśvānara who is magnified as the light in the world is said to be the light to be seen, the *manaḥ* that is the quickest among all the flying (beings or objects). In 1, 164, 18 the problem is raised as to the origin of the *devam manaḥ*.

RV. 6, 35, 3 c has given rise to some controversial discussion between Bergaigne,¹⁷⁹ Oldenberg,¹⁸⁰ Geldner¹⁸¹: *kadā dhiyo na niyuto yuvāse*. Geldner: "wann wirst du deine Gespanne anspannen wie (der Dichter) seine Gedanken?"; "*dhiyo ni-yu-* im übertragenen Sinn = *dhiyo yuj-* 5, 81, 1".

The exact meaning of 1, 102, 1 is not clear at first sight: *imām te dhiyam pra bhare maho mahīm asya stotre dhiṣaṇā yat ta ānaje*. The much discussed word *dhiṣaṇā*, being the name of a goddess of disputed uncertain function and character,¹⁸² has been explained as "the tutelary deity of suckling", as "the representative of the maternal nutritive power", but also as "une personnification de l'inspiration poétique" (Renou).¹⁸³ "Là encore on est en présence d'un de ces vocables riches en résonances, que les poètes se complaisent à introduire dans des contextes qui en accroissent, plutôt qu'ils n'en réduisent, les virtualités sémantiques. L'une des facettes s'applique visiblement à l'élan poétique, à l'inspiration qui, venue du dieu, "marque son onction" sur l'hymne: *asyā stotrē dhiṣaṇā yāt ta ānaje* 1, 102, 1".¹⁸⁴ A translation "I offer this important product of vision to thee, the important one, since in the eulogy of this (ṛṣi, man) thy Dhiṣaṇā has been anointed (has been applied like an unction, 'marque son onction') is indeed attractive.

When it is stated that Indra is to be invoked by *dhiyaḥ* (*dhībhir havyaḥ*:

¹⁷⁹ A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, I (Paris, 1878), p. VII, n. "l'assimilation des prières à des attelages est une des idées les plus familières aux poètes védiques".

¹⁸⁰ Oldenberg, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 61, p. 824 f. "wann wirst du (Indra) die Gebete wie Gespanne anspannen (um zu uns zu fahren)?" considering also the possibility of 'eine Entgleisung' (cf. the same in *Z.D.M.G.* 55, p. 279). "Auch so wird Indra, wie der Tenor des Liedes erwarten lässt, angerufen, mit den Gebeten etwas zu machen".

¹⁸¹ Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 132.

¹⁸² See e.g. K. F. Johansson, *Die altindische Göttin Dhiṣaṇā und Verwandtes* (Uppsala-Leipzig, 1917); Oldenberg, in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1919, p. 347 ff.; J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altind. Grammatik*, II, 2 (Göttingen, 1954), p. 925; M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgef. etymol. Wörterbuch des Altind.*, II, p. 103 f.; Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, I, p. 4 f.; IV, p. 54, 60; VII, p. 50; the same, *Études sur le voc. du RV*, I, p. 52 ff.; Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 98, n. 21.

¹⁸³ Cf. also Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 372.

¹⁸⁴ For the interpretation given by the ancient commentators see Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 132.

6, 18, 6) the term no doubt refers to the hymns, "prayers" or eulogies by which the god's activity is, on behalf of the reciter and his patrons, stimulated and roused to activity. One might compare 10, 104, 3 where the same god is requested to be pleased by the prayers (? *dhenā: stutivāgbhiḥ*, Sāyaṇa¹⁸⁵) and all the *dhiyaḥ*, being praised mightily (*śacyā*). In 5, 52, 14 the ṛṣi urges himself to invite the Maruts, adding "or come hurriedly, praised by *dhiyaḥ* (*stutā dhībhiḥ*)"; *asmadīyābhiḥ stutibhiḥ*, Sāyaṇa. With reference to Bṛhaspati it reads 10, 67, 8 *te satyena manasā gopatiṃ gā iyānāsa iṣaṇayanta dhībhiḥ* "with a mind which was in harmony with "truth-and-reality" they excited, approaching him for cows, the lord of the cows by means of their 'hymns'". Here also the sacral words which originate in vision prove, for the benefit of the reciter and his patrons, a means of influencing the divine powers and of gaining access to welfare and the possession of valuable objects. Other passages exhibiting *dhīh* in the sense of "verses, hymn, versified thought etc." are 9, 86, 17 *pra vo dhiyo mandrayuvo vipanyuvaḥ panasyuvaḥ samvasaneṣv akramuḥ*; 9, 94, 1 *adhi yad asmin* (i.e. some) ... *spardhante dhiyaḥ sūrye na viśaḥ*; *ibid.* 2 *dhiyaḥ pinvānāḥ svasare na gāva ṛtāyantir abhi vāśra indum*.

There can therefore, in my opinion, be no doubt whatever that Geldner's "Andacht" is in cases such as 6, 2, 4 not the right word: *rdhad yas te sudānave dhiyā marataḥ śaśamate* "the mortal man who exerts himself with (by means of) *dhīh* successfully¹⁸⁶ (in the performance of ritual work) for thee (Agni), O bounteous one". Here again, *dhīh* is the materialized vision, the hymns, prayers and recitations, accompanying the ritual acts. Compare also 1, 1, 7 *upa tvāgne dive dive doṣāvastar dhiyā vayam/ namo bharanta emasi*.

With reference to 1, 143, 7 and 144, 1 *indhāno... vidatheṣu dīdyac cukravarnam ud u no yamsate dhiyam* and *eti pra hotā vratam asya māyayordhvaṃ dadhānaḥ śucipeśasaṃ dhiyam*,¹⁸⁷ the subject being, in both cases, Agni, the question arises as to what these sentences meant to the ancient audience. The compound *ud yam-* occurs several times to express the idea of offering to the gods; since it etymologically means "to bring or hold upwards, to hold out", this application is perfectly clear; cf. e.g. 8, 101, 7; 2, 31, 7; 6, 68, 1 in connection with words (*vacāṃsi*) and worship (*yajñah*). Agni however is, as a hotar (1, 144, 1), a medi-

¹⁸⁵ See Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, I, p. 11.

¹⁸⁶ See Renou, *Grammaire de la langue védique* (Paris, 1952), p. 325, § 385, n. 1.

¹⁸⁷ "... das leuchtend geschmückte Lied nach oben (in den Himmel) befördernd", H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch vratā und awestisch urvāta* (Hamburg, 1958), p. 60.

ator between the sacrificer and his priests on the one hand and the gods on the other. He is no doubt supposed to forward the *dhiyaḥ* as he conveys the offerings to the gods (2, 3, 10; 11; 3, 9, 6; 21, 1 etc.). Similarly, 1, 178, 3: Indra, appearing in person, is an *udyantā girāḥ* “a raiser of the words of praise”. The phrase *ūrdhvaṃ dadhānaḥ... dhiyam* must first and foremost be compared to 1, 119, 2 *ūrdhvā dhītiḥ praty asya prayāmany adhāyi*; 7, 2, 7 *ūrdhvaṃ no adhvaraṃ kṛtam haveṣu tā deveṣu vanatho vāryāni* “hebet unser Opfer empor während der (Götter)anrufungen; ihr beide gewinnet bei den Göttern köstliche Dinge”.

The final stanza 6, 50, 15¹⁸⁸ exhibits a case of an interesting juxtaposition: ... *dhībhir bharadvājā abhy arcanti arkaiḥ* “the descendants of Bh. praise with ‘visions’ and songs of praise.”

From a variety of places it is, indeed, apparent that the rôle played by a god in the process or series of processes connected with *dhiyaḥ* was not limited to the revelation or illumination proper. Gods are in various ways concerned with them also after the moment of “vision”. They are believed to do something with them, they make their influence felt, they promote or further the *dhiyaḥ*. In 1, 90, 5 two gods, Pūṣan and Viṣṇu, are implored to make the prayers of those speaking “cattle-crowned” (*go-agrāḥ*), and the speakers blessed. There is no reason for following Sāyaṇa who feels himself reminded of the aptoryāma rite for recovering lost cattle, Pūṣan being the protector of herds: *apatoryāma-lakṣaṇāni karmāṇi*. The epithet *go-agra-* accompanies in 1, 53, 5 the *devī pramatīḥ* “the divine providence”; in 1, 92, 7 *vājān*, in 1, 169, 8 *śurudhaḥ* “wealth consisting in the increase of cattle”, in 2, 1, 16 *rātim* “donation”, in 6, 39, 1 *iṣaḥ* “refreshment” in similar prayers for very appreciated goods; cf. also 9, 71, 8. In 3, 62, 8, addressed once again to Pūṣan, this benevolent god of the paths, the able guide, the protector, retriever and conductor, is requested to show his interest. In 6, 49, 8 he is implored to bring every *dhīh* to fulfilment (*śiṣadhāti*). This interest of a god in a *dhīh* is worthy of a more close investigation, the more so as the verbs, adjectives, and metaphors used in the relevant passages may probably throw some light on the conceptions formed and ideas fostered by the poets in connection with this divine activity. Thus in 4, 41, 5 Indra and Varuṇa are requested to be “the lovers of this *dhīh* like two bulls of the cow” (*bhūtam asyā dhiyaḥ pretārā...*). This cow, the poet continues, which discharges a thousand streams “must yield us much

¹⁸⁸ For the interpretation of this line see Oldenberg, *Z.D.M.G.*, 42, p. 212; Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 153; Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 86.

milk”.¹⁸⁹ May we read in the image the conviction that these gods exert an ‘impregnating’ influence upon the *dhīh*? Compare VS. 28, 10 where the Lord of the Forest, the hundredfold resourceful one, i.e. the sacrificial stake, bears the epithet *dhiyo joṣṭāram* “lover or fosterer of the *dhīh*”. Is there in RV. 9, 99, 6 any connection between the epithet given to Soma, *patir dhiyaḥ*, and the action ascribed to him (*paśau na reta adadhāt*) or is the occurrence of the epithet a mere fortuity?

Among several other epithets the stanza RV. 3, 3, 8 contains also *yantāram dhīnām uśijaṃ ca vāghatām* “the ‘driver’, ‘guide’ or governor of the *dhiyaḥ* and the *uśij* (?)”¹⁹⁰ among the sacrificers” which are to characterize Agni Jātavedas who is according to the poet also to be praised and reverentially instigated. One might compare: 2, 23, 19 Brahmanaspati as the *yantar-* of the *sūkta*; 3, 13, 3 Agni as the *yantar-* of eulogists and of the sacrifices; 2, 41, 20 (Heaven and Earth) *yajñam deveṣu yachatām*.

We now come to the difficult stanza 9, 47, 4 *svayaṃ kavir vidhartari viprāya ratnam ichati | yadī marmrjyate dhiyaḥ*. Bhawe’s¹⁹¹ view (*dhiyaḥ* = *dhībhiḥ*: “when he is groomed by the praises”) is for syntactical reasons to be rejected as long as there are other possibilities of interpretation. The phrase may mean: “il nettoie avec force les pensées-poétiques”,¹⁹² the poet ascribing to the god’s influence what is in fact done by the eulogist who develops his visions into a hymn. This sense is beyond doubt in 1, 61, 2 *indrāya hr̥dā manasā manīṣā... dhiyo marjayanta*. We might however consider also: “he wipes off the *dhiyaḥ* from himself (in order to transfer them from himself to another)”, so that the stanza in its entirety would admit of the translation: “the inspired sage (i.e. Soma) spontaneously desires to assign the ‘jewel’ to the inspired one, when he ‘wipes off’ the ‘visions’”. For the sense of *marmrjyate* compare AV. 6, 113, 1 (object: *enaḥ* ¹⁹³). However, the use of the verb in the RV. (cf. 9, 38, 3)

¹⁸⁹ Cf. also W. P. Schmid, in *I.F.*, 64, p. 4.

¹⁹⁰ On this word see Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, I, p. 57 ff.; J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2 (Göttingen, 1954), p. 321, 160. The usual translation of *uśij-* is “zealous” (*vaś-*: *uś-* “to wish, desire”). It however refers to an ancient type of priest (cf. also the Avest. *uśig-* Y. 44, 20: a supporter of the old religion to which Zarathustra was opposed). In the Veda also the word *uśij-* mostly refers to ancient rather than contemporary sacrificial functions. T. Burrow in *Annals of Oriental Research*, Madras Univ., 13, p. 7 ff., makes an attempt etymologically to connect the term with the Hittite verbal root *huk-*: *huk* “to set free from witchcraft, charm, cure”.

¹⁹¹ S. S. Bhawe, *Soma hymns of the Rgveda*, II (Baroda, 1960), p. 98, 101.

¹⁹² Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII, p. 26.

¹⁹³ See S. Rodhe, *Deliver us from evil* (Lund-Copenhagen, 1946), p. 149 f.

points in the former direction, also in view of 9, 2, 7 *giras ta inda ojasā marmrjyante apasyuvaḥ* | *yābhir madāya śumbhase* (cf. also 8, 103, 7) which may mean: “thy active eulogies, O Soma, through which thou ornamentest thyself with a view to intoxication, curry (thee) with creative power”¹⁹⁴: thy eulogies since they were inspired by Soma.

From the following pages it will appear that *dhīh* is the object of a comparatively limited number of verbs which express some form of action performed by gods with regard to the “visions” of the seers and poets. Attention must therefore be drawn to the fact that in connection with the concern and activity of the gods in regard to the *dhīh* while being elaborated by the ‘poet’ and recited by the eulogist some verbs are preferentially used: *jinv-*, *pinv-* etc., *av-*, *sādh-*.

An interesting passage occurs in 8, 35 where the Aśvins to whom the *sūkta* is addressed, are invoked, not only to destroy, together with the other matutinal deities, Uṣas and Sūrya, the demoniac beings, and to drive pain and illness away (st. 16), but also (st. 16-18) to (re)animate or resuscitate the *brahman-* (i.e. all those who represent brahma, the brahmans) and the *dhiyaḥ* (st. 16), the *kṣatram* (i.e. the collectivity of the kṣatriyas) and the men, the cows and the collectivity of the third class of the Aryan community: *brāhma jinvatam utā jinvatam dhīyaḥ...*, etc. This passage seems to show that there existed, in the view of the author, a similar correlation to that class or group of men which could be collectively described as brahma and the faculty of receiving divine sight or inspiration as there existed between those called kṣatriyas and (the leadership of) men, between the ‘third estate’ and cattle-breeding. Brahman priests were, in the times of the R̥gveda, not necessarily members of an hereditary class and the term *brahmán-* could, in all probability, be applied to all those who were distinguished by special genius or virtue, and were specialized in the performance of rites or who for some reason were deemed specially receptive of ‘divine inspiration’.¹⁹⁵ There are some remarkable places in the R̥gveda where a brahman is associated with “thought, mind” or with the spoken word. In 7, 33, 11 Vasiṣṭha, being addressed as a *brahman-*, is said to have been born, as Urvaśī’s son, from *manaḥ* (“mind”).¹⁹⁶ The close relation between the brahman

¹⁹⁴ See M. Bloomfield, *Rig-veda repetitions* (Cambridge, Mass., 1916), p. 404; compare also Renou, *o.c.*, VIII, p. 49 f.; for *oḥ* see my *Anc.-Ind. oḥ* ..., p. 12.

¹⁹⁵ See e.g. A. B. Keith, in *The Cambridge History of India*, I (Cambridge, 1922), p. 92 f.; V. M. Apte, in *The History and Culture of the Indian people*, I (London, 1951), p. 386.

¹⁹⁶ See Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 213.

and the powerful ritual word is on the other hand apparent from texts such as: 9, 113, 6 *brahmā... chandasyāṃ vācam vadan... mahīyate somenānandaṃ janayan*; 10, 117, 7 *vadan brahmāvadato vanīyān*; 1, 164, 35 *brahmāyaṃ vācaḥ paramaṃ vyoma*. Especially interesting are 1, 80, 1 *itthā hi soma in made brahmā cakāra vardhanam* “for thus the brahman has in the intoxication produced by soma¹⁹⁷ made a means of increasing or strengthening (i.e. a ‘hymn’ as a manifestation of *brahman*-¹⁹⁸)”; 4, 58, 2 *vayaṃ nāma pra bravāmā ghṛtasya... upa brahmā śṛṇavac chasyamānam*.¹⁹⁹ See also 2, 1, 3; 39, 1; 5, 31, 4 and 10, 125, 5. Interestingly enough part of the gods who are concerned with the *dhiyaḥ* are also qualified as brahmans: Agni (2, 1, 2; 4, 9, 4); Indra (6, 45, 7; 8, 16, 7); Soma (9, 96, 6); the Maruts (5, 29, 3).

It seems convenient to subjoin here 9, 108, 10 in which Soma, while being clarified, is said to gallop towards the *camū*-vessel. In the third *pāda* the divine draught is requested to clarify itself so as to become or produce the rain of heavens, a stream of water (*vṛṣṭim divaḥ pavaśva* “become clarified with rain”).²⁰⁰ The last *pāda* *jinvā gaviṣṭaye dhiyaḥ* was translated by Geldner: “belebe die Gedanken zum Rindererwerb”. The sense of the last word is no doubt somewhat larger. A more essential problem concerns the exact meaning of the verb, which is generally and rightly considered a nasalized form beside *jīvati* “to live”²⁰¹ and is translated by a variety of German terms: “beleben, stärken, kräftigen, erquickern, anschwellen lassen, anspornen, ermuntern, begeistern, wecken, erregen” (Geldner). In texts such as 1, 118, 2 *pinvatam gā jinvatam arvato no vardhayatam aśvinā vīram asme* it appears that the sense cannot be a literal “give life to, cause to live”, but rather “to restore to animation”. The sense of “restoring, reviving, reanimating” seems beyond doubt in cases such as 8, 44, 16 (*Agnir*) *apāṃ retāṃsi jinvate* “... the seed of the water”; 10, 9, 3 (prayer directed to the waters) *yasya kṣayāya jinvatha* | *āpo janayathā ca naḥ*; 3, 15, 6 (to Agni) *pra pīpayā... jinvā vājān*; 53,

¹⁹⁷ “Soma-Begeisterung”, the syntactic predilection for juxtaposition of the identic nominal case in cases such as Lat. *Romae in foro* (instead of *in foro Romano*); *postero die mane*; Gell. 1, 22, 16 in *tertio Enni annali in hoc versu*. See e.g. W. Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax* (Heidelberg, 1931), p. 46.

¹⁹⁸ For brahma as a *vardhanam* see *Notes on brahman-* (Utrecht, 1950), p. 40.

¹⁹⁹ I refer to Geldner’s comment, *o.c.*, I³, p. 488.

²⁰⁰ The ‘literal construction’ being “let the process of clarifying take place, become manifest, on (within) yourself, in your sphere with regard to rain” (cf. e.g. the use of middle forms in cases such as the Greek *τίθεται παῖδα* “she conceives a child”).

²⁰¹ See e.g. M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgef. etymol. Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Heidelberg, 1933-), I, p. 420, 435, 439.

21; 4, 53, 7; 1, 157, 2 *brahma prtanāsu jinvatam*; 8, 35, 16-18; 1, 112, 6; 9; 10 etc.; in 6, 49, 11 the Maruts are said "to restore even the dark-coloured (vegetation) to life and to cause it to thrive" *acitraṃ cid dhi jinvathā vrdhantaḥ*; 1, 164, 51 *bhūmim parjanya jinvanti*; cf. also 1, 112, 6; 22 ("erquicken" Geldner). The verb may also be accompanied by a dative: 8, 22, 7 *trkṣiṃ... mahe kṣatrāya jinvathaḥ*. However, in 4, 21, 8 the translation of a middle form must rather be "to move": "when the mountains open and 'the impulses of the waters' begin to move (*jinv*) with their fluids"; and 3, 2, 11 of Agni who having placed his germ in all beings (10 d) propagates himself in various wombs and moves...: *sa jinvate jaṭhareṣu prajājñivān*; accordingly in 2, 40, 3 the active (object: *ratham*) "to move" and in this particular context, "to set in motion". Although the situation with regard to the chariot remains obscure, it may be the vehicle in which Soma and Pūṣan, who are addressed, ride themselves: "O S. and P. set in motion the chariot that measures the atmosphere, that has seven wheels..."²⁰² But "urge on" is possible too. The meaning of *upa pra jinvati* in 1, 71, 1 can hardly be "to please or gratify in approaching" (Monier-Williams, cf. Sāyaṇa); the fingers which are meant here, are rather stated to start, in the morning, the fire, or to stir it up. Thus Geldner may be right in rendering 2, 23, 19... *tanayaṃ ca jinva* by "O Brahmanaspati, sei du der Lenker dieses Liedes und erwecke Nachkommenschaft". Beginning motion however may be considered a special form of restoration, resuscitation or reanimation, and so the meaning of the verb may be fairly well rendered by these English verbs. Thus 3, 3, 7 *vayāṃsi jinva* (Agni Vaiśvānara is addressed) can hardly have another meaning than: "arouse, restore vigour-and-energy": compare 6, 49, 6 where the gods of rain and wind are implored to bring those places which are characterized by damp and moisture back to their former condition (*purīṣāni jinvatam apyāni*); 9, 9, 4 *nadyo ajinvad adruhaḥ | yā ekam akṣi vāvrdhuḥ* "(Soma) machte die Flüsse stark (rather: reanimated the rivers), die truglosen (rather: honest), die das eine Auge haben grosz werden lassen"²⁰³; 9, 12, 6. The words 1, 156, 5 *viṣṇuḥ... ajinvat... āryam* no doubt mean: "Viṣṇu reanimated the Aryan". Cf. also 8, 7, 21. If this conclusion is right 6, 35, 5 *āṅgirasān brahmaṇā vipra jinva*, which no doubt is a prayer for "inspiration", must mean: "arouse, stimulate, O vipra (Indra²⁰⁴), the descendants of Aṅgiras

²⁰² See S. D. Atkins, *Pūṣan in the Rig-veda* (Princeton, 1941), p. 44 f.

²⁰³ Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 245.

²⁰⁴ And nobody else; cf. however Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 133.

by (means of) a manifestation of *brahman*- (i.e. with the power residing in the liturgical word)".²⁰⁵

With regard to the above combination *dhiyaṃ jinvati* the inference seems therefore warranted that it denotes, not the idea of generating or evoking "visions", but that of "resuscitating, arousing", the power of vision – and here one feels reminded of the observations made à propos of 3, 39, 2 – power inherent in visions, of "restoring fresh vigour" to them, lest they should become, or remain, ineffective. RV. 2, 40, 6 *dhiyaṃ pūṣa jinvatu viśvaminvaḥ* may therefore mean: "let Pūṣan who moves all²⁰⁶ restore fresh vigour, (re)animate my 'vision' ". There exists a similar relation between the epithet and the process in pāda b: *rayiṃ somo rayipatir dadhātu*. Geldner's translation of 6, 49, 14 "dies (Lied) mögen nebst den Pflanzen die von Gaben begleiteten (Götter), Bhaga, Purandhi begeistern, um Reichtum (zu gewinnen)" may therefore be considered correct. Compare also 8, 35, 16. In 8, 60, 12 *sa tvaṃ no vardha prayasā śacīvaso jinvā dhiyo vasuvidaḥ* "do thou (Agni) therefore increase by our libation, O thou that art rich in succouring power, resuscitate our 'visions' which are to procure wealth" the implication obviously is: "cause the power of vision to revive, give (our) visions new strength". The same god is the addressee of 8, 84, 7, to which we will have to revert; *dhiyo jinvase*, however, expresses the same idea. Mention may finally be made of 10, 66, 12, requesting the Ādityas, Rudras and Vasus, who are characterized as *sudānavah* "bestowing abundantly", to perform the process of *jinv*- with regard to the brahmans (i.e. the powerful 'texts') which are being pronounced. Here *jinvati* likewise means "to add fresh power to something which exists already, to animate". All things considered the conclusion may be that this phrase refers to a second stage in the process of receiving visions and converting them into words of liturgical import, to divine assistance in developing the vision, in making it vigorous, in "animating" it. One might also remember expressions such as occur e.g. 1, 10, 4 *brahma ca no vaso sacendra yajñam ca vardhaya*. Cf. also RV. Kh. 1, 9, 6 *yābhir* (sc. *śacībhir*) *dhiyaṃ hinvathaḥ*.

RV. 5, 45, 3 and 6 may be quoted in illustration of the belief that the product of vision and inspiration recited by the eulogist could be considered a duplicate or reproduction of powerful words sprung from vision in the mythical past. After the statement, in st. 3, that "for this recitation

²⁰⁵ We leave the Avestan *jaya-* (Y. 50, 7) of disputed meaning ("Anregung" Bartholomae, "stimulant" Duchesne-Guillemin; "Sieg" Humbach) out of consideration.

²⁰⁶ For this epithet see also Atkins, *o.c.*, p. 44 f.

(*ukthāya*) the mountain (opened) with a view to the first birth of the great (dawns)" it reads, in st. 6 "come on, companions, let us perform the *dhīh* with which the mother opened the shed of the cow, by which Manu gained the victory over Viśiṣipra..." (*etā dhiyaṃ kṛṇavāmā sa-khāyo 'pa yā mātām ṛṇuta vrajaṃ goḥ*, etc.). These passages show also the supranormal power and efficacy of the *dhīh*. Compare also st. 11.

Among the activities which the gods are expected to carry out with regard to the *dhīh* is that denoted, in Geldner's translation, by "befruchten": 5, 71, 2 c *iśāna pipyataṃ dhiyaḥ* "befruchtet (Mitra and Varuṇa are addressed) unsere Gedanken, die ihr das vermöget!"²⁰⁷ = 7, 94, 2 c (Indra and Agni) = 9, 19, 2 c²⁰⁸ (Soma and Indra). Cf. also 1, 151, 6. The German metaphor is, in my opinion, not felicitous. It seems useful to examine the phrases formed by the same verb in other passages. Curiously enough the more explicit parallel in 10, 64, 12 *yām me dhiyaṃ maruta indra devā adadāta... | tam pīpayata payaseva dhenum* is translated by the same scholar: "das Gedicht, das ihr mir eingegeben habt, O M., I., ... ihr Götter, das machet recht voll (an Inhalt oder Gedanken) wie die Kuh mit Milch". The poet indeed wants to say: "fill the *dhīh* up, make it swollen like an udder filled with milk", implying, no doubt, that it may become a source of useful, refreshing, life-sustaining power. This conclusion is borne out by 2, 2, 9 where the *dhīh* of men is said to have become swollen among the immortal denizens of the firm heavens: *amṛteṣu... dhīṣ pīpāya bṛhaddiveṣu mānuṣā*. What this means is revealed in the next pāda: the *dhīh* became a milk-yielding cow for its proclaimer: *duhānā dhenur... kārave*. The above interpretation is also supported by 2, 34, 6 *aśvām iva pipyata dhenum ūdhani kartā dhiyaṃ jaritre vājapeśasam* "make the *dhīh* swell like a milk-giving mare; cause it to be adorned with *vāja*- for the eulogist". In 8, 6, 43 it is not the gods, but men, ṛṣis, the Kaṇvas, who appear to be able to make the *dhīh* swell and increase; they achieve that by their "oral rites" or "liturgical words" (*uktha*-), and the *dhīh* is in this stanza qualified as overflowing with honey and ghee: *dhīyaṃ madhor ghṛtasya pipyuṣīm | kaṇvā ukthena vāvṛdhuḥ*. One might compare 6, 36, 3 where the *giraḥ* "the words of praise" are said to be *ukthasūṣmāḥ* "moving on vigorously by (the sound of) the liturgical speech". These places show that the liturgical recitation was considered a reinforcement of the eulogies or of the inspiration or

²⁰⁷ "laszt Ströme geben die Lieder" (Ludwig, *o.c.*, I, p. 119); "erfüllt die Bitten" (Grassmann, *RV. übers.*, I, p. 217); *asmadiyāni karmāṇi* (as not rarely elsewhere), Sāyaṇa.

²⁰⁸ "swell our songs" (Bhawe, *o.c.*, II, p. 11).

visionary thought. The conviction to which these stanzas give expression is founded on the widespread belief in the power of speech, which is a reality unconsciously realized by anyone who attempts to persuade others or to rouse their interests or emotions and consciously exploited by everybody in social intercourse. This principle was, and is, in many communities also recognized with regard to superhuman potencies: they too can be influenced by the powerful spoken word. Moreover, oral recitation adopting, to a more or less marked degree, stereotyped features, is widely supposed to renew the power which is, or is believed to be, inherent in myths, mythical narratives, legendary or historical traditions, revelations and visionary thought, to resuscitate the efficacy which led, in the cases of the prototype in the mythical past, to the desired result. One of the chief characteristics of oral recitation is, indeed, its power to confirm or to consolidate the potencies which it describes and with which man finds himself confronted.

The sense of the phrase under discussion is also apparent from 7, 82, 3 where Indra and Varuṇa are on the one hand stated to have caused the rivers to swell and on the other are requested, *pīnvataṃ dhiyaḥ*. Renou²⁰⁹ goes so far as to consider this phrase an "emploi dérivé de l'acte mythique consistant à faire gonfler les eaux". The verb does not refer to "Erfüllung der Gebete"²¹⁰: "... geht doch das Schwellenmachen der angeschwollenen Ströme mit dem Schwellenmachen der Lieder völlig parallel. Es kann sich daher doch hier auch nicht um die Erfüllung der Lieder, sondern zunächst nur darum handeln, sie stark zu machen. Die Kräftigung der Lieder bewirkt dann allerdings weiter, dasz sie Erfüllung finden; aber in dem Ausdruck liegt nicht, dasz sie durch die Götter, die sie haben "schwellen" machen, erfüllt werden. Das kräftige Lied wirkt automatisch."²¹¹

In 8, 95, 5 *indra yas te navīyasīm giram mandrām ajījanat | cikitvin-manasaṃ dhiyaṃ pratnām ṛtasya pipyuṣīm* the poet brings to Indra's notice that he has produced a new version of a lovely eulogy, the ancient "vision", of attentive thought, abounding in *ṛta*. It may be observed that the adjective *cikitvinmanas-*²¹² belongs in 5, 22, 3 to the god Agni. Lüders²¹³ fails to convince me that in passages like this the term *ṛta*- "geradezu die Bedeutung 'Kultlied' annimmt". Granting the *dhīh* or "versified vision" implies, conveys or proclaims *ṛta*, it does not follow

²⁰⁹ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VII, p. 36.

²¹⁰ Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, I: Glossar (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 109.

²¹¹ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 431, n. 2.

²¹² Cf. Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 77.

²¹³ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 421.

that both "concepts" are identical. The *dhīh* is so to say filled up with *ṛta* (cf. 2, 16, 8 *yavasasya pīpyuṣī*; 9, 16, 7), that does not mean that it is *ṛta*. *Ṛta* occurs as the object of the same verb in 10, 31, 11 *ṛtam atra nakir asmā apīpet*; this must mean "nobody here furnished him lavishly with *ṛta*" (or words to that effect), a statement which may refer to *ṛta*'s failing in a *ṛṣi*'s words,²¹⁴ i.e. to their non-conformity with the orderly and harmonious structure of things. For the use of the verb *pi-* expressing the idea of "swelling" one might compare also 1, 63, 8; 4, 16, 21; 6, 50, 12 (*iṣam*); 1, 77, 5 (*vājam*).

It would not be out of place to dilate here once again upon the identification of a *dhīh* with a cow and some expressions used, by the Vedic poets, in that connection. According to a study devoted to the theme of "the cow on the pasture" by W. P. Schmid²¹⁵ this animal – "gleichgültig, in wie weit äuszere und mythologische Momente mitgewirkt haben" – occurs "als Gleichnis und Metapher für die sakrale Dichtung und (wird) auch mit dieser identifiziert". Whereas the poet of *ṚV.* 4, 41, 5 resorts to a simile: "O Indra and Varuṇa, be ye lovers of this *dhīh* like two bulls of a cow; may she yield us milk, having gone as it were over the pasture...", the author of 10, 101, 9 identifies the animal and the product of vision: "I draw hither, O gods, your divine (power) of 'vision' ... may she, the great cow, give us milk, as if she had gone over the pasture...." This cow comes from the gods or has been generated by them: 8, 100, 11 *devīm vācam ajanayanta devāḥ.../ sā no mandreṣam ūrjaṇi duhānā dhenur vāg asmān upa suṣṭutaitu* "the gods generated the divine Speech (Vāc)...; this milch-cow which 'speaks' pleasantly and gives us refreshing and strengthening drink and food (viz.) Speech (Vāc), must come to us highly praised". This "cow" however needs a good pasture, which will give her good grazing, and a good herdsman: hence such comparisons as 9, 94, 2 *dhiyaḥ pinvānāḥ svasare na gāvaḥ* "elaborated visions which swell like cows in their own place". See also 1, 25, 16 *parā me yanti dhītayo gāvo na gavyūtīr anu / ichantīr urucakṣasam*. She does not like to be appropriated by the incompetent or unqualified: 8, 101, 16²¹⁶ "the mortal of deficient mind has taken me, who produces speech, who causes speech to come forth, who approaches with all 'visions', the divine cow, who has come from the gods". The cow, i.e. the hymn which originated in a "vision", will for the benefit of the "poets" swell with milk: 2, 2, 9 "thus, O ancient Agni, the 'vision' of

²¹⁴ See Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 180.

²¹⁵ See especially W. P. Schmid, in *I.F.*, 64, p. 1 ff.

²¹⁶ See above.

men has become swollen (with milk) among the immortal denizens of the firm heavens, a cow which yields milk to the eulogist on the sacrificial enclosures (*vrjaneṣu*²¹⁷).

An instructive passage showing the part played, in the ages of the ancient poets, by the gods in the realization of religious texts and formulas is 1, 18, 6. Here the author informs us that he has applied to the Lord of the seat,²¹⁸ Indra's friend, for gift (*sanīm*) and 'intelligence' (*medhām*, i.e. supranormal insight and understanding),²¹⁹ these terms probably constituting a hendiadys (cf. 4, 37, 6 *medhasātau*; 7, 94, 6 etc.). "Without whom", the text continues, "the worship (*yajñāḥ*) even of him who is wise-and-inspired (*vipaścitaḥ*) remains unsuccessful; he promotes the employment (application)²²⁰ of the 'visions' (*sa dhīnām yogam invati*)²²¹." The term *yoga-* must be translated in accordance with the verbal forms of *yuj-* in 5, 81, 1; 7, 27, 1 which have already been commented upon. The text no doubt means that without the assent and co-operation of the genius loci neither the "visions" and the verses arisen from them nor the manual acts of worship will succeed: cf. st. 8 *ād rdhnoti haviṣkṛtim prāñcam kṛnoty adhvaram*.

Agni's activity with regard to *dhiyaḥ* is vaguely described as "help" or "good offices": 1, 79, 7 *avā no agna ūtibhir.../ viśvāsu dhīṣu...* The meaning may, theoretically speaking, be either: help us in receiving the proper visionary thoughts and in converting them into verses or: assist us in making these verses effective. Probably, however, both sides of the matter are meant. A similar "vagueness" inheres in 8, 71, 12 *agnīm vo devayajyayā.../ agniṁ dhīṣu prathamam* "den A. (rufe ich) für euch gottesdienstlich..., den A. als Ersten, wenn es sich um die (dichterischen) Gedanken... (handelt)...". Here also the god, who is invoked "when the sacrificial acts are going on", "when a racehorse is concerned", seems to be thought to extend his beneficial influence to the *dhiyaḥ* at every stage of their development.

The frequent phrase *avati dhiyam* occurs for instance in 2, 40, 5 *somā-pūṣaṇāv avataṁ dhiyam me yuvābhyām viśvāḥ pṛtanā jayema* "O Soma and Pūṣan further my 'vision'-converted-into-a-hymn."²²² With you two

²¹⁷ See Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 20.

²¹⁸ See A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 102 f.; cf. e.g. also *ĀśvGS.* 3, 5, 4.

²¹⁹ See F. B. J. Kuiper, in *Indo-Ir. Journal*, 1, p. 86 ff.

²²⁰ Cf. also *ṛtasya yogaḥ* 3, 27, 11; 10, 30, 11: Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 460.

²²¹ "er fördere der Gebete Lauf", Grassmann, *ṚV. übers.*, II, p. 16; "der setzt in Tätigkeit das Denken", Ludwig, *o.c.*, II, p. 339.

²²² "meine Bitt' erfüllet", Grassmann, *ṚV. übers.*, I, p. 51; "seid gnädig meinem Denken", Ludwig, *o.c.*, II, p. 382; *dhiyam*: *karma*, Sāyaṇa.

may we win all contests”. Compare also *ibid.* st. 6 *dhiyaṃ pūṣā jinvatu viśvaminvaḥ* “let P. who infuses strength to everything urge on my *dhīh*”. This prayer is followed by the words “let Soma, the lord of well-being (*rayipatiḥ*), grant well-being; let the goddess Aditi, the unassailable (?), be of assistance (*avatu*). The translation “to further, favour, promote” – according to Roth ²²³ it should be “an Etwas Gefallen finden, sich Etwas anlegen lassen, beachten”; according to Monier-Williams ²²⁴ “to accept favourably” – seems to be unavoidable. RV. 6, 52, 16 “Agni and Parjanya, who are easily invoked, further my *dhīh*, our eulogy (*suṣṭutim*) at this invocation”; the character of the gods’ favour and furtherance appears from the following line: “the one will (must) produce restorative food, the other the offspring (foetus); grant us refreshments and children”. One might compare 7, 36, 7 “and those Maruts, the possessors (promoters) of *vāja*, must, delighted, further (*avantu*) our *dhīh* and our offspring”: *dhiyaṃ tokaṃ ca*, the particle *ca* indicating the complementary idea that both concepts constitute a whole.²²⁵

The author of 1, 112, 2²²⁶ *yābhir dhiyó vathah kármann iṣṭāye tābhīr ū ṣu ūtibhir aśvinā gatam* informs us of the belief that the Aśvins could favour or promote the *dhiyaḥ* so as to cause them to manifest themselves during the religious ceremonies “do ye come here, O Aśvins, with these aids-and-favours, by which ye further the ‘visions’ with a view to stimulate (?) ²²⁷ them (to manifest themselves successfully) during the rite”.

For suggestions as to the probable implication of the request “favour our *dhiyaḥ*” we may turn also to 1, 34, 5 *trir no rayiṃ vahatam aśvinā trir utāvataṃ dhiyaḥ | triḥ saubhagatvaṃ trir uta śravāṃsi* “three times do ye bring us wealth, and three times favour (satisfy) the products of our vision (practically speaking, this comes to “answer our prayers, grant our wishes”); three times (bring us) welfare and three times fame and glory”. One can hardly escape the conviction that the specification of the objects of the poet’s desires tends to explicate the hoped-for result of the recitation of the *dhiyaḥ*. A similar place is 1, 117, 23 *viśvā dhiyo aśvinā prāvataṃ me | asme rayiṃ... brhantam apatyasācam śrutyaṃ rarāthām* “further (or satisfy), O Aśvins, all my visions and the hymns into which they are converted (“answer my prayers”; not “(fromme) Gedan-

²²³ Roth, in the *Petr. Dict.*, I, 466.

²²⁴ Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1899), p. 96.

²²⁵ See my observations in *Vāk*, 5, p. 1 ff.

²²⁶ The first half of this stanza has already been dealt with.

²²⁷ According to T. Burrow, “Ved. *iṣ*- ‘to prosper’”, in *Bull. School Or. and Afr. Stud.*, 17, p. 338, “so that they are successful in the [ritual] act”; see also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 70.

ken”, Geldner); grant us solid property, accompanied with offspring, and a good name”. One of the aspects of the notional complex covered by the term *dhīh* is “prayer”. The gods’ “furtherance” of the *dhīh* consists in satisfying the speaker’s desires and aspirations, in answering his prayers. For the sense of the verb *prāvati* cf. AV. 4, 15, 9 *meghaḥ prāvantu pṛthivīm anu* “the clouds must show favour along the earth” i.e. “satisfy, saturate the earth”; VS. 23, 29. There can therefore be hardly any doubt that Geldner’s translation of *pinvataṃ dhiyaḥ* in 10, 39, 2 viz. “befruchtet die Gedanken” is erroneous. The context again creates the impression that what the god is asked to do with the *dhiyaḥ* is to result in the benefits mentioned in the same stanza. If we indeed must view the three short imperative sentences *codayataṃ sūnṛtāḥ pinvataṃ dhiya ut puramdhīr irayataṃ* (followed by *tad uśmasi*) as complementary “cause that sort of resource which was indicated by the term *sūnṛta*-²²⁸ to come quickly, cause the products of our vision to increase, rouse the powers of liberality” the conclusion must be that the ṛṣi while pronouncing the *dhiyaḥ* invokes and specifies the gods’ favours. The enumeration is continued in the second line.

Similarly, 2, 40, 5 “O Soma and Pūṣan, further my *dhīh* (which here admits of the translation “prayer”), may we, with you two, win all contests”; 7, 41, 3 “O Bhaga (the divine representative of the share in fortune, the dispenser or distributor), further our *dhīh* while giving us” (*ud avā dadan naḥ*). Cf. also 2, 40, 5; 6, 52, 16 (see above). In 6, 61, 4 the epithet *vājīnīvatī* “possessing and giving the (re)generative power by which new food and new life is obtained” added to the name of the goddess Sarasvatī, the favourer of *dhiyaḥ*, may likewise be considered an indication of the implications of the imperative *avatu*. Elsewhere gods are requested to help with regard to, or in, the *dhīh*²²⁹: 7, 67, 2 *aviṣṭam dhīṣv aśvinā na āsu*; from the second pāda it appears that the poet longs for children.

Although the general purport of 8, 21, 12 d was not incorrectly rendered by Geldner’s “du, Indra, mögest unsere Absichten fördern”, I am not convinced that it is this what the poet had in mind. We may learn from this stanza that those who want to score a victory over various opponents and to overcome grave hostilities implore Indra to favour their visions, no doubt in order to make them, when shaped into verses, effective: *aver*

²²⁸ For *sūnṛta*- see *Epithets in the Rgveda*, p. 98 f.; Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 17; 37; the same, *Ét. voc. RV.*, p. 8 ff.

²²⁹ For the construction of *avati* + loc.: 8, 23, 12 *prāva nas toke* “bless us in our children”.

indra pra no dhiyaḥ. The poet of this hymn had indeed already alluded to these *dhiyaḥ*: st. 6 *santi kāmāso harivo dadiṣ tvaṃ smo vayaṃ santi no dhiyaḥ* “there are wishes, O possessor of bay steeds; thou art the one who gives; (here) we are, (here) are our *dhiyaḥ*” (not: “wir machen uns Gedanken”).

The gods’ help or favour is also invoked in 4, 50, 11; 7, 97, 9 where Indra and Bṛhaspati are addressed as follows: *aviṣṭaṃ dhiyo jigṛtaṃ puraṃdhīh* “favour the ‘visions’ (with the above implication: ‘grant the wishes’), rouse the power of the liberality”. The same words are addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa in 7, 64, 5. The contexts are interesting: 4, 50, 11 (cf. 7, 97, 9) “cause us to prosper (*vardhatam*) and the malignity of the rivals to expire”.

Indra has, according to the author of 8, 46, 11, favoured the “visions” with (manifestations of) the generative power called *vāja* (*dhiyo vājebhir āvitha*). Geldner’s translation “du hast unseren Erwartungen oder (dichterischen Gedanken) durch Belohnungen Wohlwollen erzeugt” does not give a right impression of the original text. The fact that the *dhiyaḥ* have proved successful, that new life, food, property, and other desirable goods have followed in their wake is here ascribed to the influence of the god whose liberality is, according to the same stanza, endless. For the construction compare 9, 97, 39.

As already mentioned the Gandharva Viśvāvasu is in 10, 139, 5 not only implored to stimulate (*hinvānaḥ*) the *dhiyaḥ* of the person speaking but also to bless or favour them, i.e. to cause them to be successful (*avyāḥ*): the two main aspects of a god’s activity.

The same idea is also expressed by means of a nominal syntagma: 4, 16, 18 *bhuvo ’vitā vāmadevasya dhīnām* “be thou (Indra) a favourer (promoter) of V.’s *dhiyaḥ*”. The next pāda is, again, no doubt meant to be complementary: “be thou, at the winning of *vāja* (*vājasātau*), a friend who rescues us from ‘wolves’ (i.e. enemies)”.²³⁰ Similarly, 8, 27, 2 *viśve ca no vasavo viśvavedaso dhīnām bhūta prāvītārah*: I am inclined to ascribe to the occurrence of the epithet “omniscient”²³¹ a particular function: the god who will succeed in giving lasting relief from distress must be intelligent and resourceful; the god who will make the *dhiyaḥ* effective may be expected to be ‘omniscient’ because a *dhīh* is a flash of divine omniscience striking the normal human mind and the normal sphere of human thought. However, here also “omniscience” first and foremost refers to an unlimited command of practical useful knowledge,

²³⁰ For the “wolf” see P. Thieme, *Der Fremdling im R̥gveda* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 44 f.

²³¹ See *Epithets in the R̥gveda*, p. 85 ff., 109, 117.

of ability and resourcefulness; it includes a power of contriving and accomplishing. For the agent noun *prāvitār-* compare also 1, 87, 4; in 3, 21, 3 we come across *yajñasya prāvitā*; 6, 44, 15.

In themselves both halves of the second part of 1, 87, 4 are perfectly intelligible: *asi satya ṛṇayāvānedyah* “thou (the collective group of the Maruts) art a real recoverer of debts” and *asyā dhiyaḥ prāvītāthā ṛṣā gaṇaḥ* “the manly-powerful troop is (thou art) the promoter of this ‘vision’”. What is at first sight surprising is the particle *atha* in the second sentence which, generally speaking, expresses a temporal or logical sequence, or also a new topic or argument (Geldner: “darum”). Now the term *ṛṇayā* “Schuldeinzieher” – *ṛṇa-* meaning “debt” is also used exactly in the same way as *enas-* and *agas-* – occurs in contexts emphasizing a god’s power to subdue inimical influences, to destroy “sin”, “hatred” and “injury”, etc. (2, 23, 11; 17; 9, 110, 1; 10, 89, 8). The logical connection between both sentences may therefore be this: the god is a well-known punisher and represser of rebellious influences and is moreover (or even, therefore), also positively, a promoter of those good objects which are aimed at by the *dhīh* of the eulogist.

A similar idea was no doubt expressed by the phrase which occurs 7, 67, 5 *prācīm u devāśvinā dhiyam me ’mṛdhrāṃ sātaye kṛtaṃ vasūyum/ viśvā aviṣṭaṃ vāja ā puraṃdhīs...* The discrepancy between the “etymological meaning” of the phrase *prācāṃ* (*prācīm*) *kṛ-* on the one hand (“to put, place, make... in front, forwards”) and the various contextual senses which it assumes (“to put in front, i.e. in the east” 7, 6, 4 sc. the dawns; “to start” 3, 1, 2, *yajñam*) on the other makes it rather difficult to decide which stage of development of the *dhīh* is meant, if any stage is meant at all. I would therefore prefer the somewhat vague and general translation: “further”, which may include the initial stage of procuring visions or enabling a man to receive them: “further, O gods Aśvins, my *dhīh*, that (it) desiring goods, be not inactive in order to win (goods); promote all abundance in (the winning of) *vāja*...” In any case, Roth’s “der Gewährung entgegenführen”²³² should be rejected.

We now turn to the phrase *dhiyaṃ sād-*. R̥V. 1, 2, 7 the gods Mitra and Varuṇa are invoked to make the *dhīh* successful, to make it perfect, to cause it to go straight to its goal or to attain its object, to further or to complete it or whatever English term may be used to denote at least part of the connotations conveyed by the verb *sād-*. The epithets accompanying the proper nouns and the word *dhīh* are worth noticing: *mītraṃ*

²³² Roth, in the *Petr. Dict.*, IV, 1128.

huve pūṭadakṣam varuṇam ca riśādasam | dhiyaṃ ghṛtācīm sādhanā. Mitra is described as being “of pure or bright cleverness (adroitness, skill ²³³)”, the noun *dakṣa-* denoting such ideas as “dexterity, skill; efficiency pratique”²³⁴ rather than “will, disposition”²³⁵ or “klare Geisteskraft (als intellektuelle Fähigkeit)”²³⁶. The epithet *riśādas-* given to Varuṇa, though variously explained, seems to express the general idea of “taking care of the worshipper(s) or petitioner(s)” or something to that effect.²³⁷ It occurs, e.g. 8, 8, 17 in an invitation to grant a request; 1, 116, 13 in a reference to Puramdhi’s imploring divine assistance. The adjective *ghṛtācī* accompanying *dhī-* is explained by Geldner: “‘gesalbt’ von einer Schmalzspende begleitet und zugleich so flüssig wie Schmalz”. The range of application is, indeed, as far as I am able to see, wide: the adjective may apply to *giraḥ* (7, 5, 5) and to Indra’s *sumatiḥ* (3, 30, 7) which is also *bhadrā*; to the goddess Sarasvatī who is (5, 43, 11) implored to hear the reciter’s call. – I ask myself whether Geldner²³⁸ was right in adding to his translation that the gods are invoked “(das Gedicht gelingen zu lassen) durch Inspiration”. It is rather the author’s wish to obtain divine assistance in the transformation of the “vision” into a hymn or eulogy which is capable of producing the desired results. What he needs he mentions in st. 9: *dakṣam apasam* “skillful efficiency”. Compare also 7, 64, 5 asking the same gods to further the *dhīh* and to rouse Puramdhi.

The same deities, Mitra and Varuṇa, are also in 7, 66, 3 implored to be the protectors of the dependents and the eulogists and to make the latter’s *dhiyaḥ* successful (*sādhayatam*).²³⁹ In the Āpri hymn 2, 3, 8 the same activity is, in a natural way, ascribed to the goddess Sarasvatī whose interest in the visions of the poets is discussed in another paragraph of this chapter: *sarasvatī sādhyantī dhiyam* (neither “fromme Gedanken” nor “Gebet”, Geldner). The same phrase was, likewise incorrectly, translated in 1, 94, 3 and 4 where it occurs in connection with Agni: “bring unsere Absichten in Erfüllung!”; in st. 4 the prayer is expressed

²³³ See *Some observations on the relations between ‘Gods’ and ‘powers’* (s-Gravenhage, 1957), p. 5 ff.

²³⁴ See Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 18, 88; VII, p. 21 (where the meaning “efficacité” seems to be regarded as secondary?), 35. Cf. also *ibid.*, I, p. 18: “le *kratu-* se réalise au moyen du *dakṣa-*: l’un est (en général) le propre des dieux, le don des dieux à l’homme, l’autre appartient (plutôt) aux humains par nature, cf. 1, 2, 8-9”.

²³⁵ Cf. Roth, in the *Petr. Dict.*, IV, 831.

²³⁶ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 675.

²³⁷ See *Epithets in the Ṛgveda*, p. 118 f.

²³⁸ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 3.

²³⁹ Cf. also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VII, p. 65; *dhiyaḥ: karmāṇi stutirūpāṇi*, Sāyaṇa.

jīvātave pratarām “in order to live longer”. Pūṣan is the addressee of 6, 49, 8 *dhiyaṃ dhiyaṃ siśadhāti pra pūṣā* “may P. bring every materialized *dhīh* of ours to fulfilment” – practically speaking this *dhīh* is a “prayer” – and of 6, 53, 4 *sādhantām ugra no dhiyaḥ*. The stanzas 8, 40, 9 and 10, 74, 3 which are addressed to Indra contain additions which may shed some light on the nature of the success: (6, 53, 4) “our *dhiyaḥ* which may now be successful be so as to give us plenty of wealth and heroic son(s)”; (10, 74, 3) *dhiyaṃ ca yajñam ca sādhanas te no dhāntu vasavyam asāmi* “Dichtung und Opfer zu gutem Gelingen bringend, sollen sie (die Götter) uns vollen Reichtum verschaffen” (Geldner).

Some references to etymological relatives may be subjoined to this paragraph in order to illustrate the translations given in the above lines of the verb *sādh-*. The noun *sādhe* (10, 35, 9) no doubt refers to the “successful performance” (of the recitation) of the “poetical composition” (*manmanaḥ*) of the seer or “poet” (cf. 6, 56, 4 *manma sādhasya*); the frequent adjective *sādhu-* is used of a path: 2, 27, 6 “leading straight to the goal”; of the god Agni (1, 77, 3) “performing one’s task in an effective and successful way”; of the soma draught (3, 48, 1) “correctly prepared so as to be effective and to the purpose”; of the state of peace, safety and comfort (1, 67, 2) “leading to excellent results, salutary”, etc. etc. In 3, 27, 8 Agni is described as the *vipro yajñasya sādhanah* “the inspired seer who causes the worship to succeed”, i.e. “who leads it straight to its successful completion, makes it effective”; similarly, 1, 44, 11 ... *tvā yajñasya sādhanam agne*; 3, 27, 2; 8, 23, 9 *yajñasya sādhanam girā*, and, in connection with Indra: 8, 6, 3 *kaṇvā indram yad akrata stomair yajñasya sādhanam*.

Agni’s attention is 10, 7, 4 invited to the success of the “visions” and inspirations: *sidhrā agne dhiyo asme sanutriḥ* “efficacious, procuring (the results desired) are, O Agni, the ‘visions’”. One may ask oneself whether the next pādas contain a completely separate communication: “the man whom thou protectest as a perpetual sacrificer will possess horses etc.; desirable good will be his share”. If not, the *dhiyaḥ* (not to be translated, with Geldner, by “Gebete”) may be considered part of the good things given by Agni to his favourites.

Thus the Ṛgveda gives us, notwithstanding some difficulties in understanding some particular texts, a tolerably clear picture of the character of a *dhīh* and of its various stages of development. That it not infrequently admits of the simple translation “poem, hymn, recitation” does not mean that it exactly answers to our modern ideas about these literary compositions, that it is nothing more than that. When it reads 6,

21, 1 *imā u tvā... vīra... havante / dhiyo...* "these hymns or stanzas call thee" the general meaning of the noun is perfectly clear: it denotes the very hymn in the opening stanza of which it occurs, but even the context itself shows us that this translation does not account for all the implications of the word (pāda d) *rayir vibhūtir īyate vacasyā* "plenty of wealth is asked for with eloquence"; the *dhīh* is produced by a *kāru-* i.e. an inspired man who utters praise.

The same translation may be chosen in 6, 22, 7 although here again another aspect of the *dhīh*-concept becomes clear: *taṃ vo dhiyā navyasyā śaviṣṭham pratnam pratnavat paritaṃsayadhyai* "ihn (Indra) umfanget mit eurem neuesten Gebet, den Gewaltigsten, den Alten wie vor alters!" (Geldner).²⁴⁰ The *dhīh* is a "hymn", "a prayer"; certainly, but it has at the same time an unmistakable inherent power and specific function. Notwithstanding the almost endless recurrence of the same situations and the preference of the poets for stereotyped phrases and repetition of the same ideas there is much variation in the elaboration of the themes, in the emphasis laid upon particular aspects, the expression of thoughts, and even in phraseology and combination of key-words and terms of minor importance, in the association of those words and ideas of which terms such as that under examination form part. Thus in 6, 38, 3 the term *dhī-* combines with *arka-* "eulogy": *taṃ vo dhiyā paramayā... indram abhy anūṣy arkaiḥ* "to this... Indra I have, on your behalf, shouted with a most excellent 'hymn' with eulogies". There can be no doubt whatever that the exact sense of *dhīh* is coloured by the close association with *arkaiḥ*. Even in reading cases such as 8, 13, 8 *krīḷanty asya sūnṛtā āpo na pravatā yatīḥ / ayā dhiyā ya ucyaṭe patir divaḥ* "his refreshing gifts dally (approach dallying) like water that runs along precipitately, who is called by (in) this 'poem' ²⁴¹ the lord of heavens" one should bear the special connotation in mind. In cases such as 9, 99, 6 *patir... dhiyaḥ* I would not however follow Geldner in using the German "Dichtung".

So much for the translational aspect. What is however evident is that the function of the "poem" or "hymn" is, as already stated, very often more or less apparent from the context. From 1, 185, 8 we learn that a ṛṣi's *dhīh* may serve as a means of appeasing a deity: *devān vā yac cakṛmā kac cid āgaḥ... iyaṃ dhīr bhūyā avayānam eṣām* "if we have committed some sinful deed, whether against the gods..., may this

²⁴⁰ "Andacht", Grassmann, *R̥V. übers.*; "Gedanken", Ludwig; *stutyā*, Sāyaṇa.

²⁴¹ "Gebet", Grassmann; "Lied", Ludwig.

'hymn' (addressed to Heaven and Earth) be a means of appeasing them". Although a petition of deliverance from sin is as a rule directed to a god, we see that the power to remove the consequences of evil deeds may also be inherent in a *dhīh*, i.e. a divine vision, elaborated so as to be a recitation.²⁴² Another light on the power of a "poem" originating in vision is thrown by 8, 19, 14 "the man who serves Aditi with fuel (for the sacrificial fire)... will as a very fortunate one with his 'recitation',²⁴³ with his splendour-and-prestige overcome all men".

The *dhīh*, resulting, as a "vision" from contact with the Invisible, was on the other hand believed to push out into the sphere of the divine beings whose aid is invoked by the ṛṣis and so to enable the latter to come into touch with these powers. Thus the poet of 8, 96, 11 exhorts himself "to cause the revealed 'thought' (*manīṣām*) to move towards the sovereign (Indra) who receives the 'oral rites' (*ukthavāhase*)"; "touch with your *dhīh* the body (person) of the renowned one, who is especially loved; perchance he will understand (it)". The first half of this stanza admits of no doubt about the belief in a double function to be fulfilled by the "poem" with regard to the deity: it is to attract him, to draw him near, but it is also to approach him: the god is on the one hand stated to be *ukthavāhas-* i.e. "one whom the eulogies draw near" (cf. e.g. 6, 59, 10²⁴⁴) and on the other hand compared to the opposite bank of a river which the eulogist wishes by means of the "poem" or "recitation" – his vessel –, to reach safely.

R̥V. 8, 27, 8 *ā pra yāta maruto viṣṇo aśvinā pūṣan mākīnayā dhiyā* was correctly understood by Renou²⁴⁵: "avancez ici, ô M., ô V., ô A., ô P., par (la force) de mon propre poème" (and not, with Geldner, "mit meiner Dichtung"). The *dhīh* is a means of exerting influence upon the divine powers and the manner in which the operations directed to this purpose are carried out is indicated in st. 13: "we would like to invoke god after god that he will help you, assist (you), wins vāja (for you), extolling them with divine *dhīh*" ("... chantant avec une inspiration divine", Renou). A similar passage is 8, 93, 17 *ayā dhiyā ca gavyayā puruṇāman puruṣtuta / yat some-soma ābhavaḥ* "through this *dhīh* and in consequence of (our) desire for cows... (it happened) that thou (i.e. Indra) wert present at every soma (sacrifice)". Compare also 10, 176,

²⁴² Cf. also S. Rodhe, *Deliver us from evil* (Lund-Copenhagen, 1946), p. 145. Sāyaṇa explains: *yusmatstutirūpam idaṃ karma*.

²⁴³ "durch sein Denken", Ludwig.

²⁴⁴ See *Epithets in the R̥gveda*, p. 184 f.

²⁴⁵ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 47.

2 pra devaṃ devyā dhīyā bharatā jātavedasam / havyā no vakṣad ānuṣak.

Gods, that is to say their help and favour, may be won through a *dhīh*: 1, 17, 8 *indrāvaruṇa nū nu vāṃ siṣāsantīṣv dhīṣv ā / asmabhyam śarma yachatam* "O I. and V., now that the *dhīyaḥ* wish to win you(r favour), grant us your protection!". Here Sāyaṇa's comment is: *dhīṣu: asmadīyabuddhiṣu*. Compare also st. 9 "the eulogy which I invoke" must reach you, O I. and V., the joint praise, so that you gain success by it (with the implication that "we will derive benefit from it": cf. especially st. 3). The poet clearly wishes to say that the *dhīh*, materialized in his words, must reach the gods, strengthen them and win their favour so that they will be enabled to share their prosperity and the results of their fortunate accomplishments with their devotees.²⁴⁷

Places are not wanting where Agni's favour is to be won by means of "materialized visions". In 4, 11, 5 it reads: *tvām agne prathamam devayanto / devam martā amṛta mandrajihvam / dveṣoyutam ā vivāsanti dhībhir / damūnasam grhapatim amūram* "those mortals, who are devoted to the gods seek to win over thee, O Agni, immortal one, as the first god by their materialized visionary thoughts, thou who belongest to the family, art the lord of the house, and art steady (wise)". The verb *āvivāsati* is of frequent occurrence: "to attract, to seek to win over (gods by means of oblations, sacred words, adoration)."

In 1, 3, 5 Indra is exhorted, by means of the *dhīh* of the ṛṣi (*dhiyeṣitaḥ*), and impelled by the *viprah*, to attend the recitation (*brahmāṇi*) of the performer of the sacrifice.

Another place from which we may learn that the ṛṣi's *dhīh* was conceived as an incentive is 8, 24, 7 which was misunderstood by Geldner: *viśvāni... dhīyā no... adhi śū... gahi*; not "bedenke fein alles nach unserem Sinn" (*manasā*, Sāyaṇa), but "accomplish all things (impelled) by our *dhīh*"; the god Indra is addressed. Compare also st. 6 *ā sma kāmam jaritur ā manah prṇa*.

A number of other places may be quoted in addition to the above to show that the *dhīyaḥ* while 'divine' in origin are utilized to exert influence upon the gods. The supra-human "vision" which has taken shape in the ṛṣi's words conveys a particular power which – provided that the "poet" himself and the reciter fulfil certain requirements – is believed to induce the gods to comply with man's wishes. In 3, 27, 6... *yataśruca itthā dhīyā yajñavantah / ā cakrur agnim ūtaye* the god is not "so recht von

²⁴⁶ The *suṣṭuti*- is regarded as a person.

²⁴⁷ See *Epithets in the Rgveda*, p. 42 ff.

Herzen" (Geldner), but by means of the vision-translated-into-ritual-stanzas persuaded to render assistance.²⁴⁸

Geldner's translation of 6, 23, 8 *d ā tveyam dhīr avasa indra yamyāḥ*, viz. "dich soll dieses Gebet zur Gnade lenken, Indra!" should in my opinion be amended as follows: "may this 'materialized vision' have thee draw near in order to assist us, O Indra". In the preceding part of the stanza the poet expected the worship and the invocation to reach the god. Thus the sequence of events obviously is that the poet's words after having come into contact with the god prevail upon him.

Elsewhere no god is explicitly invoked: 5, 41, 5 *rāya eṣe 'vase dadhīta dhīh* "puisse (ma) pensée-poétique se prêter à aider à la quête de richesse!",²⁴⁹ Geldner rendering *dhīh* by "Lied"; the preceding pāda *pra vo rayim yuktāśvam bharadhvam* the gods are addressed rather than the institutor of the sacrifice as is alternatively suggested by the German scholar. I would not, with the same authority, consider the occurrence of *dhīh* an argument in favour of the supposition that "der Reichtum mit den angeschrirten Rossen die personifizierte Dakṣiṇā (ist)".

The general function of *dhīyaḥ* when given the shape of liturgical words is clearly indicated in 1, 135, 5 *ā vāṃ dhīyo vavṛtyur adhvarān* "may the *dhīyaḥ* bring ye to the sacrifices". In Geldner's view the text continues to dwell on another aspect of their function: *upemam indum marmṛjanta vājinam āsum atyaṃ na vājinam* "they purify this 'drop' (soma) which is a bearer of vāja like a swift steed, a bearer of vāja" (cf. also 9, 17, 4; 86, 4). However, Sāyaṇa – who explains *dhīyaḥ* by *stotrādīlakṣaṇāni* – may be right in considering the officiants the subject of this sentence: *marmṛjanta adhvarayo daśāpavitreṇa saṃmārjayanti* (cf. e.g. 9, 72, 2; 6, 5; 15, 8; 61, 7 etc.).

According to 6, 21, 1 the *dhīyaḥ* may call the gods towards the sacrifice: "these invitatory (?) 'visions-converted-into-a-eulogy' of the praiser (*kāroḥ*) who is the last among many call thee, O thou who art worth inviting... once more". The exact sense to be attributed to *purutama*- (cf. 3, 39, 7) is disputed²⁵⁰: "fleissigst, sehr eifrig" (Grassmann, Wörterbuch); "dise des häufigst tätigen..." (Ludwig); "'des ersten... unter den vielen' oder: des am häufigsten (sprechenden), am meisten (dich-tenden)" (Geldner); "éminent entre beaucoup, entre les *pūrvīḥ*" (Renou²⁵¹). I would consider "the last of many"; compare on the one hand

²⁴⁸ "Den Agni schafften sich herbei mit rechter Andacht opferreich ...", Grassmann, *RV. übers.*, I, p. 75; "mit dem Gedanken ...", Ludwig, *o.c.*, I, p. 348.

²⁴⁹ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 20; cf. also IV, p. 59.

²⁵⁰ *bahulam kāmam kāṅkṣataḥ* (Sāyaṇa); *bahutamasya* (Mādhava).

²⁵¹ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 64.

śaśvattama- "the last of all", *saṃvatsaratamīm rātrim* "the last night of the year"²⁵² and on the other passages such as 4, 51, 1 *idam u tyat purutamam purastāj jyotis tamaso vayunāvad asthāt* where Renou's translation: "voici donc cette lumière, la première d'entre beaucoup, elle a surgi des ténèbres à l'orient, portant les signes démarcateurs" is not the only possible; similarly, 1, 124, 6²⁵³; 6, 6, 2... *yaviṣṭhaḥ | yaḥ pāvakaḥ purutamaḥ... agnir anuyāti*, where "the youngest" Agni – an appropriate epithet of the god who is produced every morning for the sacrifice²⁵⁴ – may at the same time be "the last of many" ("der unter Vielen der Erste", Geldner); 4, 44, 1 *ratham...* (the chariot of the Aśvins) / *yaḥ sūryām vahati... purutamaḥ vasūyum* ("zum vielten Male", Geldner); 6, 32, 1 *apūrvyā purutāmāny asmai... vacāṃsi... takṣam* (hardly "ganz neue, allererste Worte", Geldner); 10, 23, 6; 8, 66, 11 ("am häufigsten", Geldner); 3, 62, 2.

Following Geldner who interprets the words *dhiyā karase* in 10, 29, 4, contrary to the Padapāṭha as *dhiyā ā karase*, I would translate *kayā dh. ā. k.* "by which vision-converted-into-a-hymn mayest thou be called near?" It follows that here also *dhiyaḥ* were supposed to make a good approach to the sacrificial place.

In 8, 60, 4 the god Agni is invited by means of the formula: *gahi mandasva dhītibhir hitaḥ*. Other examples of stanzas requesting the visit of gods whilst emphasizing that it is the ṛṣi's *dhīh* who incites or invited them are 3, 12, 1 *indrāgnī ā gataḥ sutaḥ gīrbhir.../ asya pātaḥ dhiyeṣitā* "I. und A.! Kommet auf meine Lobreden zu dem ausgepreszten...; trinket davon", but not (for the sake of variation?) "durch die Dichtkunst angeregt!" (Geldner); 3, 60, 5 *dhiyeṣito... dāśuḥ grhe... matsva* ("Dichtung", Geldner).

We might well ask whether the words *svapasyayā dhiyā* in 1, 52, 3 do not constitute an explicative asyndeton. In any case, Geldner's translation of the sentence *indraḥ tam ahve svapasyayā dhiyā māṃhiṣṭharātīm* ("diesen I. habe ich mit Kunst und Bedacht gerufen, der die reichste Gabe spendet") is not very convincing, because "Bedacht" can hardly be an equivalent of the concept under discussion. According to Grassmann²⁵⁵ this is the only place in the RV. to exhibit the sense of "kunstreiches Schaffen vom Andachtswerk", the other occurrences referring

²⁵² See Wackernagel-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, 2, p. 604.

²⁵³ I have my doubts about the justification of the alternative a) these passages refer to the poet's welcoming every new day (Renou, *o.c.*, III, p. 52), b) they only refer to the beginning of the new year (F. B. J. Kuiper, in *Indo-Ir. Journal*, 4, p. 230 f.).

²⁵⁴ *Epithets in the Rgveda*, p. 81 f.

²⁵⁵ Grassmann, *Wtb.*, 1627. Sāyaṇa explains: *śobhanakarmayogyayā buddhyā*.

to an activity or ability of the gods, special their extraordinary skill: 1, 110, 8; 161, 11; 4, 35, 2; 9 (Rbhus); 3, 3, 11 (Agni Vaiśvānara); 10, 113, 4 (Indra). In 1, 52, 3 the speaker's extraordinary skill may be said to consist in his wielding influence upon the god addressed by means of the divine vision which he has received and elaborated. The alternative is, of course, that *svapasyayā* refers to the elaboration, *dhiyā* to the "vision" proper.

It is not surprising to see that the poets sometimes preferred similes and figurative speech to make the relation between the *dhīh* and the gods for whom it was intended as clear as possible. In 8, 80, 7 *bhadra ta eti niṣkṛtam | iyaḥ dhīr rtiyāvatī* the image is borrowed from the love-affairs of ordinary people: "like a beautiful (woman) this *dhīh*, keeping the proper time, goes to the place agreed with thee for meeting". This erotic simile does not only indicate the longing on the side of the reciter for contact with the god, but, possibly, also the conviction that the seer's inspired words and the god forming so to say a pair are expected to cooperate in producing the effect pursued by the ritual act.

Whatever the correct interpretation of the 2nd stanza of the Vāyu hymn 1, 134, the *dhiyaḥ* (of the seer or poet) are said, while turning in the same direction, to entreat the god to give: *sadhrīcīnā niyuto dāvane dhiya upa bruvata im dhiyaḥ*.

In 8, 9, 21 there can, in spite of the elliptical character of the stanza, be no doubt about the function attributed to the *dhiyaḥ*: by means of them he has the Aśvins sit down in his paternal house.

RV. 8, 42, 4 may be quoted as an instance of the cooperation of ritual acts and the vipra's *dhīh* in persuading a god to attend a religious ceremony: *ā vāṃ grāvāṇo aśvinā dhībhir viprā acucyavuh... somapītaye* "the pressing stones and the inspired seers with the products of their visions have, O Aśvins, induced you to move... with a view to drink soma".

We now turn to the important stanza 10, 74, 1 *vasūnām vā carḥṣa iyakṣan dhiyā vā yajñair vā rodasyoḥ* which according to Oldenberg and Geldner²⁵⁶ means: "ich gedenke um (ihrer) habhaft zu werden, entweder der Vasu's oder beider Welten mit Dichtung oder Opfern".²⁵⁷ What is clear is that *dhīh* and worship – which often is verbal²⁵⁸ – are put on a par or that they constitute a pair of alternatives. The ṛṣi, whilst

²⁵⁶ Cf. Oldenberg, *Rgveda, Noten*, II, p. 277; Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 254.

²⁵⁷ "wer zu opfern um der beiden welten treffliches beabsichtigt, gedenke ihrer mit lied und opfer", Ludwig, *o.c.*, II, p. 254.

²⁵⁸ See Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 1075.

endeavouring to win divine powers, in *casu* the Vasu or Heaven and Earth, speaks highly of them, commemorates them. The addition ‘to praise with worship’ is intelligible because both praising and worshipping aim at the strengthening of the divine powers in the interest of the reciters and their patrons. In st. 3 cd the poet expresses himself quite unequivocally: *dhiyaṃ ca yajñaṃ ca sādhanas te no dhāntu vasavyam asāmi* “making the vision-converted-into-a-hymn and the sacrificial act successful they (i.e. the deities referred to in st. 3 a) must give us complete wealth”.

There is however another function of the word of the seer with regard to soma which may be termed formative and which is for instance clearly explained in R̥V. 9, 97, 22: *takṣad yadī manaso venato vāg jyeṣṭhasya vā dharmaṇi kṣor anīke | ādīm āyan varam ā vāvaśānā juṣṭam paṭim kalaśe gāva indum* “when speech (the word) coming from the ‘mind’ (‘thought’) of (the seer) who looks out yearningly fashioned him (Soma) or on the occasion of a customary practice in front of the excellent head of cattle²⁵⁹ then the cows came according to wish and eagerly to the drop (Soma) in the jar as if he were their beloved husband”.²⁶⁰ “Die Worte des Dichters geben dem Soma seine schöne und geklärte Form”.²⁶¹

It will be remembered that, on the other hand, the process of clarification by which soma passes into an intoxicating beverage stimulates and furthers inspiration. As is well known the same thought is repeated in various ways. The process of preparing and clearing the soma is helped along by the activities of poets and reciters. Their words strengthen the soma: 9, 17, 4 *ukthair yajñeṣu vardhate*; cf. 1, 91, 11; they facilitate the rapid progress of the process: cf. 9, 8, 4 *hinvanti sapta dhītayah*; 37, 6 *kavineṣitaḥ*; 64, 16 *dhiyā jūtā asṛkṣata*; 65, 16 *medhābhir īyate pavamānaḥ*; 72, 1 *hinvate matī puruṣtutasya kati cit paripriyaḥ*, etc. etc.; notice the variation in the phraseology! The recitations supply essential help in the process of purification and the attractive outward appearance of the divine draught; they contribute much to its specific potency.²⁶²

Proceeding now to discuss what may be called the ritual function of *dhīh* it may be observed that Geldner’s translation of 3, 27, 9 *dhiyā cakre vareṇyo bhūtānām garbham ā dadhe* “mit Andacht wurde der Auserwählte (Agni) erzeugt; er empfang den Keim der Wesen...” is hardly recommendable. I would compare, on the one hand, 5, 17, 3

²⁵⁹ I am not, like Geldner (*o.c.*, III, p. 97) convinced that the poet alludes to a *dakṣiṇā*.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Thieme, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 50, p. 347; Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 50.

²⁶¹ Geldner, *l.c.*

²⁶² See also Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 1.

asya vāsā u arciṣā ya āyukta tujā ²⁶³ *girā* “by his mouth ²⁶⁴ and his flame, which was ‘yoked’ (set to work) by impulse and eulogy (i.e. as a hendiadys by the impulse of the eulogy)”, and places such as 3, 27, 11 *agnim... vanuṣaḥ | viprā vājaiḥ sam indhate* “the inspired ones eagerly inflame Agni with (by means of) manifestations of the generative power known as *vāja*- (objects bearing or representing *vāja*- or ‘vigour’ etc.)”²⁶⁵; 5, 13, 1 *arcantaḥ tvā havāmahe ’rcantaḥ sam idhīmahi agne arcanta ūtaye* “praising we invoke thee, praising we wish to inflame thee, O Agni, praising with a view to help”; 8, 44, 2 *vardhasvānena manmanā* “increase (O Agni), by this ‘hymn’”, and on the other hand 1, 94, 3 *śakema tvā samidhaṃ sādhyā dhiyaḥ* “we should like to be able to inflame thee; make our *dhiyaḥ* successful (promote or complete them)”, where there is hardly room for the supposition that these two sentences which constitute one quarter of the stanza are not closely related to each other, so that it probably is the ṛṣi’s *dhiyaḥ* which are to further the inflammation, the next stage in the series of events (*pāda d*) being the gods’ arrival at their meal on the invitation of Agni. It would appear to me that the god’s cooperation or agreement is invoked: that he is invited to promote the power inherent in the word of the ṛṣi which contributes to the inflammation of the fire. The same function is in all probability attributed to the *dhīh* in 3, 27, 9. It would be superfluous to recall to memory that the ancient Indian “poets” and their audience were completely convinced of the energy inherent in the solemn and liturgical word which they not only believed to be a means of achieving objects and purposes not to be effected by ordinary procedures but also considered an indispensable factor in a successful performance of ritual acts and other religious ceremonies. As is well known the success of ritual performances depends, among many peoples, chiefly upon the words which accompany them, and sometimes these alone are employed by the officiants.

However, the request *sādhyā dhiyaḥ* is 1, 94, 4 repeated and preceded by the words *jīvātave prataram* “in order to live longer”. Agni being often implored for continuance of life or longevity (1, 36, 14; 44, 6; 94, 16; 96, 8 etc.), a causal connection is established between the success of the ṛṣi’s *dhiyaḥ* and his hoped-for longevity. Compare

²⁶³ For the sense of *tujā* cf. 1, 143, 6 *codāḥ kuvit tutujyāt sātaye dhiyaḥ* “will he possibly as an impeller urge on our *dhiyaḥ* with a view to gain?” and for *tuj-* in general *Remarks on the Sanskrit passive* (Leiden, 1951), p. 89, n. 174.

²⁶⁴ See Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 18.

²⁶⁵ See *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 48 ff. Geldner’s translation “Ehrengaben” is decidedly wrong.

TBr. 1, 2, 1, 15 "kindling the fire I will... conquer death".²⁶⁶

In the Āpri-hymn 2, 3 stanza 10 dedicated to the sacrificial tree expresses, *inter alia*, the wish that Agni may prepare (cook) the oblation, which occurs also in similar contexts (1, 188, 10; 10, 70, 10; 110, 10); here however the word *dhībhiḥ* is added: *agnir haviḥ sūdayāti pra dhībhiḥ*. Whatever the correct translation, Geldner's "A. möge mit Verstandnis die Opfergabe gar machen" cannot serve. As far as I am able to see the sense must be either "by means of the visions which have been given shape in the words of the reciter" or "by means of his (Agni's) own visions, which enable him to see things before the moment of their realization", the difference being only a question of emphasis because, in reality, the 'hymn' essentially is Agni's 'vision' as well. We might compare 3, 11, 2 where Agni is stated to achieve something – and Geldner is no doubt right in supplying "es, d.h. das Opfer" – *dhīyā: sa havyavāl amartyaḥ... dūtaś... | agnir dhīyā sam ṛṇvati* "A. brings (the sacrifice) about with 'vision'". Stanza 3 does not however leave us in doubt: *agnir dhīyā sa cetati... arthaṃ hy asya taraṇi*.

In the Āpri-hymn 10, 110, st. 2 the same god is besought to make by means of his *dhīyaḥ* the "poetical compositions" and the worship succeed and to attend to the performance of the ceremonies.

The intimate relation between the *dhīh* and the sacrifice is also apparent from 3, 3, 6 "Agni who, on the instigation of gods and the descendants of Manu (and) by means of the *dhīh* (i.e. by the vision²⁶⁷) he grants to the seer (who in his turn 'translates' that into liturgical words), performs (*tanvānaḥ*) the multiform (intricate) sacrifice moves between both (parties, to wit: gods and men) like a charioteer...". I for one am not sure that Geldner's translation: "Agni, der das durch die Dichtung reich verzierte Opfer... aufzieht" is better: for *dhīyā* at the end of the first line one might compare the predilection for the same position of *ojasā* (e.g. 1, 19, 8) etc.

From 3, 2, 1 it appears that the priests and the eulogists considered the *dhīh* an effective means of producing a suitable sacrificial fire. The context is interesting: "For Agni Vaiśvānara, who increases by *ṛta*,²⁶⁸ we generate a strengthening (*dhīṣaṇām*?²⁶⁹) (that is) clear like ghee; the sacrificers (*vāghataḥ*) indeed bring it (him) about by means of *dhīh*, (it, him) who was also the hotar of Manu, like an axe a chariot". Here the

²⁶⁶ See also *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 139 f.

²⁶⁷ Not: "mit Verstand" (Grassmann, *Rig-veda übers.*, I, p. 59) or "durch seine Erfindung" (Ludwig, *o.c.*, I, p. 331).

²⁶⁸ See Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 555 f.

²⁶⁹ I refer to Mayrhofer, *o.c.*, II, p. 103.

sacrificers are obviously compared to cartwrights, their verses (*dhīyaḥ*) to their tool, the axe.

With reference to passages such as 9, 15, 1 *eṣa dhīyā yāty anyā* "this (Soma) goes with, through, to the accompaniment of a vision-converted-into-sacred-words through the subtle one (i.e. the strainer)" one might quote Geldner's observation²⁷⁰: "Dieser Gedanke von der klärenden Wirkung der Poesie zieht sich durch das ganze neunte Buch hindurch", cf. 9, 72, 4 *dhīyā pavate somaḥ* "the soma is clarified (becomes clear) by means of *dhīh*"; 9, 86, 13 *dhīyā pavate soma indra te*. It is the power inherent in the *dhīh* which makes the rite perfect because the inspired ritual word is always a "charm", an exercise of power, something creative, existing prior to actuality, especially when its content is expressly chosen so that this function is obvious. One might also refer to 9, 96, 15 *eṣa sya somo matibhiḥ punānaḥ* and other places; 9, 101, 3 *somaṃ viśvācyā dhīyā |... hinvanty adribhiḥ*. Yet Geldner's translations "mit Kunst" (9, 15, 1; 72, 4; 86, 13); "mit Bedacht" (9, 20, 3 *pavase matī*) are to be rejected, because they create a serious misunderstanding.²⁷¹

In 8, 1, 19 the line *śakra eṇam pīpayad viśvayā dhīyā hinvānaṃ... – sarvayā kriyayāgniṣṭomādīlakṣaṇayā*, Sāyaṇa – is translated "Śakra möge ihn (the Soma) aufquellen lassen, der mit jeglicher Kunst zur Eile getrieben wird ...". "Kunst" however does not carry conviction to those who compare the parallel passages: 9, 25, 2 where *dhīyā hitaḥ* was recently rendered by "mis en branle par la pensée-poétique" (Renou²⁷²); 44, 2 *dhīyā hitaḥ somo hinve parāvati viprasya dhārayā kaviḥ*: here the soma, being a kavi is impelled ("entsandt"²⁷³) so as to go by means of the "stream" of the inspired one, to the farthest distance; 26, 1 where those who clean the soma by means of their *dhīh* are likewise called *viprāsaḥ*, the soma being characterized as a *vājin-*, "a bearer of *vāja*"; cf. also 9, 64, 10 *induh paviṣṭa... kavīnām matī* where Geldner prefers: "durch des Sehers Dichtung". Bhawe,²⁷⁴ though misinterpreting the term under examination as "well-meditated song", observes in connection with 9, 44, 2, that it invariably accompanies the flowing of Soma into the strainer and then sends it to the gods by its spiritual power. Another place showing that the priests incited the soma juice, when it was purified, by means of *dhīyaḥ* is 9, 106, 11 *dhībhir hinvantī vājinaṃ vane krīlantam atyavim* "with 'visions given the shape of poems' they urge on

²⁷⁰ Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, II: *Kommentar*, p. 140.

²⁷¹ Incorrect also Bhawe, *o.c.*, I, p. 99 "goes with the rite".

²⁷² Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII (Paris, 1961), p. 16.

²⁷³ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 210.

²⁷⁴ Bhawe, *o.c.*, II, p. 89.

the bearer of vāja who amuses himself in the wood and passes through the strainer". Compare also 9, 99, 2 *yadī vivasvato* ²⁷⁵ *dhiyo hariṃ hin-vanti yātave* "when V.'s 'visions converted into poems' (not "Gebete", Geldner) urge the fallow one to go".

There is other evidence that the term *dhiyaḥ* was applied to the recitations which were to accompany the preparation of soma: 9, 17, 7 "the inspired ones (*viprāḥ*) desirous of thy favour, purify thee who art a bearer of vāja with *dhiyaḥ* with a view to (perform) the divine service (*devatātaye*)"; 63, 20 and 21²⁷⁶ where the soma is interestingly enough described as a *kavi*- "an inspired sage", who is to be cleansed (*marjya*-), and whom the *viprāḥ*, being desirous of help or favour (*avasyavaḥ*) cleanse (*mṛjanti*) *dhībhiḥ* ("par des pensées-poétiques", Renou). The last words of the stanza *vr̥ṣā kanikrad ar̥ṣati* "(the soma), a roaring bull, flows on quickly" may be considered an allusion to the result of that process. In st. 21 it is the bull soma who is *dhībhir aptura*- i.e. who "à l'aide des pensées-poétiques, traverse les eaux" praised in chorus by the *viprāḥ* with a *matih*: *matī viprāḥ sam asvaran* "*dhī*- semble se dire de l'intuition, *matih* de l'aboutissement concret en poème" (Renou). Soma is therefore also said to penetrate the water by means of, or with the aid of, *dhiyaḥ*: 9, 63, 21 (not: "unter Gebeten das Wasser überwindet", Geldner²⁷⁷).

In translating 1, 46, 8 *dhiyā yuyujra indavaḥ* the word "Kunst" ("mit K. wurden die Somatränke angeschrirt", Geldner) should be avoided.

That the word of the seer which results from ideas instilled into his mind by superhuman agency was a mighty weapon for achieving certain effects which could not be realized by normal technical devices appears also from 4, 16, 21 where after the statements that Indra has been praised, and that a new brahma has been made for him, the author concludes his hymn by expressing the wish that he *cum suis* might by his *dhīh* be ever-winning charioteers, a term to be understood "metaphorically": that is to say, the speaker hopes to gain by means of the products of his "visions" what may be won by a chariot drive, which like races and similar "games" have often the function of regenerating the productive forces in nature.²⁷⁸ The same phrase recurs 4, 56, 4.

²⁷⁵ See Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 68.

²⁷⁶ "... the singers, the protection-desiring men cleanse thee, the strong one, by songs for the sake of the gods" (Bhawe, *o.c.*, II, p. 5).

²⁷⁷ Cf. also Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 473 f.; Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII, p. 36 and (for *ṛtasya dhārayā*) *ibidem*, p. 77, 95.

²⁷⁸ *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 47, and the literature quoted there; J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 133 ff.

After observing that he has reproduced the mighty *dhīh* of the Navag-vas the poet of 5, 45 concludes the final stanza (11) as follows: *ayā dhiyā syāma devagopā ayā dhiyā tuturyāmāty aṃhaḥ* "may we by this *dhīh* be protected by the gods, may we by this *dhīh* escape distress". It is evident that it is the *sūkta* itself that is referred to by the term *dhīh*, which is not adequately translated by "Gebet" (Grassmann, Geldner) or "Lied" (Ludwig). Compare also the final stanza 6, 71, 6 asking Savitar to generate desirable goods for those praying, stating that this god is master of desirable goods, and expressing the wish that by this *dhīh* they might have a share of the desirable goods.

A divine intermediary is invoked in 6, 22, 7 "incite Indra with your new *dhīh*...; he must convey us over all dangerous places (difficulties)". The meaning must be that the *dhīh* is to induce the god to save the devotees from danger.

A relation between *dhīh* and "gain" is also obvious in 4, 37, 6: "the man whom the R̥bhus and Indra favour must, through his *dhiyaḥ*, through his courser,²⁷⁹ be a winner when it comes to acquiring higher wisdom" (*sa dhībhir astu sanitā medhasātā so arvatā*). The inspired hymns are, like the racehorses, for those who enjoy divine favour means of acquiring, among other desirable goods, "wisdom".

Other places showing the belief that through *dhiyaḥ* material goods could be acquired are: 7, 93, 3 "when those who are characterized by vāja begin the rites, the inspired seers (*viprāḥ*) who desire to win, through their *dhiyaḥ*, (your) 'forethought'²⁸⁰....(4) Then the inspired seer, desiring to win 'forethought' by his eulogies, asks for 'wealth' which leads to renown..."; 8, 4, 20 *dhībhiḥ sātāni kāṇvasya vājinaḥ... yūthāni gavām* "herds of kine acquired by means of the 'visions' ('hymns') of the descendant of Kaṇva who is rich in vāja".

The author of 7, 79 implores the goddess Uṣas (st. 5) to incite every god to be liberal and while shining forth to impart to those speaking or to generate on their behalf, with a view to gain, *dhiyaḥ*: *vyuchantī naḥ sanaye dhiyo dhāḥ*; we had rather not follow Geldner's "... unseren Dichtungen zum Gewinn verhelfen"; Renou's "créer-nous des inspirations poétiques (aptes) à gagner"²⁸¹ is nearer to the truth. Compare also the compound *dhiyaṃdhā*- which is discussed elsewhere.

²⁷⁹ It may be remembered that the performances of race-horses were looked upon as pre-eminently helpful in generating and winning that divine power which promoted the acquisition of new food and new life.

²⁸⁰ Geldner, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 52, p. 753 "... die mit Liedern die Gunst (der Götter) suchen ...". See also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 40, 129.

²⁸¹ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 101.

When *dhīh* is attributed to gods they may also be considered able to obtain something by means of it. Accordingly, the poet of RV. 1, 46, 2 says, in connection with the Ásvins: *yá dasrá síndhumātarā manotārā rayīṇām | dhiyā devā vasuvīdā* "the two who exhibit marvellous skill,²⁸² whose mother is Sindhu, the 'inventors' of possessions, the gods who by their *dhīh* 'find' goods". "Einsicht" (Geldner) is not the correct translation here. The expression *manotārā rayīṇām* may to a certain extent be elucidated by certain phrases formed with the verb *man-* or its compounds, and evidencing the belief that by making an entity or an idea the object of the process denoted by *man-* one "realized" it, that is to say: one does not only cause it to appear real to the mind by forming a clear conception of it, one is according to the view of the ancients also able to convert it into actuality. One might compare 8, 8, 12 where the Ásvins are stated to be *purumandrā purūvāsū manotārā rayīṇām* "delighting many, possessing (bringing) much wealth,²⁸³ inventors of possessions" (in any case not "auf Reichtum bedacht", Geldner); 2, 9, 4 describing the god Agni as the lord of goods and the inventor of splendid speech (*śukrāsya vācaso manótā*); 6, 1, 1, where the same deity is called *prathamó manótāsyā dhiyāh* "the first inventor of this *dhīh*",²⁸⁴ and, in addition to these places, such passages as 5, 13, 2 *agne stomam manāmahe* "auf Agni erdenken wir heute ein Loblied" (Geldner).

The words *dā no agne dhiyā rayīm suvīram* in 7, 1, 5 should be translated: "give us, O Agni, through (thy) *dhīh* (i.e. the 'vision' imparted by thee to the seers and elaborated by these into 'hymns'), wealth from which ensues excellent offspring". Geldner's "nach Wunsch" is, as far as I am able to see, as unconvincing as Grassmann's "Achtsamkeit"; Sāyaṇa has *stotreṇa*. A similar prayer is addressed to Agni in 10, 122, 3.

RV. 8, 103, 11 cd is in all probability of the same tenor: *duṣṭarā yasya* (viz. *Agneḥ*) *pravaṇe normayo dhiyā vājaṃ siṣāsataḥ* "whose (flames) are irresistible like the waves in a deep sheet of water (which are difficult to be passed over), when he wishes to gain *vāja* by means of the *dhīh* (in the

²⁸² This epithet is almost entirely limited to the Ásvins: *Epithets in the R̥gveda*, p. 115.

²⁸³ They are therefore among those gods whose munificence is hoped for by the poets who address them as "wealthy".

²⁸⁴ For the accentuation see Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altind. Grammatik*, II, 2 (Göttingen, 1954), p. 682, and my observations in *Lingua*, 6, p. 168 ff. Whereas the nouns in *-tār-* denote an activity of a more incidental character or a function fulfilled under more or less definite circumstances, the subject being entitled, expected or required to do so, the barytona tend to indicate established practice, normal conduct, duty, customary observance, professional relations (cf. also Pāṇini 3, 1, 133; 3, 3, 169; 3, 2, 135).

above function). Geldner's interpretation "deinen (Absichten) schwer zu durchqueren sind..., wenn er mit Absicht... sucht" is improbable.

Not infrequently a *dhīh* is described as a means of achieving definite effects, of gaining an object, etc. A very instructive place is the final (11th) stanza of 5, 45: *dhiyaṃ vo apsu dadhiṣe svarṣāṃ yayātaran daśa māso navagvāḥ | ayā dhiyā syāma devagopā ayā dhiyā tuturyāmāty aṃhaḥ* "you (the poet addresses himself) have executed²⁸⁵ the *dhīh* (not exactly: "Gebet", Geldner) that on your behalf (now those interested in the successful performance of the act of worship are addressed) wins the sun in the water, (the *dhīh*) with which the Navagvas (a group of mythical beings who according to st. 7 had praised the gods with the pressing stones for ten months) passed (those) ten months. By means of this *dhīh* we should like to enjoy the protection of the gods, by this *dhīh* we would have escaped distress".

Elsewhere the ṛṣi wants the product of his vision to bring in *apnaḥ*, a word which no doubt conveyed, also in the "economic sphere",²⁸⁶ the idea of "earnings" and "merits gained by performing work": cf. e.g. 1, 113, 9 *tad deveṣu cakṛṣe bhadram apnaḥ*. Thus Indra is in 10, 42, 3 addressed: "my *dhīh* must be rich in *apnaḥ*, O mighty one!; bring to us, O Indra, Bhaga (the god) who finds (procures) goods!". (Compare also 1, 109, 1, etc.). The poet of the Agni hymn 3, 18 offers "this divine (*devīm*) *dhīh* in order to obtain a hundred" (*śataseyāya*) celebrating with his *brahman* (which appears in material form in his words) as much (long) as he has the power to do so" (st. 3).

The author of 3, 54, 17, addressing the Ṛbhus as "inspired sages" (*kavayaḥ*), implores them together with Indra to fashion²⁸⁷ this "poem" for the sake of gain or acquisition: *dhiyaṃ sātaye takṣatā naḥ*: "le 'façonnage', quelle qu'en soit la matière, est le propre de l'activité des Ṛbhus: ici le terme s'applique à la pensée poétique, apte à faire 'gagner' son auteur comme le char de course qu'on 'façonne' en sorte qu'il obtienne le prix".²⁸⁸

Geldner's translation of 1, 111, 4 *te no hinvantu sātaye dhiye jiṣe* "die (viz. gods) sollen uns aneifern, dasz das Gedicht den Preis gewinne" is in itself not impossible: cf. 10, 125, 6. However, the verb *ji-* "to win, acquire" does not in the R̥gveda govern the noun *sāti-* in the sense of

²⁸⁵ Not the 1st pers. (as was held by Oldenberg, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 55, p. 311; cf. the same, *R̥gveda. Noten*, I, p. 343).

²⁸⁶ See A. Meillet, in *Mém. de la Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, 15, p. 254 ff.; Gonda, *Anc.-Ind. ojas* ..., p. 68 f.

²⁸⁷ "formt uns dies Lied zum Gewinne", Ludwig, *o.c.*, I, p. 213.

²⁸⁸ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 49 f.

"something won or obtained", or "gift"; this meaning being, moreover, dubious. In view of 7, 67, 5; 9, 79, 1; 10, 142, 2; 143, 3 I would therefore prefer "... that (our) *dhīh* will win, will score a victory". For the construction cf. 10, 88, 1.

The parallelism between a chariot-race and the recitation of an inspired hymn²⁸⁹ is expressed by the poet of RV. 10, 142 when he says (st. 2): *pra saptayaḥ pra saniṣanta no dhiyaḥ puraś caranti paśupā iva tmanā* "the coursers,²⁹⁰ our inspired hymns will gain; they go in front like herdsmen in person". For the courser compare 2, 31, 7 *saptir na rathyo aha dhītim aśyāḥ*. Elsewhere the act of worship is compared to a *sapti*:- 7, 43, 2; in 9, 70, 10; 96, 9; 103, 6 etc. the soma draught when being prepared. Notice also the simile of the herdsman who guides and protects the animals which are his charge.

That man is to be praised, that man must win with his *dhiyaḥ* we learn from 8, 19, 9, at the sacrifice of whom the god Agni stands upright. Cf. also st. 14. One might compare also 8, 40, 9 *vasvo vīrasyāprco yā nu sādhanā no dhiyaḥ* "our stanzas (originating in 'vision') which must now be successful, (must be) liberal in giving wealth and son".²⁹¹

From 9, 79, 1 it follows that the *dhiyaḥ* were also considered mighty weapons in the struggle for life, when jealousy and rivalry impend over a man's supply of food or economic resources: "if various forms of enviousness will find (strike) our refreshing food, our stanzas (originating in 'visions') must reach (strike) the enemies, (they) will make a profit".

A double line of thought was also followed by the author of the Indra hymn 10, 133, who in st. 3 says *vi śu viśvā arātayo 'ryo naśanta no dhiyaḥ* "all malignities (must go) away (vanish); our *dhiyaḥ* shall find our opponents".²⁹² The same thought is repeated in the personal sphere: *astāsi śatrave vadhaṃ yo na indra jighāṃsati yā te rātir dadir vasu* "thou wilt certainly hurl thy weapon, O Indra, at the foe who desires to kill us; thy liberality gives goods".

Another effect of a *dhīh* which has assumed the shape of a recitation is described in 7, 1, 10: *ime naro vītrahatyēsu śūrā viśvā adevīr abhi santu māyāḥ ye me dhiyam*²⁹³ *panayanta praśastām* "these heroes will, in the victorious fights against the representatives of the great demon of ob-

²⁸⁹ See also F. B. J. Kuiper, in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 4, p. 279 ff., whose views cannot be discussed here.

²⁹⁰ "*saptayaḥ* ist das Bild für die folgenden *dhiyaḥ*" (Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 375).

²⁹¹ Oldenberg, *Rgveda. Noten*, II, p. 108.

²⁹² For *ari*- see Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 36; VII, p. 56; for this passage also Thieme, *Der Fremdling im Rgveda* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 44.

²⁹³ "Lied", Ludwig; *karma stutiṃ vā*, Sāyaṇa.

struction, overpower all godless designs,²⁹⁴ who praise (and in so doing strengthen or further) my praiseworthy *dhīh*". Geldner was no doubt right in identifying the heroes with the men of noble birth who are, in st. 4, mentioned as being present at sacrificial sessions. The general sense implied in the statement is clear: the man who furthers a ṛṣi's *dhīh* by praising it performs a useful work of which he will reap the benefits. It may be taken for granted that it is the *dhīh* itself that brings about the success to which the poet alludes.

It is not clear to me whether Geldner has understood the purport of RV. 7, 83, 8 correctly: "ye attempted to assist, O Indra and Varuṇa, Sudās, when he was surrounded in the combat of the ten kings, while the Tṛtsus – the relatives of king Sudās –, dressed in white... rich in "visionary speech" performed, with *dhīh* and adoration, acts of worship (*namasā... dhiyā dhīvanto asapanta*; Geldner: "unter Verneigung kunstvoll dichtend Gottesdienst hielten"). Here is, in all probability, described an utterance of powerful words and formulas, pronounced by people in distress who – to use a Greek expression – "shew the force of their mouth for the good of their king"²⁹⁵ in order to save him from suffering a crushing defeat. Magical formula, prayer, and pronunciation of words borne in upon sages and singers cannot be kept apart, because the word, in and of itself, when pronounced in the proper way and at the right moment is powerful.

What is the exact force of the phrase *dhiyo hinvānāḥ* in 2, 21, 5, where alluding to the Aṅgiras and Vala myth the poet relates "that they (i.e. the *uśijaḥ*)²⁹⁶ found a way²⁹⁷ by worship..., urging on their 'visions' (not: "ihren Gedanken Schwung gebend", Geldner), having received inspiration that is converted into direct thought (*manīṣinaḥ*)"? It may be supposed that here also the poet wants to say that the power and efficacy of the sacred words are enhanced so that they became a mighty means of finding the way. Compare 3, 31, 5 where they are called *dhīrāḥ* "possessed of visionary wisdom" and *vīprāḥ* "inspired seers".

A clear manifestation of the power assigned to *dhīh* is found in 8, 4,

²⁹⁴ For *māyā* see my *Four studies in the language of the Veda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 137.

²⁹⁵ Aeschylus, Choeph. 721 πότε δὲ στομάτων δελζομεν ἰσχὺν ἐπ' Ὀρέστη;

²⁹⁶ See also T. Burrow, in *Annals of Oriental Research, Madras Univ.*, 13, p. 7 ff.

²⁹⁷ See *Epithets in the Rgveda*, p. 181; Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 72 "*gātu* ... aussi fig., voie vers le bonheur, le salut". The term *gātu*- belongs, like e.g. also *kratu*- and *rtu*-, to those so-called nomina actionis which formed part of the ancient vocabulary of the spheres of nature, 'sacred law', victuals, crafts, abilities etc. which were studied by W. Havers, "Zum Bedeutungsgehalt eines indogerm. Suffixes", in *Anthropos*, 49, p. 182 ff.

20: *dhībhiḥ sātāni kāṇvasya vājinaḥ priyamedhair.../śaṣṭim sahasrānu... aje nir yūthāni gavām ṛṣiḥ* "I, the ṛṣi, drive away after (the horses mentioned in stanza 19) the herds of sixty thousand... cows which have been won by the... P. by means of the 'materialized visions'²⁹⁸ of the Kāṇva (= the ṛṣi who is speaking), the possessor of vāja". I would imagine that the acquisition of a large herd of cattle was ascribed to the success of a particular *dhīh* of the descendant of Kāṇva. If so, these animals are no part of the dakṣiṇā.

What is of special interest is the combination of the ideas *dhīh* and *vājaḥ*, which is a general term for the specific power-substance of the generative potency which manifests itself in vegetation, cattle, horses, men, etc. and by which new food, new subsistence, new resources, new life is gained.²⁹⁹ Thus 1, 27, 11 Agni is requested to stimulate those speaking (i.e. the ṛṣi and his colleagues including those on whose behalf he is addressing the gods) "with a view to (acquire) *dhīh* and *vājaḥ* (*dhīye vājāya*)", i.e. the god Agni is implored to impart a "vision" to the seer or eulogist who is speaking and to enable him to gain, by means of that *dhīh*, the highly desirable *vājaḥ*. That this is the meaning of the text may appear from other passages.

The desire to obtain, by means of a *dhīh*, *vāja* is perfectly evident in 9, 110, 7 where Geldner's translation "auf dich, o Soma, haben die ersten Opferer ihr Denken gerichtet" fails to convince me. In my opinion the words *mahe vājāya śravase dhiyaṃ dadhuḥ* mean "... they have offered a product-of-vision with a view to secure vāja and renown". For the use of the verb one might compare 7, 34, 8 *sādhann ṛtena dhiyaṃ dadhāmi* where Lüders' interpretation of the phrase under consideration ("... ich bringe das Lied dar..."³⁰⁰) is preferable to Geldner's: "ich mache ein Gedicht"; 5, 41, 2 *namobhir vā ye dadhate suvṛktiṃ stomaṃ rudrāya*; 8, 13, 19 *stotā yat te... ukthāny... dadhe* (Indra is addressed).

The connections between *dhīh* and *vājaḥ* are also apparent from 3, 62, 8 "take pleasure in these words of praise of mine – further my 'materialized vision' that strives after vāja (*vājayantīm avā dhiyaṃ*) – as a bridegroom (takes pleasure) in his young wife". In the preceding stanza the

²⁹⁸ "durch die Gebete", Grassmann, *RV. übers.*, I, p. 557; "durch [seine] Morgenlieder", Ludwig, *o.c.*, II, p. 178; Sāyaṇa resorts to personification: *dhyātrbhiḥ stotrbbhiḥ*.

²⁹⁹ Geldner's translations "Sieg" (1, 27, 11), "Gewinn" (e.g. 1, 27, 8), "Siegerpreis" (e.g. 1, 27, 9), "Lohn" (e.g. 1, 110, 6), "Belohnung" (1, 63, 9), "Ehrenpreis" (1, 48, 12), etc. are not very felicitous. It is difficult integrally to subscribe to the remarks made by Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 21.

³⁰⁰ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 420; 430.

addressee, Pūṣan, is informed that this new ³⁰¹ hymn of praise is intended and declaimed for him; in st. 9 the same god is implored to be "our helper".

The sūkta 1, 109, 1 was according to the poet's own words fashioned as a *dhīr vājayantī* for Indra and Agni (Geldner: "ein lohnbringendes Lied"). These gods are explicitly called the poet's "providence" or "protection" (*pramatiḥ*). The sequence of ideas apparently is: the powerful hymn is dedicated to the gods by the help of whom the poet expects to acquire *vāja*.

The hymn RV. 1, 109, addressed to Indra and Agni, who are the ṛṣi's "only protection", is in st. 1 characterized as a *dhīr vājayantī* (not "ein lohnbringendes Lied", Geldner). In 10, 42, 7 Indra is implored to make the *dhīh*, for the good of the eulogist, rich in *vāja* (*ṛdhī dhiyaṃ jaritre vājaratnām*); it is worth observing that this prayer is preceded by the request to put "us" in possession of corn and cattle.

The author of 6, 35, 1 asks the god Indra when he will present the eulogist with that which will nourish a thousandfold, when he will "clothe" the song of praise of the eulogist who is speaking "with wealth" and when he will make (his) *dhiyaḥ* rich in the jewel consisting in *vāja* (*vājaratnāḥ*). These words imply the belief that the success of the *dhīh*, its capacity of acquiring *vāja*, is the god's doing or due to his influence. This is another place of some importance for defining the sense of the term *vāja* – more exactly.

In 9, 76, 3 pāda d *dhiyā na vājaṃ upa māsi* (Soma is the grammatical subject) *śāsṇataḥ* was misunderstood by Geldner: "wie nach Erwarten teil uns alle Ehrengaben zu!". A similar expression, translated in the same way, occurs, 7, 23, 4 where Indra is addressed: *tvaṃ hi dhībhir dayase vi vājān* "denn du teilst die B. nach E. aus"; here, however, Geldner considers also "den Liedern entsprechend", cf. 7, 37, 2 *vi no rādhāṃsi matibhir dayadhvam* "distribuez-nous les bienfaits (selon la valeur) de (nos) pensées-poétiques".³⁰² In my opinion these instrumentals denote that what is given in exchange,³⁰³ and the verse 9, 76, 3 d must be translated "(I hope, expect) that thou wilt perpetually allot as it were in exchange for (my) materialized vision manifestations of the generative power called *vājaḥ*".

RV. 4, 41, 8 *tā vāṃ dhiyo 'vase vājayantīr ājiṃ na jagmur yuvayūḥ sudānū*

³⁰¹ For the ideas underlying this statement see "Ein neues Lied", in *Wiener Zs. f. d. Kunde des Morg.*, 48, p. 275 ff.

³⁰² Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 42.

³⁰³ See J. S. Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax* (Strassburg, 1896), p. 11, § 36.

"these 'visions' have gone to you (Indra and Varuṇa) in order to win your favour, rousing vital-and-generative-energy, like (those who come) to a running-match,³⁰⁴ longing for you both, O bounteous ones". It would appear to me that Geldner, translating *vājāntīh* by "siegesbegierig" and *ājim* by "Kampf" has misunderstood this line. A race or other game of a magico-religious character puts the runner or player into possession of vigour and energy, enables him to rouse the all-important *vāja* and to attract this generative force or draw its salutary influence down on himself. So do *dhiyaḥ* when received, elaborated and recited in the proper way.

From the preceding discussion of the R̥gvedic evidence in regard to the connections between a *dhīh* and *vājaḥ* it may be inferred that Geldner's interpretation of 7, 93, 3 f. does not carry conviction: "wenn die Preiskämpfer (*vājinaḥ*, rather: "those who set themselves to winning *vāja*³⁰⁵) zum Opfer schreiten, die redkundigen (*viprāḥ* "inspired seers"), mit ihren Gedanken (*dhībhiḥ*, rather: "materialized visions, hymns") (eure) Fürsorge (*pramatim*) sich wünschend, wie Rennpferde... diese Herren, die Indra und Agni anrufen..., dann erfleht der Redekundige (*viprah*)... Reichtum, welcher Ansehn und Vorrang verleiht".

The author of 3, 54, 17 addressing the R̥bhus asks them to fashion a "hymn" with a view to gain: *imāṃ dhiyaṃ sātaye takṣata naḥ*. One would on the one hand be inclined to assume that the author has in view *vājasātaye*; the simple *sātaye* is however of frequent occurrence: 7, 67, 5 *prācīm u devāśvinā dhiyaṃ me 'mṛdhrāṃ sātaye kṛtaṃ vasūyūm* "promote, O divine Aśvins, my 'materialized vision', that it, being desirous of 'wealth', be not inactive in regard to the acquisition (of desirable goods)". The text speaks for itself. Elsewhere also, the context seems to show that the unexpressed object of *sātaye* must be: in 10, 38, 1 "cattle": *prāva sātaye | yatra goṣātā... patanti didyavaḥ*. For the dative *sātaye* see also 1, 102, 3 *taṃ smā ratham maghavan prāva sātaye*: Indra's help is invoked with a view to the acquisition (of desirable goods); 111, 4.

Other evidence of the power attributed to the *dhiyaḥ* to gain something that is eagerly desired is found: 6, 45, 12 *dhībhir arvadbhīr arvato vājān... jeṣma*; it is doubtful whether Geldner is right in assuming an elliptic character of the sentence; anyhow, his first suggestion "wir wollen mit den weisen Gedanken die anderen Dichter besiegen" is to be rejected; I would suggest: "we would like to win with inspired thoughts, which

³⁰⁴ For the import of races etc. see e.g. *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 46 f. with n. 55.

³⁰⁵ For this sense of an adjective in -in- ("etwas betreibend") see Schwyzler-Debrunner, *Altind. Grammatik*, II, 2, p. 337 f.

are coursers, coursers in the shape of, or coursers representing, manifestations of the generative force called *vāja*". Geldner's translation "wollen wir die Rennpferde (besiegen)" meets with the – it is true, not insurmountable – difficulty that there are no other places in the R̥gveda where a horse is the object of *ji-* in the sense of "gaining the victory over...". When a word for "horse" or "cow" is object the verb elsewhere signifies the act of "gaining, winning; capturing" (cf. 4, 17, 11). The syntactic construction of identificatory apposition is well known from Vedic prose³⁰⁶: ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 2 (in 1 it reads: *brahmaiva mitraḥ kṣatraṃ varunaḥ*) *te haite agre nānevāsatuḥ brahma ca kṣatraṃ ca tataḥ śaśākaiva brahma mitra ṛte kṣatrād varuṇāt sthātum* "(Mitra is the priesthood, and Varuṇa the nobility). Now, in the beginning, these two, priesthood and nobility, were separate, then M., the p., could stand without V., the n.". As horses are well-known bearers or winners of *vāja* and therefore called *vājinaḥ*³⁰⁷ and as they are, as such, expected to win or give strength, new food, longevity, they may in the Vedic train of thought be identified with *vāja* and the *vāja* may be conceived as being embodied in a horse.³⁰⁸ RV. 5, 54, 14 may, perhaps, be explained in the same way.³⁰⁹ The term *vāja* is often the grammatical object of the verb *ji-* "to conquer, win".

As is well known the old principle of explanation of sacrifice, the rationalistic formula *do ut des*, had better be replaced by *do ut possis dare*, archaic man giving to his gods in order that they may be able to give in return, enhancing their power that they may have power, and that the potencies for good may not stagnate because of any lack of vigour. The idea of giving, moreover, does not mean merely "to dispose of some

³⁰⁶ See also B. Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax* (Halle a.S., 1888), p. 61.

³⁰⁷ See e.g. *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 147 ff.

³⁰⁸ This is not to contend that *vāja-* (as was at the time supposed e.g. by Roth, in the *Petr. Dict.*, VI, 894) means "horse": see R. Pischel, in R. P. und K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien* (Stuttgart), I, p. 45 ff., and Lüders, *Philologica Indica* (Göttingen, 1940), p. 765.

³⁰⁹ The attempts at interpreting this passage were discussed by Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 765 f.: Ludwig: "einen Renner als Kraft"; Bergaigne "un cheval, comme richesse ou comme butin"; Pischel "groszer Reichtum" or "Rosz (und) Reichtum"; Lüders prefers to take *arvantam* as a case of haplogy instead of *arvaṇvantam*. Phrases consisting of two substantives where we would expect to find a substantive and an adjective are of considerable frequency in Latin: *tirones milites, exercitus tiro, exercitus victor, equus bellator, victricibus navibus* etc.; compare also, in Greek, similar phrases with παρθένος "girl, maiden", δοῦλος (Soph. O.C. 917 δοῦλος πόλις etc.; see J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, II² (Basel, 1928), p. 54 ff.; and in French: *des citoyens soldats*: "le rapport implicite qui les unit est celui d'une équation, analogue à ce que serait une relative du type *qui sont*" (W. v. Wartburg et P. Zumthor, *Précis de syntaxe du français contemporain*, Berne, 1947, p. 193).

arbitrary object” with the rather indefinite intentions of showing kindness or conferring a favour. It rather means “to place oneself in relation to another being, to participate in him by means of an object which actually is but a part of one’s own self”.³¹⁰

Among the innumerable Vedic instances of this reciprocity is also 8, 60, 12 where Agni after the statement that he is the god by the aid of whom the enemies are conquered is called upon to bestow his favours upon the ṛṣi: *sa tvaṃ no vardha prayasā śacīvaso | jinvā dhiyo vasuvidah* “do thou therefore increase by our libation, O thou who art rich in succouring power; resuscitate (make active) visions, which are to procure goods”. Properly speaking the series of events occurring in succession run a sort of circular course: man presents an oblation to the god, who in his turn gives a ‘vision’, by means of which man expects to acquire objects of value; part of these, it may be supposed, will in the future be set apart for the gods.

A very clear place is 1, 143, 6 *codaḥ kuvit tutuyāt sātaye dhiyaḥ | śucipratīkaṃ tam ayā dhiyā gr̥ṇe*. On the one hand, the ṛṣi hopes that the god “will push or promote the visions (not, with Geldner ‘(from-me) Gedanken’) that the ṛṣi (*cum suis*) may win”, on the other the poet praises him “with this *dhīh*”, which of course means a materialized vision or “hymn”.

According to Geldner the stanza 8, 84, 7 *kasya nūnam parīṇaso dhiyo jinvasi dampate | goṣātā yasya te girah* means “aus wessen Überflusz (i.e. ‘durch reiche Belohnung’) belebst du jetzt, o Hausherr, die (dichterischen) Gedanken, da deine Lobesworte bei der Rindergewinnung (etwas gelten)?”, adding: “Ich sage so, denn dein Lob fällt bei der Auslohnung der Dichter ins Gewicht”. As to *parīṇasaḥ* this does not, in my opinion, refer to a recompense awarded to the god or to the poet. In 5, 10, 1 the words *pra no rāyā parīṇasā ratsi vājāya panthām* the same god is requested to open, with wealth and abundance (*parīṇas-*) the path to *vājah*, the regenerative force by which new food, new life, and prosperity, are obtained. Geldner very properly observed: “Reichtum, d.h. den du verschenkst”, an interpretation which is in harmony with the other half of the stanza. As is well known, Agni gives wealth, which he abundantly commands (1, 1, 3; 31, 10); all treasures are collected in him (10, 6, 6). The poet of 3, 24, 5 implores the same god to give to his worshippers property and an abundance together with heroic sons. There can be no doubt whatever that in 1, 166, 14 the *parīṇas-* by

³¹⁰ See e.g. G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London, 1938), ch. 50.

which the poet *cum suis* will for a long time preponderate belong to the Maruts. I am afraid that I cannot agree with Geldner³¹¹ in explaining the noun as “Vollzahl, viz. die ganze Schar der Marut”, because these gods are well known for their liberality (cf. e.g. st. 7 and 12 of the same hymn; 2, 34, 11; 5, 57, 8), their gifts consisting of rain and the good results of rain. Also in connection with Indra the word refers to an abundance of goods, gifts etc.: 1, 129, 9 *tvaṃ na indra rāyā parīṇasā yāhi*; 4, 31, 12 *asmāṃ aviddhi viśvahendra rāyā parīṇasā | asmān viśvābhir ūtibhiḥ*. The same phrase *r. p.* occurs 8, 97, 6: “vollkommenen Reichtum” (Geldner). Geldner’s translation of 8, 21, 7 *nahi nū te | vidmā purā parīṇasaḥ* “denn noch haben wir früher deine volle Grösze nicht kennen gelernt...” fails to convince me. Cf. also 1, 133, 7; 8, 77, 9. In 1, 56, 2 the *parīṇasaḥ* join the *gūrtayaḥ* “words of praise”, in being intended for the god Indra. We would probably do more justice to the above statement (8, 84, 7), when we translate the words *k. p.* by “as a result of the abundance of gifts of whom dost thou stimulate the power of vision to renewed activity...?”³¹²

A fine example of reciprocity is found in 9, 72, 1 *ūd vācam irāyati hin-vāte matī puruṣtutāsya kāti cit paripriyāḥ* “while he causes Speech to appear, some who are very dear to him who is praised by many, incite him through the *matīh*, i. e. the realization of intentional and directed thought”.

Indra, to whom the hymn 8, 13 is dedicated, is in st. 26 not only said to be the favourer of the eulogist (*stuvataḥ*), the latter also states that he directs a ‘composition’ to the god. The choice of words is of interest: *ṛtād iyarmi te dhiyam manoyujam*, which was translated by Lüders-Alsdorf³¹³ as follows: “aus der Wahrheit sende ich zu dir das durch die Gedanken gespannte Gedicht”. The same phrase occurs 9, 100, 3 *tvaṃ dh. m. srjā vṛṣṭim na tanyatuḥ* “lasz du das d. d. G. b. G. fliesen wie der Donner den Regen”. Elsewhere however the adjective *manoyuj-* qualifies the horses of Agni, Vāyu or the Aśvins, and once the chariot of the last-mentioned. The *dhīh* is therefore implicitly compared, with regard to its swiftness, to a chariot drawn by divine horses: it is the swift “mind” that conveys the *dhīh* to the gods. As to *ṛtāt*³¹⁴ I would consider: “in virtue of the order, truth and harmony conditioning, *inter alia*, all ritual acts”.

³¹¹ Geldner, *o.c.*, I³, p. 242.

³¹² For this use of the ablative see B. Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax* (Halle a.S., 1888), p. 114 f.; J. S. Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax* (Strassburg, 1896), p. 16, § 54.

³¹³ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 453, n. 1; Sāyaṇa: *anugrahābuddhim*.

³¹⁴ Grassmann’s (*Wörterbuch*, 283) “aus aufrichtigem Herzen” is anyhow to be rejected.

A somewhat different formulation is chosen by the poet of 7, 41, 3 who asks Bhaga, the dispenser or distributor (cf. st. 2), the god presiding over allotments and the gifts of fortune, to "further the *dhīh* and at the same time to lift it in order to accept it" (if this is the idea expressed by *ud*; Sāyaṇa however explains: *phalayuktāṃ kuru bhagemāṃ dhiyam ud avā dadan naḥ* "O Bhaga, further this *dhīh* while giving us"). The epithets accompanying the name of the god, *praṇetar* "guide, conductor, promoter" and *satyarādhaḥ* "truly beneficent", are no doubt to emphasize the two aspects of the god's activity. One might arrive at the conclusion that the furtherance of the *dhīh* and the god's benefactions (cows, horses, men, see the pādas c and d) are just two sides of one and the same action.

The same thought is expressed in 10, 74, 3: "this word of praise (*gīh*) is meant for the gods; making the *dhīh* as well as the worship (*yajñam*) successful they must bestow on us complete possession of property". Attention may be drawn to the phrase *dhiyaṃ ca yajñam ca*, the repeated *ca* indicating the complementary character of both ideas.

Elsewhere however the *dhiyaḥ* are to incite or stimulate a god, viz. Agni in 10, 156, 1 *agnim hinvantu no dhiyaḥ | saptim āsum ivājiṣu | tena jeṣma dhanam dhanam*. It is the ṛṣi's intention to win, by Agni's help, valuable object after valuable object (cf. also st. 3). However, Agni who is in st. 4 requested to cause the sun to rise bringing light to mankind, is (st. 2) also expected to stimulate the poet's army, with which he hopes to win cattle and other gifts, and (st. 5) is asked to wake up, in order to give bodily and mental energy to the eulogist (*bodhā stotre vayo dadhat*). We may imagine this reciprocity as an arousal and stimulation of Agni on the side of the poet and his hope to attain to renewed 'visions' and inspiration from the god.

Especially welcome is 8, 43, 19 *agnim dhībhir manīṣiṇo medhirāso vipaścitaḥ | admasadyāya hinvire* "the 'wise' ones who being possessed of mental vigour are experienced in inspiration urge Agni to sit down for his meal": those who set the *dhiyaḥ* in motion or who make use of them in order to exert influence upon the god are explicitly described as inspired sages. ṚV. 5, 25, 4 the *dhiyaḥ* are explicitly stated to be intended for Agni: *agnir no havyavāhano | agnim dhībhiḥ saparyata* "Agni is the bearer of our oblations; adore (worship) Agni with *dhiyaḥ*". Geldner's "mit (frommen) Gedanken" is not the right translation. The same phrase recurs 8, 103, 3. As the process denoted by *saparyati* is also performed by means of ghee (see 10, 118, 6) or with delightful libations (1, 58, 7), the *dhiyaḥ* must be the laudatory verses which are to strengthen the god, who is willing to convey man's oblations to the other gods. Geldner's

translation of 10, 150, 3 *tvām u jātavedasaṃ viśvavāraṃ grṇe dhiyā* "dich, den allbegehrten J., preise ich mit Kunst" is likewise open to criticism: it is the same aspect of the concept *dhīh* that is considered here.

Geldner, though translating *dhiyā* in 1, 139, 1 by "mit Bedacht" – Sāyaṇa explaining by *praṇayanādikarmaṇā* – gives, in his annotation, serious consideration to the meaning "mit meiner Dichtung". The text, running as follows: *puro agnim dhiyā dadhe* may be taken as a statement that the poet instigated by, and by means of (cf. e.g. 6, 10, 1; 7, 53, 1 and 2) his visionary thought which he has converted into audible verses places Agni at the head (of hymn and sacrifice, cf. e.g. 3, 2, 5³¹⁵). There is in my opinion no room for the interpretation: "premeditatedly, with discretion". It is the poet's 'inspiration' which stimulates him to the performance of liturgical acts and the same *dhīh* which, in the form of his verses, becomes a means of realizing his intentions. One might compare 3, 62, 12 *devaṃ naraḥ savitāraṃ viprā yajñaiḥ suvrktibhiḥ | namasyanti dhiyeṣitāḥ* "the inspired men pay homage to god S. with acts of worship, and good hymns of praise, being impelled by *dhīh*"; (Geldner "(von frommen Gedanken) getrieben"). Geldner's "mit allseitigem Bedacht" – *buddhyā*, Sāyaṇa – cannot serve to render 9, 101, 3 *taṃ... abhī naraḥ somaṃ viśvācyā dhiyā | yajñam hinvanti adribhiḥ* "the men urge on that soma, the act of worship with *dhīh* (inspired thought) that is turned to all directions, (all-pervading, ubiquitous) and with the pressing-stones"; for the construction of *yajñam* see 7, 34, 5 and 6 *hinota yajñam*; and also 1, 23, 7 *hinvantv adhvaram*; 1, 184, 4 *stomaṃ hinotam*; 10, 30, 11; for *adribhiḥ* 9, 65, 8 *hariṃ hinvanti adribhiḥ*. The force of the adjective *viśvācyā* may to a certain extent be elucidated by passages such as 1, 61, 4 *viśvaminvam (stomaṃ)* "the all-invigorating, all-pervading eulogium".

The term under discussion is sometimes the grammatical object of the verb *tan-* or of one of its compounds. Expressing such ideas as "extending, spreading, being protracted, continuing, stretching" this verb may be used in connection with various activities which in some way or other remind one of processes such as weaving, performing prolonged ceremonies. ṚV. 1, 80, 16 "towards whom Atharvan, father Manu, Dadhyañc directed their *dhīh* (*dhiyam atnata*: Geldner translates "ihr Dichten gerichtet haben"³¹⁶) in him (Indra) as formerly all sacred hymns

³¹⁵ See my paper "Purohita", in *Festschrift-W. Kirfel* (Bonn, 1955), p. 107 ff. Divinities and the priest called purohita hold as a shield in front of a person or object to be protected the special power of the potencies attaching to their own person.

³¹⁶ Grassmann, *Wtb.* "kunstvoll ausführen".

and eulogies have come together": Atharvan was the head of a semi-divine family of mythical priests, Dadhyañc, likewise a mythical sage, passes for his son. The most satisfactory interpretation of these words 5, 47, 6 *vi tanvate dhiyo asmā apāṃsi* seems to be "the 'visions' (hymn), the sacral actions 'stretch' i.e. are in a prolonged way performed, for him (i.e. the Sun)" (the English verb to be taken intransitively); the next pāda meaning "(one might compare this to) mothers who weave clothes for their son". The combination of *dhiyaḥ* and the performance of rites and their co-operation is too well known to need illustration; cf. e.g. 3, 3, 3 *apāṃsi... girāḥ*.

The poet of 10, 101, 2 adhorting his colleagues as follows: *mandrā kṛṇudhvam dhiya ā tanudhvam...*; 10, 106, 1 the Aśvins are the subject of the verb, and their only aim is said to be this: "you unfold 'visions' like two skilful men pieces of cloth" (*vi tanvāthe dhiyo vastrāpaseva*). Thus the verb is used of the god who gives the "vision" as well as the man who directs his "hymn" to the deity.

Attention may now be drawn to 10, 40, 1 *ratham yāntam kuha ko ha vām narā prati dyumantam suvitāya bhūṣati* |... *vastor-vastor vhamānam dhiyā samī*. Translating these words "whither goes your chariot, who glorifies (strengthens by words of praise),³¹⁷ O ye lords, that splendid one, that it may go prosperously, (the chariot) that every morning goes (departs) with (accompanied by) 'vision' and ritual effort³¹⁸." I disagree with Geldner who, connecting the words *dhiyā samī* with the verb, renders these words: "erwartet mit Dichtung und Werkdienst". The phrase *dhiyā samī* occurs also 2, 31, 6 where a group of gods is said to have been satisfied with what Renou translates by "(notre) acte-poétique, (notre) effort-rituel",³¹⁹ and 9, 74, 7 where Soma is related to be accompanied by the same power-concepts. Comparing in addition to these passages also 8, 26, 19 *smad etayā sukīrtiāśvinā śvetayā dhiyā vahethe...* which also in Geldner's opinion means "zusammen mit dieser Ruhmrede, o Aśvin, mit dem glänzenden Gedicht fahret ihr beide..." the conclusion seems to be that the words of 10, 40, 1 d form a unity. Cf. also 8, 26, 15 *yajñam ūhathur girā*. As the Aśvins, who set out on their daily journey at daybreak (4, 45, 2) are not only well-known furtherers of eulogies (8, 35, 20) but also gods of the reveille (1, 92, 17) we may give some con-

³¹⁷ See *Four studies in the language of the Veda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 77 f.

³¹⁸ Rather than "das Mattwerden" (Thieme, in *Oriens*, 6, p. 399). *stutirūpeṇa karmaṇā* and *yajñarūpe karmaṇi*, Sāyaṇa. See also Renou, *o.c.*, IV, p. 43, 90.

³¹⁹ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 12; cf. also IV, p. 43: "s'opposent comme 'parole' et 'acte'".

sideration to the possibility that the *dhīh* as well as the *samī* on the one hand accompany the chariot of the Aśvins, and are on the other started or brought along by its appearance. Cf. also 2, 31, 6 *dhiyā samī*.

That the concern of a god for the seer's activity on the one hand and the effective power of the *dhīh* on the other might be viewed as a sort of co-operation is for instance apparent from 6, 71, 6 imploring the god Savitar to produce, on behalf of those addressing him, what is good-and-agreeable and expressing the wish that "we may become partakers of good-and-agreeable (*vāmahājah*) through this *dhīh*", and from 8, 19, 14: the man who worships Aditi will be successful through his *dhiyaḥ*.

Compare also 9, 67, 27 *punantu māṇi devajanāḥ punantu vasavo dhiyā*.

A fine example of the invocation of divine help in attempting to gain goods by means of a *dhīh* is 8, 4, 15: "we choose Pūṣan who possesses many goods for our associate. O mighty One, O thou who art much invoked, help us by reason of our materialized 'vision' (hymn) to procure 'wealth', O liberator." Cf. 6, 22, 7.

It is not at first sight easy to determine the precise meaning of 7, 37, 5 ab *sanitāsi pravato dāśuṣe cid yābhīr viveṣo haryaśva dhībhiḥ*: "thou (Indra) wilt gain the smooth paths for the benefit of the devout by means of the manifestations of the faculty of supranormal sight with which thou art active". In any case there can be no doubt about the god's being active with, or by means of, *dhiyaḥ*, which may therefore be supposed to guide or inspire him. Geldner's "Absichten" is to be rejected.

Concepts such as *dhīh* were, in ancient India, easily credited with the ability of leading an independent existence, although they were, like other "Daseinsmächte",³²⁰ often or even as a rule intimately associated with various beings and formed one of their faculties or capacities. Emotional reactions varying from simple fear and avoidance to awe and reverence with regard to a large variety of events and phenomena in nature, the world of man and psychical or physical life, events and phenomena which revealed to man the existence of potencies mysterious in nature, marvellous in operation and effective for good and evil led him to the conviction that these manifestations of power were, or could be, ruled or controlled by potencies which could act and react as persons. Thus places are far from rare where specific powers or faculties belonging to men or to definite provinces of nature are described as if they were personal beings.

³²⁰ See e.g. H. von Glasenapp, *Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens* (Halle S., 1940), p. 9 ff.

In the *purorucas* (particular *nivid*-formularies recited, before the principal hymn, at the morning oblation in the Ājya ceremony) collected in RVKh. 6, 6 it reads: (6) "we invoke all the gods, the experts in subtle crafts (*supeśasah*)³²¹; to this act of worship that they come to this sacrifice, the gods, with the divine (*devyā*) Dhī". In a similar way, Vāyu is requested to approach together with Manas (st. 1; = VS. 27, 31).

In the series of *nivids* (short formularies inserted in a liturgy and containing epithets or short invocations of the gods³²²) constituting RVKh. 5, 5 it reads (2-5) *premām devo (devī) devahūtim avatu (avatām) devyā dhīyā* "the god (gods; viz. Indra with the Maruts, Indra, Savitar, Heaven and Earth) must further this invocation of the gods by means of the divine *dhīh*", or, rather, with the divine (goddess) Dhī. That is to say: in close association with the Liturgical Word which owes its origin to a "vision". In 6 the same formula is repeated in connection with the Ṛbhus, in 7 the Viśve devāḥ are the subject, in 8 Agni, in 9 the Maruts, etc.

It is not surprising that *dhīh* sometimes coupled with the name of a divine being which as a rule is conceived as a person, because often no clear and definitive distinction is made between power of an impersonal character and "personal" – I deliberately avoid the term "personified" – beings endowed with power, or able to display a powerful activity. In 7, 35, 11 it accordingly reads: *śaṃ no devā viśvadevā bhavantu śaṃ sarasvatī saha dhībhir astu | śaṃ abhiśācaḥ śaṃ u rātiśācaḥ śaṃ no divyāḥ pāthivāḥ śaṃ no apyāḥ*. Whereas the *a.* and the *r.* are "wenig individualisierte Genien",³²³ the (divine female) Attendants and the Escorts of the gifts, Sarasvatī is the well-known goddess who is to become, in later times, identified with Vāc "Speech" and who, in the Rgveda, directs, furthers and stimulates the worship of the sacrificers. Renou³²⁴ is no doubt right in referring, for the combination *sarasvatī saha dhībhiḥ* in st. 11, to *śaṃ no aditir bhavatu vratabhiḥ* in st. 9.³²⁵ The same goddess – the great divine river, the purifier and bestower of wealth, progeny and vitality, the bountiful procurer of plenty and nourishment, who affords protection to her worshippers and destroys their enemies³²⁶ – is 10, 65, 13 accompanied not only by the *Dhiyaḥ*, but also by *Puraṃdhiḥ*, (according to a common translation) "die Wunscherfüllung, Freigebigkeit, Be-

³²¹ This sense seems to be preferable to that of "well adorned".

³²² See Surendraprasād Niyogi, *A critical study of the Nivids* (Calcutta, 1961).

Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 216.

³²⁴ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 97.

³²⁵ Otherwise, H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch vrata und awestisch urvāta* (Hamburg, 1958), p. 69 (where *bharatu*,?).

³²⁶ For particulars see also Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 86 f.

glückung",³²⁷ or shorter and probably more to the point "Gift". *Dhiyaḥ* and *Puraṃdhiḥ* – who recur in st. 14 – represent so to say the two main spheres of activity of the goddess.

I am not convinced by Renou's explication of the nature of *puraṃdhiḥ* as "don poétique, inspiration".³²⁸ The phrase 7, 36, 8 *rātiśācam puraṃdhim* does not necessarily mean "l'inspiration poétique accompagnée du don", it may also be explained as "the goddess Generosity together with presents" (cf. 3, 62, 11) or even as "Generosity with presentations". As stated by Renou himself "la juxtaposition (de *dhī-* et *puraṃdhi-*) n'est... pas la preuve de l'identité": as however, the *dhīh* as a "hymn" influencing the divine powers is to lead to the compliance with wishes and the reception of gifts, there may be a distinct difference in meaning. A similar remark applies to 9, 97, 36 *vardhayā vācaṃ janayā puraṃdhim*: Soma is, in my opinion, requested to add strength to the spoken word and to generate the 'power of gifts'; 10, 39, 2; 4, 22, 10 *upa māhi vājān... iṣaṇaḥ puraṃdhiḥ*; 4, 50, 11 *aviṣṭaṃ dhiyo jigṛtaṃ puraṃdhiḥ* "favour the 'visions', rouse the 'gifts'": nothing can prevent us from considering the 'gifts' the natural result of the successful *dhiyaḥ*; 5, 41, 6 etc. I fail to see why 7, 32, 20 *siśāsati vājam puraṃdhyā yujā* must refer to "des formules humaines qui incitent le dieu à la victoire"; why not: "he desires to win vāja with Gift (who is to distribute the vāja to the worshippers) as an ally"? Similarly 3, 62, 11, the adjective *revatī* "rich" (1, 158, 2) is in harmony with the sense of "gift", etc.

Puraṃdhi is identical with the Avestan Pārēndi, "Bounty", who belongs to the companions of the god Mithra (Yašt 10, 66), and of Aši "Award", Mithra's sister, who together with her brother is a bestower of fortune, riches, and noble progeny to the house of the faithful (Y. 60, 7), Pārēndi is also associated with Arštāt, "Justice", a female divine power who upholds the social contract.³²⁹ Puraṃdhi is, in the Rgveda, nearly always mentioned with Bhaga, the god who represents and gives a share in fortune, and also with three gods whom we meet in other parts of this publication, Pūṣan, Savitar, and Agni, and finally once with Viṣṇu. The implication clearly is that Sarasvatī, the *Dhiyaḥ* and Puraṃdhi co-operate in providing the faithful worshipper with those objects which he eagerly desires. There is evidence of Sarasvatī's activity with regard to *dhīh*. In 2, 3, 8 she is stated to render the *dhīh* of the ṛṣi *cum suis* successful: *sarasvatī sādhyantī dhiyaṃ naḥ*. Geldner incorrectly gives his readers

³²⁷ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 455.

³²⁸ Renou, *Études sur le vocabulaire du Rgveda* (Pondichery, 1958), p. 6 ff.

³²⁹ I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 215; 286.

the option between "(fromme) Gedanke" and "Gebet". In 10, 66, 5 the company of well-disposed deities consists of Sarasvat, the male correlative of the divine river,³³⁰ who in 7, 96, 4-6 is invoked by worshippers desiring wives and children, plenty and protection, the Dhiyaḥ, Varuṇa, the god who maintains the fixed rules, orders, customs (*dhṛtavrata*) – by whose "greatness" (*mahiman-*) the creatures became *dhīrāḥ* (7, 86, 1) –, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, Greatness or Majesty (*mahiman-*) – a power-substance which was believed to lead – to a certain extent – an autonomous existence (cf. e.g. 1, 129, 10) and which is celebrated by sacrifices (7, 2, 2)³³¹ –, Vāyu, the Aśvins, "those who produce materialized forms of brahman (the *brah-makṛtaḥ*, i.e. the Maruts), the immortal and all-knowing ones". All those divinities are in this hymn dedicated to the Viśve devāḥ invoked for protection against "distress", the fearful evil called *aṃhaḥ*.³³²

As to the *Dhīh* and *Puraṃdhiḥ*, "they belong together" (Geldner³³³). In 10, 65, 14 they are requested to have us enjoy the celestial light³³⁴ and take pleasure in the songs of praise, the brahman, and the hymn, being in the company of the Viśve devāḥ, who are worthy of man's worship, the immortal ones, who know the ṛta, and of the Escorts of gifts, the (divine) Attendants, (gods) who find (bestow) the celestial light (*svarvidah*). – Hence also 8, 34, 6 *smatpuraṃdhir na ā gahi viśvatodhīr na ūtaye* where Geldner's translation "Zusammen mit P. komm (O Indra) zu uns, nach allen Seiten hin bedenkend" may be corrected: the god is implored to approach together with *Puraṃdhi* and turning his *dhī*-everywhere (imparting it to all sages).

In 8, 69, 1 *dhīyā vo medhasātaye puraṃdhyā vivāsati* "(together) with *Dhīh* and *Puraṃdhiḥ* he strives on your behalf for the attainment of wisdom". To all appearance the subject of this sentence is implied in the words *triṣṭubham iṣam* in the preceding line: the "Refreshment in the shape of triṣṭubh verses",³³⁵ which then is believed to be assisted by the two other power-concepts Vision and Gift or Compliance (-with-the-ṛṣi's-desires), in guiding the ṛṣi to *medhā*. The same pair of powers appears in 8, 92, 15 where Indra is implored to aid those praying together

³³⁰ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 123.

³³¹ See my relative remarks in *Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda*, 8 (1959), p. 257; "abréviation possible de *mahimā indrasya*" (Renou, l.c.).

³³² See *Indo-Ir. Journal*, 1, p. 33 ff.

³³³ Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 239.

³³⁴ I take *svaḥ* (in pāda d) to be the object of a verb which being the active counterpart of *juṣerata* has been omitted: cf. e.g. 1, 66, 8 *yamo ha jāto yamo janitvam* "as Yama he has been born, as Yama (he creates) what is to be born".

³³⁵ Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 393 wavers between this eulogy and the poet himself.

with *Dhīh* who acquires most, inspires awe and is (runs) quick, and with *Puraṃdhi*: *sa no vṛṣan saniṣṭhayā saṃ ghorayā dravitnvā / dhīyāvīdḍhi puraṃdhyā*. These epithets may add to our knowledge of the contents of the concept *dhīh*. The adjective *ghora-* which is usually translated by "terrific, dreadful" often rather answers to "awful": an illustrative place is 7, 28, 2 where Indra who has taken his weapon is said to be invincible; by his mere resourcefulness (*kratuḥ*) he is *ghoraḥ*.³³⁶ In connection with the same god the word occurs in the beautiful hymn 2, 12, st. 5 "the awful one of whom they ask 'where is he?', of whom they also say 'he is not'"; according to 7, 20, 6 the man who is able to win Indra's *ghoram manaḥ* will not suffer wrong; the poet of 9, 89, 4 describes Soma as a *ghoram aśvam*; Agni may be *ghoraḥ* (4, 6, 6); Mitra and Varuṇa are awful or dreadful to the deceitful mortal (cf. 7, 66, 13); the Aṅgirasah, seers who are sons of the gods, fathers of the ṛṣis, powerful singers, associated with various gods and closely connected with Indra, are 10, 92, 3 and 108, 10 given the same epithet; in 10, 95, 1 Purūravas addresses Urvaśi by this adjective; Sarasvatī, killing the inimical power of obstruction is likewise *ghorā* (6, 61, 7). In 10, 34, 14 the same word is elliptically used to refer to the employment of spells and magic with a malevolent purpose. The adjective seems therefore to have expressed that mingling of respect, fear and startled wonder which is denoted by the English *awful* and it is interesting to see that *dhīyaḥ* which enabled man to get into touch with the unseen were among the powers which could rouse that emotion. To Power men's reaction is, indeed, awe and amazement and in extreme cases fear. "This attitude is characterized by Power being regarded, not indeed as supranatural, but as extraordinary, of some markedly unusual type, while objects and persons endowed with this potency have that essential nature of their own which we call 'sacred'".³³⁷ Constant regard to the sacred is the chief element in the relationship between man and all that is powerful and extraordinary.

Another place exhibiting the divine power *Dhī* as a more or less "personal character"³³⁸ – I would prefer this unusual expression (cf. *a public character*), which of course must not be taken to mean "a rude fellow", to "personified abstraction" – is 2, 38, 10 *bhagam dhīyaṃ vājayantaḥ puraṃdhiḥ*³³⁹... (*āye vāmasya saṃgathe rayiṇām priyā de-*

³³⁶ See *Epithets in the Rgveda*, p. 184.

³³⁷ Van der Leeuw, *Religion*, p. 28.

³³⁸ See my 'Gods' and 'powers' in the *Veda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1957), p. 37.

³³⁹ "Glück, Andacht, Reichtum mögen wir beeilen" (Grassmann, *Rig-veda übers.*, I, p. 523; "die stärken das glück, den geist, das denken, und die fülle", Ludwig, *o.c.*, I, p. 146.

vasya savituh syāma "stimulating the vital powers residing in or represented by³⁴⁰ Bh., Dh. and P. – "die Genien des Glückes, der Wunscherfüllung (rather: of the Gift) und (incorrectly) des Nachdenkens oder der Dichtung, also alle die, welche dem Dichter zum vollen Erfolg nötig sind"³⁴¹ – we should like to be, when desirable good comes and riches assemble, the favourites of the god Savitar."

The stanza 7, 36, 8 is an appeal to make Aramati, Pūṣan, Puram̐dhi, and Bhaga "who is the promoter of this *dhīh* of ours" (*dhiyo 'vitāraṃ no asyāh*) the champions for gaining *vāja* (*sātau vājam*). Bhaga, the great giver and distributor of goods and material comfort, is to all appearance expected to 'favour' the *dhīh* in order to make it a more suitable means of realizing wishes and aspirations and of obtaining the various goods which are ardently longed for. With regard to 5, 41, 6 the observation may suffice that the spouses of the gods are invoked "to confer a gift of abundance (*puram̐dhīh* to be translated as an appellative noun) upon our *dhīh*".

From the point of view of those who are interested in the study of the associations of Vedic ideas the stanza 10, 39, 2 is remarkable in that it combines *sūnrtāh* "the gifts of (youthful) vitality" which are to be excited or animated, *dhiyaḥ* which must be made to swell or abound and *puram̐dhīh* which must be caused to come forth": *codayataṃ s. pinvataṃ dh. ut p. irayatam*, the divinities addressed being the Aśvins.

That there is a close relation between *dhīh* and Sarasvatī appears also from 1, 3, 12 which at the same time evidences the two-sided nature of the goddess: *maho arṇaḥ sarasvatī pra cetayati ketunā | dhiyo viśvā vi rājati*. What does it mean that the goddess "is mistress of all *dhiyaḥ*" (and not, with Geldner, "alle (fromme) Gedanken beherrscht")? To all appearance, that she is also able to dispense "visions": cf. 5, 8, 5 *purūṇy annā sahasā vi rājase* (Agni is addressed). She is on the other hand, in st. 10, described as *vājebhir vājinīvatī* which comes to something like "giving an abundance of gifts consisting in *vāja*". According to st. 11 she accepts the worship while being a *codayitrī sūnrtānām*.

Let us finally study the adjectives used to qualify the term *dhīh*, so far as they have not yet been examined in the preceding sections of this chapter. Far from being always decorative additions or expletive or conventional epithets, these words are not rarely a welcome help in

³⁴⁰ For the sense of *vājayati* see *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 44 ff.

³⁴¹ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 326. For the function of these or similar powers see RV. 6, 49, 14 "the (gods) Bh. and P., who are distributors of gifts, must together with the herbs stimulate this (literary composition) in order to obtain wealth". Cf. also 3, 62, 11.

defining the sense of a substantive more exactly.³⁴² In a considerable number of passages they are far from meaningless or stuffing additions *metri causa*, fulfilling on the contrary a stylistic, literary, and religious function which is worth investigating in detail.

The "visionary thought" is 8, 27, 13 and 10, 176, 2 called *devī*- "divine": *devaṃ devaṃ huvema vājasātaye gr̥ṇanto devyā dhiyā* "we would like to invoke every god in order to win *vāja*, extolling him with divine 'visionary thought'", and *pra devaṃ devyā dhiyā bharatā jātavedasam* "bring forward the god J. with d. v. th.". Similarly, in 3, 18, 3 (Agni hymn) *yāvad iṣe brahmaṇā vandamāna imāṃ dhiyaṃ śataseyāya devīm* "as far as I am able, doing homage with the materialized brahman,³⁴³ (I offer) this divine *dhīh* in order to obtain a hundred" and 7, 34, 9 where a number of deities is addressed as follows: *abhi vo devīm dhiyaṃ dadhidhvam | pra vo devatrā vācam kṛṇudhvam* "put on the divine *dhīh*; produce your speech to the gods". See also Kh. 5, 5, 2; 6, 6. Now, as already observed by Grassmann,³⁴⁴ this adjective accompanies other words for what he called "Gebete". In 7, 34, 1 "the pure or bright (*śukra*-), divine materialized inspiration (*manīṣā*) must depart (appear, start) from me, like a well-fashioned chariot which is to win *vājah*"³⁴⁵; in 4, 43, 1 the question is posed: *kasyemāṃ devīm amṛteṣu preṣṭhām hṛdī śreṣṭhāma suṣṭutīm suhavyām* "welchen unter den Unsterblichen können wir diese göttliche Lobrede als Liebste ans Herz binden, die von schönen Opferspenden begleitetet?" (Geldner). The poet of 8, 9, 16 states: *abhutsy u pra devyā sākaṃ vācāham aśvinoḥ* "I have waked up together with (at the same time as) the divine speech of the Aśvins", continuing: *vy āvar devy ā matim vi rātim martyebhyaḥ* "thou, O goddess, hast revealed the sacred-thought-and-utterance and the gift to the mortals"; in the next stanza the same goddess Dawn is requested to awaken the Aśvins. We must view this passage in the light of those other places where the Aśvins are, on the one hand, described as inspired sages (8, 8, 2 *kavī gambhīracetasā* "of profound mind") and on the other hand requested to rouse the *dhīh* (8, 5, 35 "advance on your golden chariot... *dhījavanā nāsatyā*), and to

³⁴² I refer to *Epithets in the Rgveda*.

³⁴³ For the sense of *brahman*- see *Notes on brahman* (Utrecht, 1950).

³⁴⁴ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 637. Sāyaṇa on 8, 27, 13 *dyotamānayā stutyā*, on 10, 176, 2 *dīptayā prajñayā karmaṇā vā*.

³⁴⁵ See K. L. Janert, *Sinn und Bedeutung des Wortes dhāsi* (Wiesbaden, 1956), p. 58, n. 92: "Hier ist die *manīṣā*, die Ausdenkung (etwa: das fertig ausgedachte Gedicht) als Wagen (vgl. z.B. 1, 61, 4) dargestellt"; Renou, *Ét. véd. et pān.*, IV, p. 92; V, p. 38, who lays too much stress on the poetic aspect and considers the word *manīṣā* to be "sémi-personnifié, comme sujet de la phrase".

impart a mental power to the worshipper who has the right gods (enabling him, *inter alia*, to produce verses etc.), (a mental power) which does not disappoint”³⁴⁶ (8, 5, 6 *tā sudevāya dāśuṣe sumedhām avitārīṇīm*); they assist the ṛṣis in producing their hymns (7, 67, 5) *prācīm u... dhiyam me... kṛtam*; 6 *aviṣṭam dhīṣu*); they further or stimulate the *dhīh* (1, 112, 2; 8, 26, 6 etc.). It is these matutinal gods who were particularly disposed to help the ṛṣis and to impart them inspiration, not only because the early morning is the proper time for flashes of inspiration, but also because the exigencies of the cult involved the recitation of versified texts at that moment. Infusing ideas into the minds of the ṛṣis they were considered sages themselves. Other substantives worth mentioning which are qualified by the same adjective are *kṛp-*: 8, 23, 5 Agni is requested to stand up in his divine figure (beautiful shape: *devyā kṛpā*) and *pramati-*: 1, 53, 5 those speaking wish to participate in Indra’s divine “prévoyance paternelle”.³⁴⁷ It may be remembered that the same adjective applies also to such important terms as *jyotiḥ* “light” (8, 89, 1), and to *andhaḥ* “soma draught” (7, 21, 1).

The force of the adjective *devī-* must, in these cases, be that the ‘concept’ expressed by the substantive is more than human, that it is beyond the power and understanding of ordinary men, that it is engendered or set in motion by divine powers.

It cannot be part of our task to investigate into the problem as to the adjectives accompanying similar nouns in other languages. A few remarks may however be made. The Latin *divinum* is used to indicate all that is “divinely inspired or prophetic”: Cic. Div. 1, 38 *aliquid praesagiens atque divinum*; 1, 30 *animus appropinquante morte multo est divinius*; according to Horace, A.P. 400 the *vates* “seer, foreteller, poet” is *divinus*, and as a substantive this term may even be a synonym of *vates* in the sense of “prophet, soothsayer”. The *divinus vates* was however the Roman equivalent of the Greek θεῖος ἀοιδός (Homer δ 17 etc.). The same adjective applies, in Greek, for instance to dreams (θεῖος ὄνειρος B 22), to the royal sceptre which is given by a god (Soph. Ph. 139) etc.

In RV. 10, 101, 9 the *dhīh* is not only *devī-* but also *yajñīyā-* “belonging or suitable to, worship or sacrifices” and *yajatā-* “worthy of worship, adorable, holy”. The latter adjective is also added to the names of various gods, including those of Soma and of Heaven and Earth, and in addition

³⁴⁶ “Es ist die *pratibhā*, die Geistesgegenwart und blitzschnelle Erleuchtung der Dichter gemeint” (Geldner, o.c., III, p. 291).

³⁴⁷ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, 40.

to these to Agni’s smoke (7, 2, 1), to Mitra’s and Varuṇa’s high position (5, 67, 1) etc.

In 7, 27, 1 the term under consideration is accompanied by the adjective *pārya-* “effective, helping through, successful, decisive” (“ausschlaggebend”): here the god Indra is requested to “yoke” the *pāryā dhiyaḥ* (to his chariot), to employ them, to avail himself of them. This adjective seems to characterize the content of the idea *dhīh* very well: a *dhīh* helps the man through who knows how to receive, develop, and pronounce it; it is effective and leads to success. This success may consist in the acquirement of the cows which the god is to capture in the second half of the stanza. The *dhīh* helps him in carrying out his intentions. Compare also 1, 109, 1 *dhiyam vājayantīm*.

It is important to remember that the *dhīh* may also be characterized by other qualities intimated by means of similes. In 6, 47, 10 Indra is implored to impel the ṛṣi’s *dhīh* like an iron blade (of a knife, sword etc.): *codaya dhiyam ayaso na dhārām*. I have much hesitation in adopting the translation “mach das Gedicht schneidig wie... (Geldner following Sāyaṇa and Grassmann). The other passages where “die Grundbedeutung ‘schärfen’ bei *cud-* *codaya-* deutlich hervortritt” do not turn the scale: 10, 120, 5 where “I urge thy weapon on by my words” gives a good sense, the more so as the next pāda exhibits the verb *saṃ śiśāmi* “I sharpen”; cf. also 9, 17, 5; 50, 1.³⁴⁸

Sometimes the outward appearance of the *dhiyaḥ* is emphasized. Thus the poet of 3, 34, 5 speaks of their *śukraṃ varṇam* “bright or pure shape or form” which Indra, for the sake of the poet, enhanced. Now, the adjective *śukra-* accompanies not only the name of Agni, Sūrya, Uṣas, who are gods of light, but also that of the divine draught and representative of the universal stream of life Soma, such words as *jyotiḥ* “light”, *śociḥ* “glow, radiance”, *cakṣuḥ* “eye” etc. In later texts the word also indicates the *retāḥ* “semen virile”. The inference seems therefore to be beyond all doubt that a *śukro varṇaḥ* belonged to the *dhīh* because of its very character as a vision, obtained by means of an extraordinary faculty of seeing and given to man by those gods who are particularly characterized by their relations to “light” in the literal and metaphorical meanings of this word, that is to say, that the visionary word of the seer owes it *śukraṃ varṇam* to the powers from which it derives its origin. The compound *śukravarnā* qualifies the term under examination in 1,

³⁴⁸ After having written the above lines I saw that Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII (1961), p. 67, is likewise sceptical about this point.

143, 7, expressing the wish that Agni, inflaming during the performance of the sacrificial rites "will carry upwards our *dhīh* of bright complexion". The same compound occurs in 1, 140, 1 in connection with Agni himself. In 2, 9, 4 this god is implored to promote the sacrifice, because he is the lord of "wealth", the "inventor of the bright-and-pure word" (*śukrasya vacaso manotā*). The first stanza of 7, 34 speaks of the *śukrā devī manīṣā* "la pure Inspiration-poétique, la divine"³⁴⁹ which proceeds from the poet-eulogist, winning *vāja*: "*śukrā* 'claire'... c'est-à-dire 'pure' (de tout élément incorrect, avec nuance religieuse)".³⁵⁰ In 8, 26, 19 it reads *smad etayā sukīrtiāśvinā śvetayā dhiyā | vahethe śubhrayāvanā* "together with this eulogy, O *Āśvins*, with the bright *dhīh*, you drive, O you travellers in a radiant chariot": the vehicle of the god who gives a "vision" is like the "vision" itself light and bright. The author of 1, 144, 1 qualifies the *dhiyam* as *śucipeśasam* "brightly adorned". Cf. also 3, 39, 2, and probably, 1, 2, 7 *dhiyaṃ ghṛtācīm* "shining with ghee".

It is hardly credible that Geldner is right in translating 8, 61, 1 "... so möge der Gewaltigste (*śaviṣṭhaḥ*)... mit ungeteilter Aufmerksamkeit (*satrācyā... dhiyā*) zum Somatrunk herkommen", adding: "Der Sinn ist: er soll sich nicht durch andere ablenken lassen". The "complete or concentrated vision" of the god who is invited to come rather refers to his divine knowledge and insight into reality which he is expected to impart to the poet so as to inspire him. There is nothing absurd in the statement that the god is requested to come *satrācyā dhiyā*, and the occurrence of the adjective should not induce us to identify, with Geldner, this phrase with *satrācā manasā* (7, 100, 1 etc.).

In 8, 66, 8 and 44 Indra is implored to approach *citrāyā dhiyā* ("mit merklicher Absicht", Geldner,?). As will be shown instantly, the *dhīh* could, in all probability, be described as "bright" because it belongs to, or was given by, luminous deities. The *dhīh* is, here also, the faculty of "vision", as seems to be especially clear from st. 14 *tvaṃ na ūtī tava citrayā dhiyā śikṣā śaciṣṭha gātuvit* "wish to help us with thy favour, (thy) 'bright vision', O thou that art the powerful par excellence, thou that findest a way (in order to promote welfare)". The nouns *ūtī* and *dhiyā* are, no less than the two epithets,³⁵¹ very appositely used in a prayer (ibid., pādas a and b) for protection against hunger, backbiting etc., the (materialized) *dhīh* being a means of obtaining divine assistance. A

³⁴⁹ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pān.*, V, p. 38.

³⁵⁰ Renou, *ibidem*, IV, p. 92; "klar" ("lauter", Geldner, *RV. übers.*, IV, p. 259) rather than: "glänzend" (*ibid.*, II, p. 214).

³⁵¹ See *Epithets in the Rgveda*, p. 181.

prayer for *dhīh* towards the end of a *sūkta* may imply: "do not in the future withdraw that from us".

In st. 4 of the Agni hymn 5, 18 it reads: *citrā vā yeṣu dīdhitir āsann ukthā pānti ye | ... śravāṃsi dadhire pari* which, according to Geldner means: "aber die, bei denen die wunderbare Erkenntnis ist, die im Munde die Lieder bewahren..., die haben sich mit Ruhm bedeckt". The range of application of the adjective *citra-* "bright, clear, conspicuous" is worth studying: it does not only qualify words for ray, light, beauty, the name of a number of objects which are shining or glittering by themselves (god, weapons etc.) and the proper names of those gods who are intimately connected with light: Agni, *Uṣas*, the Sun,³⁵² etc. words denoting gifts of these gods, it is also used to qualify such terms as *arka-* "hymn of praise": 6, 66, 9 *pra citram arkaṃ grṇate... mārutāya... bharadhvam*, where Geldner's "(das) ausgezeichnete Preislied", though lacking precision, is perhaps not preferable to Grassmann's "hell, laut (von Tönen)" (cf. Soph. O. R. 186 *παῖδ' ἀμύπει* "the solemn chant rings loud and clear" (properly "shines"); Bach. fr. 4, 17 B. *ὑμνοὶ φλέγοντι* "the hymns 'flash'"); 10, 112, 9 *mahām arkaṃ maghavañ citram arca* "stimme den hohen, wunderbaren Gesang an..." (Geldner). In connection with thunder or thunderbolt (*tanyatu-*) the same translation ("bright") may be given (9, 61, 16: "grell" (Geldner): cf. 6, 6, 2 *sa śvitānas tanyatū rocanasthāḥ*; in 9, 61, 16 the term *tanyatu-* is moreover followed by *jyotir vaiśvānaram bṛhat*; see also 5, 63, 5, and 6 where Parjanya's voice is synaesthetically³⁵³ described as *citra-*: *vācam su... irāvātīm parjanyaś citrām vadati tviṣmatīm*: in any case this voice is closely connected with an intensively luminous object. The conclusion does not appear to be unwarranted that the *dīdhitih* and the hymn of praise are mainly characterized as "bright" because they are gifts of the luminous gods.

Not all qualificatory additions are however of the same illustrative value. In 6, 38, 3 the *dhīh*, with which the poet addresses Indra, is called *paramā* "most prominent or excellent". The adjective *havyāḥ* in 6, 21, 10 seems to characterize the *dhiyaḥ* as invitations. The qualification *navyasī* (6, 22, 7) is also found in connection with other words for hymn or eulogy in order to emphasize their newness which is of special importance from a religious point of view. The adjective *viśvapeśas-* (1, 61, 16) points to the complete elaboration which the vision is to undergo.

³⁵² For *citra-* in connection with Indra see *Epithets in the Rgveda*, p. 62.

³⁵³ See e.g. S. Ullmann, *The principles of semantics* (Glasgow, 1951), p. 266 ff. etc.; H. Kronasser, *Handbuch der Semasiologie* (Heidelberg, 1952), p. 146 ff.

III DHĪTĪH IN THE ṚGVEDA

In the Ṛgveda, the term *dhīti-* is of frequent occurrence. The sense of the word is again very unsatisfactorily circumscribed by the modern lexicographers: "Gedanke, heiliges Nachdenken, Andacht, andächtige Stimmung; Andachtswerk, Gebet, Achtsamkeit, wohlwollendes Aufmerken der Götter; Kunstverstand, Weisheit in Erfindung und Ausführung kunstreicher Werke; Einsicht, Weisheit; personificirt: der Andächtige". It would be wrong to hold that part of these translations, furnished by Grassmann,¹ do not make tolerable statements about one or two aspects of the "idea" indicated by the term, but what is, here and elsewhere, lacking, in the first place, is a definition of the "idea" as a whole and a clear description of the mutual connection of those sides and aspects of this whole which we would like to distinguish because our vocabulary has terms which may furnish us with an approximate idea of part of the uses of the Indian term, whereas the whole contents of the term cannot, if I am not mistaken, be rendered completely and precisely by any modern English – or Dutch, or German – noun. Other "translations" are subject to the same failings: "Gedanke, Vorstellung, Nachdenken, Wahrnehmung; Andacht, Gebet; Einsicht, Klugheit" (Petr. Dict.); "Erkennen, Erkenntnis; Denken, Sinnen, Gedanke; Lied, Gebet" (Geldner).² Renou's translation "intuition poétique",³ though throwing an important aspect of the "idea" into relief, is onesided and apt to create the misunderstanding that in using this term the ancient "poets" dealt with their subjects from an artistic point of view or that they wanted to emphasize that it was merely poetical thoughts and themes which came to them through immediate apprehension and without conscious reasoning. Wackernagel and Debrunner⁴ consider *dhīti-* "Gedanke" an "abstract noun" which may also express a sense "die sich daran anschlieszt".

¹ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 686.

² Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, I: *Glossar* (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 94.

³ L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, I (Paris, 1955), p. 4.

⁴ J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2 (Göttingen, 1954), p. 622.

Liebert⁵ though contributing nothing to a more exact definition of the word's sense, showed that the substantives of the class *-ti-* "in höherem Masse im hochliterarischen Stil als in der alltäglichen Prosa heimisch sind": this statement may doubtless be applicable to *dhīti-* which is mainly known from the Ṛgveda. As to the main function of the primary *-ti-* suffix the same scholar observes that it forms "Nomina actionis, welche die Handlung an sich ausdrücken, ohne dasz damit ausgesagt wird, ob die Aktion abgeschlossen wird bzw. ob sie zu einem Ergebnis führt". Not rarely however this suffix helps to form words expressing that the idea conveyed by the root manifests itself and is realized as an actuality⁶: *kṣiti-*, e.g., denotes in the ṚV. the idea of "dwelling", converted into, or represented as, an actuality, whether we from our point of view and basing ourselves on our distinctions between concrete and abstract nouns would translate the word as "das Wohnen"⁷ – cf. 1, 65, 5 *puṣṭir na raṇvā kṣitir na prthvī* "wo *k.* abstrakt sein kann, wie auch *p.*: "wie ein erfreulicher (Vermögens)zuwachs, wie ein ausgedehntes Wohnen" – or "Wohnsitze, die Angesehenen, Völker" – cf. e.g. 10, 89, 11 *prāktubhya indrah... prāntarikṣāt... | ... pra sindubhyo ririce pra kṣitibhyaḥ* "Indra surpasses the nights..., the atmosphere..., the rivers..., the abodes (of men)". When it is, with regard to cases like this, observed that "es schwierig ist, zwischen abstrakten und konkreten Begriffen zu unterscheiden", the question should be posed whether we are right in attaching much value to this distinction. In the above stanza 1, 65, 5 and 4, 5, 15 *sudṣīkarūpaḥ kṣitir no rāyā puruvāro adyaut* "von schöner Farbe erglänzte der Vielbegehrte wie ein reiches Wohnen" (thus Liebert as against Geldner: "... wie eine Wohnung von Reichtum") the idea of dwelling is in any case actualized. Compare also *tanti-* (ṚV. 6, 24, 4) "cord, line, string": *tan-* "to extend, spread, be protracted"; *apāvṛti-*⁸ ṚV. 8, 66, 3 translated as "das Öffnen, die Aufschliessung" by Liebert (similarly Ludwig⁹), and more probably as "Öffnung, Pforte" by Geldner. Thus *sṛṣṭi-* may "zwischen Abstraktum und Kollektivum schwanken"¹⁰; what matters is that it is neither the desire to create by emanation, the

⁵ G. Liebert, *Das Nominalsuffix "-ti-" im Altindischen* (Lund, 1949); see esp. p. 213 ff.; cf. also Renou, in *Vāk*, I (Poona, 1951), p. 1 ff.

⁶ See also with regard to the corresponding words in Greek, J. Holt, *Les noms d'action en -σις (-τις)*, Thesis Aarhus 1940.

⁷ Liebert, *o.c.*, p. 136.

⁸ Cf. also Renou, "Suffix *-ti-* et composition nominale en védique", in *Revue des études indo-europ.*, 1 (Bucarest, 1938), p. 157 ff.

⁹ Cf. also Bergaigne, in *J. As.*, 8, 3 (1884), p. 223.

¹⁰ Wackernagel-Debrunner, *o.c.*, p. 637; cf. also Liebert, *o.c.*, p. 121.

intention or the inclination to do so, nor the idea of creation by itself viewed as a noun, but the actualization of the idea: AV. 3, 28, 1 *ekaikayaiṣā sṛṣṭyā sam babhūva* “she herself came into being by a one-by-one creation” (Whitney-Lanman). The same formation is moreover in Vedic in frequent use to denote “personal bearers of the idea conveyed by the root”: cf. e.g. RV. 6, 45, 4 *sa hi naḥ pramatir mahī* “for he (Indra) is our great providence (provider)”; compare also names of female superhuman beings such as *aditi-* “freedom (including “safety, unimpaired condition, immensity”, lit. but incorrectly “boundlessness”¹¹); *arāti-* “enviousness, malignity”, and, in Greek Νέμεσις, Λάχρσις. The nouns *mati*¹² and *praśasti-*, to which we have to pay attention in another chapter of this publication, are of the same formation.

The passage 8, 6, 7 and 8¹³ (*imā abhi pra ṇonumo vipām agreṣu dhītayaḥ | agneḥ śocir na didyutaḥ | | guhā satir upa tmanā pra yac chocanta dhītayaḥ | kaṇvā ṛtasya dhārayā*) which Liebert,¹⁴ with some exaggeration, regards as obscure seems to be of special interest for our subject. A detailed discussion of all the implications of the two stanzas does not appear to be necessary after the observations made on the generation of “vision” in the preceding chapter of this volume. It must however be stated here that according to stanza 7 the *dhītayaḥ* are in front of (or, ahead of; on the surface of) the *vipaḥ*, i.e. the inspired words of the seer-eulogists¹⁵; they are, moreover, like flames, like the flame-lightnings or flame-arrows of Agni.¹⁶ (If – what is less probable – the word *agreṣu* should be “mentally repeated” in pāda c the seer’s *vipaḥ* are compared to fire, the *dhītayaḥ* to the glow or flames which are in front of or on the surface of the fire or which precede it). According to stanza 8 the *dhītayaḥ* begin to glow spontaneously in a secret place. *Dhītayaḥ* are therefore so to say flames, lightnings, which arise spontaneously, the place of their origin being beyond human reach, knowledge and understanding. These who receive them may be said to glow or shine themselves. I have my doubts about the absolute correctness of Lüders¹⁷ opinion

¹¹ I would avoid the formulation “Verwendung von Abstrakta als Bezeichnung weiblicher Dämonen” (Wackernagel-Debrunner, o.c., p. 637).

¹² Liebert’s remarks on *mati-* (o.c., p. 118) are not in all respects satisfactory.

¹³ For which see the partly incorrect and antiquated remarks by E. W. Hopkins – who translates *dhi-* incorrectly by “thought, wit” –, in *J.A.O.S.*, 15 (1892), p. 272 ff., and also Renou, *Études sur le vocab. du Rgveda*, p. 30.

¹⁴ Liebert, o.c., p. 131.

¹⁵ Not with Ludwig, o.c., II, p. 179 “unsere gedanken in den vorzüglichsten der lieder”, or with Grassmann, *RV. übers.*, I, p. 399 “im Sängerkreise andachtsvoll”.

¹⁶ See also Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 476, n. 1.

¹⁷ Lüders, o.c., p. 476.

that “mit *ṛtasya dhārā* (“Strahl der Wahrheit”) auch hier, wie Geldner es erklärt, die religiöse Dichtung bezeichnet ist”: the idea underlying the expression seems rather to be that of the breaking through of a stream of the great and fundamental power called *ṛta-*, of a sudden influx of sacredness, of an extraordinary insight into the reality beyond the phenomena of this world.¹⁸ Compare 5, 12, 2¹⁹ *ṛtaṃ cikitva ṛtam ic cikiddhy ṛtasya dhārā anu tṛndhi pūrvīḥ* “pay attention to the *ṛta*, O attentive one, to the *ṛta*; split open the many streams of *ṛta*”: no doubt “dichterische Umschreibung der gewöhnlichen Bitte um Inspiration und Hilfe für Abfassung und Vortrag des Kultliedes”²⁰ (cf. 2, 28, 5 *ṛdhyāma te varuṇa khām ṛtasya*); that this stream, again, materialized in the ‘Kultlied’ may appear from 1, 67, 7; 7, 43, 4, although it cannot be conceded to Lüders²¹ that in 9, 63, 21 the words *dhībhir...* *ṛtasya dhārayā* and *matī* are synonyms.

Another text illustrating the spontaneous character of the *dhītayaḥ* is 10, 25, 4. Whereas in st. 1 of this hymn Soma is implored to excite excellent-and-auspicious (*bhadram*) thought, intention, spirit (*manah*), ability (*dakṣam*) and inventiveness (*kratum*²²), st. 4, whilst imploring the god to preserve the poet’s *kratuḥ* lest he should die prematurely, states: “the *dhītayaḥ* assemble like the streams of water into holes”.²³ The *dhītayaḥ* (notice the use of the plural) which arise spontaneously or come from their mysterious place of origin assemble, no doubt so as to constitute a whole. In 8, 49 (= Vāl. 1), 6 the *dhītayaḥ* which flow (to Indra) are compared to a hole in the ground abounding in water from which one may draw the desirable liquid: *udrīva vajrinn avato na siñcate kṣa-rantīndra dhītayaḥ*. They are a source of refreshment.

It is not surprising to find that *dhītayaḥ* may to such an extent be regarded as autonomous or even animated beings that they are believed to be able to delight in the sound of the flowing soma: 9, 111, 2. One might compare *arāti-*, *pramati-* etc. which may likewise be represented as persons. Here also the verses of the ṛṣis are meant, which accompany that sound. Grassmann²⁴ no doubt went too far in translating: “Wie aus der Ferne tönt der Sang, an dem die Frommen sich erfreuen”.

¹⁸ “On ne se compromettra pas en rendant par ‘coulée sacrée’” (Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII, p. 77). See also M. Bloomfield, *Rig-veda repetitions*, I (Cambridge Mass., 1916), p. 425.

¹⁹ See Lüders, o.c., p. 443.

²⁰ Lüders, o.c., p. 474.

²¹ Lüders, o.c., p. 473.

²² See also the preceding chapter, p. 131.

²³ For other interpretations see Geldner, *Rig-veda übersetzt*, III, p. 162.

²⁴ Grassmann, *RV. übers.*, II, p. 285; see also Liebert, o.c., p. 131.

We now turn to some places in which the term under consideration is coupled with the important noun *ṛta-*. RV. 1, 71 is mainly concerned with the Aṅgirasah, the mythical seers and patriarchs, the ancestors of the seers and poets (cf. 1, 62, 2; 71, 2), who obtained "immortality" and the friendship of Indra by sacrifice, and who are characterized by their songs and recitations by which they burst the rock (cf. 1, 71, 2) and found the light.²⁵ In stanza 3 they are related to have established a special manifestation of *ṛta*, of the regular, normal, true, harmonious and fundamental structure and nature of the universe, underlying and determining the cosmic, mundane and ritual events,²⁶ and to have started its *dhītiḥ* "vision": *dadhann ṛtaṃ dhanayann asya dhītim*. In translating these words in the above way I disagree with Ludwig²⁷ ("sie setzten die ordnung fest, setzten in gang des opferers denken"), Grassmann²⁸ ("sie schufen Opfer, regten sein Gebet an"), Geldner²⁹ ("sie stellten das Gesetz fest, sie brachten die Erkenntnis dieses in Umlauf") as well as Lüders-Alsdorf³⁰ ("sie machten die im Lied verkörperte zaubermächtige Wahrheit..."). As ancestors and sons of heaven, the Aṅgirasah are founders who found light (4, 1, 14), wealth (1, 72, 8), secret ritual speech (1, 72, 6), produced Dawn (7, 76, 4), were the first to give *dakṣiṇās* (3, 53, 7); they renovated (3, 31, 12) and organized it anew (cf. also 1, 6, 4). They moreover "supported by means of *ṛta* the supporting *ṛta* near the helper of worship (= Agni) in the highest heaven".³¹ Whatever the exact meaning of this stanza it shows that the Aṅgirasah were credited with important functions as "establishers". The verb *dhā-*, on the other hand, often conveys the idea of "to establish, to institute, to create, lay down, dispose" ("poser quelque chose qui subsistera désormais, qui est destiné à durer; établir dans l'existence, créer"³²). The tenor of the line 1, 71, 3 ab is, if I am not mistaken, that the Aṅgirasah made a particular manifestation of *ṛta* and the intuitive-and-visionary "sight" of it an institution. This interpretation does not exclude the possibility of repetition: 8, 27, 19 it reads, in connection with the Ādityas: *yad adya sūrya udyati...*

²⁵ For further particulars see A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 142 f.

²⁶ See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 77 f.

²⁷ Ludwig, *o.c.*, I, p. 293.

²⁸ Grassmann, *Rigveda übers.*, II, p. 72.

²⁹ Geldner, *Der Rig-veda*, I², p. 70.

³⁰ Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 476 f.

³¹ See Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 587, 589, 600 f.

³² E. Benveniste, "Problèmes sémantiques de la reconstruction", in *Word*, 10 (New York, 1954), p. 252.

ṛtam dadha "when ye manage, today, at sunrise, the *ṛta*" or a translation to that effect which, in view of the absence of a pronominal dative, seems preferable to "(uns) das *Ṛta* schafft" (Lüders-Alsdorf). The phrase *ṛtasya dhāman* in 7, 36, 5 – which was differently translated: "wo die Wahrheit selbst zur Erscheinung kommt (viz. bei dem Opfer)" (Geldner); "bei ihrer Setzung der Wahrheit, d.h. beim Singen ihrer Lieder" (Lüders-Alsdorf) – was explained by Renou³³ as equivalent to *svadhābhiḥ* "dans l'institution normative qui est la sienne" or "dans sa propre fonction (par rapport à l'Ordre)": "they acquire the companionship... of this (god Rudra) in his own establishment of a manifestation of *ṛta* (or management of *ṛta*), i.e. in the established manifestation of *ṛta* which is proper to him". Similarly, 10, 124, 3, *ṛtasya dhāma vi mime purūṇi*.

In 1, 68, 5 *ṛtasya preṣā ṛtasya dhītir viśvāyur viśve apāṃsi cakruḥ* was translated³⁴: "die Aussendungen der Wahrheit, das Denken der Wahrheit – das ganze Leben lang haben Alle Werke getan". To the hapax *preṣa-* I would rather compare some expressions which must be more or less 'synonymous', first *ṛtasya pradiśah*: 8, 100, 4 where Indra is presented as holding a conversation with the seer of the hymn and saying: *ṛtasya mā pradiśo vardhayanti*. Here neither Geldner's "die Beweise des rechten (Glaubens) stärken mich" nor Lüders³⁵ "die Weisungen der Wahrheit (d.h. die Lieder) machen mich wachsen" is an exact reflection of the sense of the text, because on the one hand *pradiś-* (+ genitive) means "direction, command" (cf. e.g. RV. 1, 101, 7; AV. 1, 9, 2), and on the other the *ṛta* is not rarely represented as a power by which those potencies and influences which are conducive to the maintenance of life and order are regulated and set in motion; the fundamental power by which the rivers flow, the dawns shine and the cows yield milk. "Das *Ṛta* erlegt der Natur ihre Gesetzmäßigkeit und ihren geregelten und richtigen Lauf dem Menschen ein Handeln nach Recht und Wahrheit auf und manifestiert sich im richtigen Vollziehen und Funktionieren des Ritus".³⁶ Cf. e.g. 1, 65, 3 *ṛtasya devā anu vratā guḥ*, where Geldner is so far right that "die Götter taten, was das *Ṛta*... vorschreibt"³⁷; 4, 23, 9. Thus the

³³ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 98; cf. V, p. 42; for *dhāman-* *ibid.*, III, p. 59.

³⁴ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 433; p. 450 however the phrase *ṛtasya dhītiḥ* is said to mean: "der Wahrheit gehört das Denken".

³⁵ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 566 f.; cf. also p. 22.

³⁶ *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 78; see also Keith, *Rel. and Phil.*, p. 83 f.

³⁷ What does Schmidt's translation: "Die Götter gingen den Gelübden der Wahrheit nach" mean precisely? (H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch vrata und awestisch urvāta*, Hamburg, 1958, p. 65).

above words in 8, 100, 4 seem to admit of the translation "the directions of the ṛta strengthen me": particulars, for instance how, or by means of what, ṛta succeeds in strengthening the god, are not touched upon. Another term worth mentioning in this connection is *praśis-* "order, direction, precept": 9, 86, 32 *nayann ṛtasya praśiṣo... upa yāti* "conducting... (the execution of) the orders of ṛta he (Soma) goes..." (sc. towards the water and the milk, this process being in harmony with the ritual order). Elsewhere, 4, 23, 8, it is the call of ṛta which "shining when it is understood,"³⁸ has pierced the deaf ears of Āyu" (*ṛtasya śloko badhirā tatarda karṇā budhānaḥ śucamāna āyoh*).³⁹ Since the Āyus are "ritual officials, eloquent *viprāḥ*, makers of mantras, preparing the soma and the fire for the yajña-ceremony"⁴⁰ the tenor of the statement must be that the ṛta, once again, takes the initiative in stimulating a human being who as such is 'deaf', but since he belongs to the class of the seers and responds to the call, is able to formulate the 'revelation' of the ṛta which has come to him. The phrase *ṛtasya prasiti-* contains another compound with *pra-*: this "idea" is 10, 92, 4, before heaven and earth (*uru vyacah*), placed at the head of a long enumeration of divine powers. Although Geldner⁴¹ is, in the main, right that it paraphrases *ṛta-*, he is no doubt wrong in translating *prasiti-* by "Netz". Renou's⁴² "domaine d'expansion" comes nearer to the truth, the idea expressed being a contextual sense of "onset, stretch, extension" which must be the general meaning of the word ("parcours, trajet": l'idée dominante étant tantôt celle du domaine mesuré par une trajectoire, tantôt celle de l'élan, de la force émanant d'une telle trajectoire").⁴³ Returning now to 1, 68, 5 I would interpret the words *ṛtasya preṣā* etc. as "the invitations (summons, directions) of ṛta, the "vision" of ṛta"⁴⁴ – all of them (viz. the patriarchs or primeval ṛṣis) have... performed works" that is to say: "they have responded to ṛta's invitation, proved themselves receptive to "visions" and "revelations" and have done that which was needful".

In the above stanza 4, 23, 8 the phrase *ṛtasya dhītiḥ* recurs: *ṛtasya hi*

³⁸ Here Geldner's translation (*o.c.*, I³, p. 450) "zündernd, wenn er verstanden wird" is more convincing than his comment: "die Worte sollten eigentlich auf den innerlich erwachenden und erleuchteten Menschen gehen".

³⁹ See also Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 418.

⁴⁰ See H. W. Bailey, in *Bull. School Or. Afr. Stud.*, London, 20 (1957), p. 41 ff.

⁴¹ Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 291; see also Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 581.

⁴² Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 125.

⁴³ See M. Bloomfield, in *Amer. Journ. of Phil.*, 21, p. 417; Liebert, *Das Nominalsuffix -ti-*, p. 128; Renou, *Vāk* 1, p. 1 ff.

⁴⁴ Nominativus pendens.

śurudhaḥ santi pūrvīr | ṛtasya dhītir vṛjināni hanti. Geldner after considering, in former publications, *ṛta-* to signify "Opfer",⁴⁵ translated: "denn der Wahrheit Gaben⁴⁶ sind viele: die Erkenntnis der Wahrheit zerstört die Unredlichkeiten", Lüders⁴⁷: "denn die Gewinne d. W. s. v., das Denken d. W. vernichtet die U.", adding: "man beachte hier das *hi* und die *ṛtasya dhītiḥ* als Vernichterin der *vṛjināni*". Instead of "Denken der Wahrheit" I would propose "the intuitive and visionary seeings, grasping, understanding of the universal and fundamental harmony, structure, reality, order and truth". Lüders is no doubt right in considering *vṛjina-* ("krumm, unredlich, falsch") the opposite of *ṛju-*; it does not however follow that *ṛta-* is the exact equivalent of "Wahrheit". The word *vṛjinā* is at least 10, 105, 8 used in such a way as to suggest "l'idée d'une barrière mise devant la parole du poète".⁴⁸ This does not in my opinion come to "un handicap issu des règles de la compétition" or "Falschheiten, Fehler in der Dichtung",⁴⁹ but to anything thwarting the seer's designs, obstructing his inspiration and impeding him in couching his vision in words. Not rarely however it occurs in a general sense: 2, 27, 3; 4, 1, 17; 6, 51, 2; 7, 60, 2. It would appear to me that the power ascribed to the *ṛtasya dhītiḥ* in 4, 23, 8 is something analogous to the activities displayed by Indra in 10, 89, 8: *asir na parva vṛjinā śṛṇāsi | pra ye mitrasya varuṇasya dhāma... minanti*.

In the difficult stanza 9, 111, 2 Soma is said "to make a 'clean-up', with the *ṛtasya dhītayaḥ* (i.e. in their materialized form) in his own house": *sam mātṛbhir marjayasi sva ā dame ṛtasya dhītibhir dame* "together with the mothers thou makest a 'clean-up' in thine own house, together with the 'visions' of ṛta, i.e. with the supranormal 'sight' of the fundamental

⁴⁵ Geldner, in R. Pischel und K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien* (Stuttgart, 1901), III, p. 53; the same, in *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, I (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 39.

⁴⁶ "richesses accroissant le bétail", Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 82, and V, p. 32; see also P. Thieme, in *Zs. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.*, 95, p. 338 ff.; the same, in *Kuhn's Zeits.*, 69, p. 172; compare however especially Pischel, in Pischel-Geldner, *o.c.*, I (Stuttgart, 1889), p. 32 ff. "alles Gute, was den Menschen von den Göttern oder den Göttern von den Menschen gewährt wird" and Lüders, in *Acta Orient.*, 13 (Leiden, 1934), p. 123 f., who draws attention to the fact that *śurudhaḥ* "in der Hälfte der Stellen, wo es erscheint, von Gütern gebraucht wird, die durch Anstrengung erschlossen, durch Kampf gewonnen werden". See especially 7, 62, 3 *vi naḥ sahasraṃ śurudho radantv | ṛtāvāno varuṇo mitro agniḥ* "zu tausend Gewinnen sollen uns V., M., A. die mit Wahrheit versehenen einen Weg bahnen" (Lüders).

⁴⁷ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 418.

⁴⁸ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, I, p. 13.

⁴⁹ Geldner, *R̥g-veda übersetzt*, III, p. 324.

principle ṛta which underlies reality,⁵⁰ in (thy) house". Geldner is apparently right in identifying *dhītibhiḥ* and *mātr̥bhiḥ*: cf. 9, 19, 4, *dhītayo* ... *sūnor vatsasya mātaraḥ*; 85, 11; 102, 4. "Natürlich ist die saubere Herstellung des Soma gemeint, an der dieser selbst Anteil hat."⁵¹ Lüders⁵² and Geldner⁵³ disagree in regard to the interpretation of 9, 97, 34 *tisro vāca irayati pra vahnir ṛtasya dhītim brahmaṇo manīṣām*.⁵⁴ It is of course as difficult to follow the latter in translating *ṛ. dh.* by "die Erkenntnis des Gesetzes" as the former in considering *ṛta*- and *brahman*-synonymous ("Kultlied"). What is clear is that Soma is said to initiate the process of coming, by way of a visionary intuition, in touch with the norms, "laws" and structure which underly the phenomenal world and make it an organic whole and to set also an analogous mental process with regard to brahman in motion. As the "three voices" in all probability are the recitations of the priests, the lowing of the cows and the sound of the soma itself, and as the *matayaḥ* which, according to the second line of this stanza, come to soma are also "die Dichtungen" (Geldner), the 'Kultlied' would be referred to no less than four times. In 9, 76, 4 it is Soma, the king of all that is seen by the sun, who while clarifying himself made the *ṛ. dh.* perceptible; in so doing he is said to be *ṛṣiṣāt*: Lüders⁵⁵ may be right in translating this adjective by "die Ṛṣis überwältigend", because "der Ausdruck auf die Inspiration gehen dürfte".

The poet of 10, 111, 2 furnishes us with the important information that "visionary thought has shone brightly from the seat of ṛta": *ṛtasya hi sadaso dhītir adyaut*⁵⁶: although syntactically speaking *ṛtasya* depends on *sadasaḥ*, Geldner⁵⁷ is no doubt right in observing that *ṛtasya* notionally belongs also to *dhītiḥ*. The lightning-like nature of a sudden intuition is obvious and 10, 177, 2 is a good parallel: *tām dyotamānām svaryam manīṣām ṛtasya pade kavayo ni pānti* "the inspired seers guard this inspired thought which is bright-like-lightning, and is of the nature

⁵⁰ For the genitive compare PB. 14, 11, 19 *asito vā etena daivalas trayāṇām lokānām dṛṣṭim apaśyat* "Asita, the son of Devala, had, by means of this (*sāmam*) a glimpse of these three worlds"; cf. Kāth. 22, 11: 67, 9: "... by means of these verses the worlds ... became visible to Asita".

⁵¹ Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 118.

⁵² Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 433.

⁵³ Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 99.

⁵⁴ "als Brauch des Opfers, als Gebetes Andacht" (Grassmann, *Rigveda übers.*, II, p. 268).

⁵⁵ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 433.

⁵⁶ "von des Opfers Sitze ist das Lied erstrahlt" (Ludwig, *o.c.*, II, p. 612).

⁵⁷ Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 333.

of the light of heaven at the abode or seat of ṛta". Referring for a discussion of the texts exhibiting the phrases *sadas*-, *sadana*- or *pada-ṛtasya* to the works of my predecessors⁵⁸ I would observe that, though it is perfectly clear that that 'place' was regarded as "Ausgangspunkt dichterischer Inspiration und Ort mystischer Schau",⁵⁹ the shade of meaning expressed by the German "Stätte" is less evident. The substantive *sadana*- which sometimes combines with ṛta, seems in a minority of cases to be 'merely periphrastic', although its special force has not disappeared: 1, 169, 6 *pārthive sadane yatasva*; 7, 36, 3 *maho divaḥ sadane*; 8, 97, 5 *yad vāsi rocane divaḥ samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi | yat pārthive sadane vṛtrahantama yad antarikṣa ā gahi*. In most cases the word expresses the idea: "temporary, though regularly occupied, place or seat where a power or powerful being is believed to let down himself and to operate, to fulfil his functions, manifest his presence or display his character and qualities". Thus it is frequently used in connection with Agni when functioning as sacrificial fire: 1, 189, 4 *pāhi no agne pāyubhir ajasrair uta priye sadana ā śuśukvān* "schütz uns, Agni, mit deinen nicht ermattenden Schutzgeistern, auch (jetzt) wenn du an dem lieben Sitze aufgeflammt bist" (Geldner); 144, 2 the ghee which is poured into the fire is said to be enveloped (by the flames) *devasya* (sc. *agneḥ*) *sadane*; 31, 17; 95, 8 "he (Agni) assumes a brilliant form... when he comes, at his place, into contact with ghee..."; 6, 11, 5; 10, 11, 9 *śrudhi no agne sadane sadhasthe*. The character of a *sadana*- involves plurality: that is to say divine power may manifest at different *sadanāni*: 10, 12, 7 *yasmin devā vidathe mādayante | vivasvataḥ sadane dhārayante* "bei welchem Opfer die Götter schwelgen, (für welche) Stätte des Vivasvat sie sich entscheiden, (wissen wir nicht)" (Geldner). The phrase *vivasvataḥ sadana*- occurs also 1, 53, 1 and elsewhere to denote the sacrificial place. Vivasvant, the father of Yama, the Aśvins, and Manu (the ancestor of the human race), was one of those great figures to whom Agni was first manifested (1, 31, 3)⁶⁰ "den Platz, an dem das Opfer vollzogen wird, nennt der Priester, den gegenwärtigen Vorgang an sein urweltliches Prototyp anknüpfend, die Stätte des Vivasvant".⁶¹ Whether we are inclined to see in Vivasvant nothing more or less than a 'deification' of the first sacrificer,⁶² to believe with Bergaigne⁶³ that Agni alone is re-

⁵⁸ See especially Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 610 ff.

⁵⁹ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 610.

⁶⁰ For the Vivasvant problem see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 93 f.

⁶¹ Oldenberg, *Die Religionen des Veda*, p. 281 f.

⁶² See Oldenberg, *o.c.*, p. 122.

⁶³ A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*..., I (Paris, 1878), p. 88.

sponsible for the character of this figure, or to lay, with Keith and others,⁶⁴ special stress upon his relations with the (rising) sun, the power inherent in this figure – which elsewhere (1, 139, 1⁶⁵) is called a *nābhi*- "navel", i.e. a mystic centre and point of contact with the high and indispensable powers – becomes manifest, is re-actualized, at the place called his "seat". Cf. 1, 53, 1; 3, 34, 7 where those speaking extol the greatness of Indra *sadane vivasvataḥ*; 3, 51, 3; 10, 75, 1. In 1, 122, 6 the term *sadana*- occurs in connection with Mītra and Varuṇa: here ("listen, O M. and V., to my invocations and listen to them completely at your place (i.e. when you have sat down in your place)" and 10, 68, 7 (where *sadana*- refers to the place where the cows were hidden and penned in) the temporary character of the 'seat' is apparent. The noun *sadas*- admits of a similar interpretation in 1, 85, 6 where the gods are requested to sit down upon the barhis: "a broad seat (*sadas*-) has been prepared for you"; in 1, 128, 3: Agni, who as the sun moves round the earth in one day takes his seat (*sadaḥ*) in the sacrificial fire-places; 9, 40, 2 where Soma, being requested to sit down and to go to Indra, is said to sit down in his fixed seat (*dhruve sadasi sīdati*, not, with Geldner, "auf seinen ständigen Sitz"⁶⁶). In 8, 41, 9 Geldner's translation of *varuṇasya dhruvaṃ sadaḥ* is "fest ist des V. Sitz". "Die festen Sitze des Unholds" in 9, 91, 4 are no doubt the strong or fortified places where the evil beings called *rakṣasaḥ* are believed to have let themselves down: *rujā dṛḥhā cid rakṣasaḥ sadāṃsi*, where they entrench themselves and from where they operate.

That the gods had different *sadāṃsi* appears from 3, 54, 5 where the "rhetorical" or rather emotional question "who knows which road leads to the gods?, which (way) leads to their distant, to the hidden (private, secret) domains where they perform their functions?"⁶⁷ is

⁶⁴ Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 113. Cf. e.g. also E. W. Hopkins, *The religions of India* (Boston, 1895), p. 128, 130.

⁶⁵ This place will be discussed further on.

⁶⁶ The adjective *dhruva*- means "fixed, firm, immovable" (e.g. of the earth, AV. 12, 1, 11; 17); cf. e.g. RV. 10, 173 (esp. st. 6); AV. 12, 1, 45. The stanza AV. 7, 94, 1 which corresponds to RV. 10, 173, 6 "fixed (*dhruva*-) with a fixed (*dhruveṇa*) oblation do we lead down Soma..." is in Vait. S. 13, 12 prescribed to accompany the conducting of king Soma to his throne (see W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, Paris, 1906, p. 55 f.); the analogous line Vāj. S. 7, 25 "I pour with firm mind, voice, firm Soma" is together with "firm, firmly resting, the firmest of the firm, the most securely grounded of those who never have been shaken (six times *dhruva*-)" a formula for the so-called Dhruvagraha.—In 1, 148, 3 and 9, 92, 3 *nitya*- (*sadane, sadas*) means "one's own", not "perpetual".

⁶⁷ For the interpretation of this stanza see Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 46; V, p. 12; Schmidt, *o.c.*, p. 87 f., whose translation: "welcher (Pfad) unter höchsten, geheimen Gelübden (steht)" fails to convince me; his objection to the accusative *devān* and the

interrupted by the statement *dadṛśra eṣām avamā sadāṃsi* "only their lowest seats are to be seen": as *vrata*- here signifies "domaine où s'exerce la volonté divine" the implied sense must be that the gods, though displaying transcendently their power and beyond the human sphere, manifest their influence also, in their lower 'seats', within the reach of men. The plurality of the *sadāṃsi* is also apparent from SV. 1, 312 *pra yo ririkṣa ojaṣā divaḥ sadobhyas pari* (Indra is addressed), from 1, 85, 2 and 6 (see above) where the Maruts are said to have *sadāṃsi* in the heavens and at the sacrificial place; from 10, 96, 2. An interesting place is 3, 38, 6⁶⁸ *pari viśvāni bhūṣathaḥ sadāṃsi* (cf. 7, 66, 10): these words seem to mean: "you encompass and have a propitious influence upon all seats": Mītra and Varuṇa, who rule the world as kings, are addressed. Geldner may be right in assuming that "von... vielen Göttersitzen in der Welt die Rede ist". The noun *sadhasṭha*- occurs in similar contexts: 7, 39, 4 *te hi yajñeṣu yajñiṃyāsa ūmāḥ | sadhasṭhaṃ viśve abhi santi devāḥ*; 7, 97, 6; 10, 32, 4; 3, 62, 15 and elsewhere in connection with the soma which is 9, 103, 2 said to make use of three places; cf. also 3, 56, 5. In 10, 61, 19 *sadhasṭha*- though joining *nābhi*- is by no means synonymous, but the place or seat where the god speaking, Agni, functions in his capacity of sun and celestial fire.⁶⁹

It may be remembered that the verb *sad-* is used to express the idea of "sitting down, placing oneself, being seated (sich wo niederlassen), etc. of divine powers". Cf. e.g. VS. 17, 12 *nṛṣade veḍ apsuṣade veḍ barhiṣade veḍ vanasade veḍ svarvide veḍ* "to him who sits in man, *veḍ!*, to him who sits in the waters, *veḍ!*, to him who sits in the sacred grass, *veḍ!*, to him who sits in the wood (forest), *veḍ!*, to him who finds the light, *veḍ!*" (Agni is addressed who is as the vital breath seated in men, etc.); Pār. GS. 3, 15, 12 *vanam abhimantrayate namo rudrāya vanasade svasti mā saṃpārayati* and similarly in 13 *n. r. giriṣade*; 14 *śmaśānam abh. n. r. piṭṛṣade s. m. s. etc.* Cf. also RV. 10, 46, 7 etc.⁷⁰

locative *vrateṣu* accompanying in Geldner's translation the same verb *saṃ eti* is not valid because the locative signifies that the persons reaching the goal are supposed to stay there, whereas the accusative which is characterized by not expressing that which is conveyed by the other casus obliqui (see my relative observations in *Miscelanea homenaje à A. Martinet*, I, La Laguna Can., 1957, p. 47 ff.) leaves this particular undecided.

⁶⁸ See also my treatise on the meaning of Vedic *bhūṣati*, in *Four studies in the language of the Veda* (s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 83.

⁶⁹ One might also remember the use of the noun *pada*- in cases such as 8, 13, 29; 9, 102, 2 etc.

⁷⁰ See R. Otto, *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier* (Gieszen, 1932), p. 21 f.

Divinities are said to sit down at the place of worship: RV. 1, 186, 8 *uta na im maruto...* / *smad rodasī samanasaḥ sadantu*; 3, 29, 8 *sīda hotaḥ* (= Agni) *sva u loke cikivān*; 1, 14, 11 *agne yajñeṣu sīdasi*; in 1, 85, 7 the Maruts are described as letting themselves down on the barhis like birds (*vayo na sīdann adhi barhiṣi priye*), that is: swiftly, spontaneously, and coming from the higher regions; in the same stanza they are however said to have acquired a spacious *sadas* in heaven. The verb also applies to functionaries: RV. 6, 16, 23 *sa* (Agni) *hi yo mānuṣā yugā sīdad dhotā kavikratuḥ*; 10, 12, 1. Soma is stated to sit down in the homesteads of men like a hawk (on his nest): 9, 38, 4 (see also, 6, 5, 3: Agni); cf. 9, 57, 3; 68, 9; 86, 11.

Returning now to the phrases with *ṛtasya* the conclusion seems warranted that they may also refer to 'seats' or places where *ṛta* – which in itself is ubiquitous and not confined in a special locality – manifests, functions, makes its presence felt and reveals itself. It is not only the *dhītiḥ* which, as mentioned already, "has shone brightly *ṛtasya sadasaḥ*" (10, 111, 2), the "place" or "region" where Dawn with imperturbable regularity and for the well-being of the universe rises every day bears the same name⁷¹: 4, 51, 8 *tā ā caranti samanā purastāt* / *samānataḥ samanā paprathānāḥ* / *ṛtasya devīḥ sadaso budhānā* / *gavāṃ na sargā uṣaso jarante* "elles s'avancent (aujourd'hui encore) de l'orient par la même voie, d'un même lieu, de la même manière, s'étendant au loin, les Aurores divines qui, prenant leur éveil du siège de l'Ordre, s'éveillent comme des lâchers de vaches".⁷² There is, as far as I am able to see, nothing to have us believe either that this *sadaḥ* is identical with that in 10, 111, 2 or that all *ṛtasya sadāṃsi* are situated in the East.⁷³ What the text means, is, in my opinion, this: the Dawns have their origin in, or rather are based on or conditioned by, *ṛta*; what it says is that at the "place" where the Dawns awake *ṛta* makes its presence felt.⁷⁴ In modern phraseology this would come to the statement that the dawns appear every day, regularly and in perfect harmony with the rhythm of the universe and the natural sequences and systematic arrangements of phenomena which are characteristic of it.

Among those places which are instructive in regard to the poet's inter-

⁷¹ Compare Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 584 ff., and especially p. 593 ff.

⁷² Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 71.

⁷³ Cf. also 2, 9, 3; 41, 5; 3, 55, 12; 14.

⁷⁴ I am as yet not convinced by the view expressed by Kuiper (in *Indo-Ir. Journ.*, 4, p. 226) that Uṣas is born from *ṛta* and is said to awake from *ṛta*'s abode because the 'nether world' (i.e., in his opinion, the subterranean waters and the nocturnal sky) is Varuṇa's realm where is the seat of *ṛta*.

pretation of the mental processes taking place when the spirit moves those who desire to come into touch with the divine powers or who want to address them in the correct way, so that they feel able to set to work and to make an attempt to couch their thoughts in words and verses, is RV. 10, 64, 2 *kratūyanti kratavo hr̥tsu dhītayo* / *venanti venāḥ patayanty ā diśaḥ* "the faculties of inventiveness become, in their specific way, active, (and so do) the intuitive-and-inspired visions or thoughts: the faculties of (supranormal) intensive and spying vision function, fly rapidly towards all directions" ("les forces-imaginatives prennent force dans les âmes, (ainsi que) les inspirations-poétiques; les esprits-veilleurs veillent, volent dans (toutes) les régions-du-ciel"⁷⁵). In this state of mind it becomes clear to the seer that there are no others who show compassion than the gods: *na marḍitā vidyate anya ebhyaḥ*; towards them his desires have extended: *deveṣu me adhi kāmā ayaṃsata*. The close connection of *dhītiḥ* and *kratuḥ* is worth noticing.

The combination of *dhītiḥ* and *kratuḥ* occurs also 4, 5, 7 where however the former goes to work with the latter: *tam in nv eva samanā samānam abhi kratvā punatī dhītir aśyāḥ*. Geldner's translation of the main terms is not satisfactory: "ihn (i.e. Agni), der gleichmässig der gleiche bleibt, möge das mit Umsicht klärende Nachdenken erfassen": the seer's "vision" is stated to clarify or enlighten, i.e. to discern with inventiveness or imaginative resourcefulness, the character of the god Agni who turns out to be always and in all manifestations the same. Although there has been much controversial discussion on the exact sense of the term *kratu*-⁷⁶ I for one am inclined to describe it, rather vaguely, as a kind of effective mental power or intelligence, mental energy and determination, which enables its possessor to have solutions for preponderantly practical difficulties, "an internal psychical and intellectual power such as inventiveness or resourcefulness enabling a man to proceed to successful (creative) action" rather than "Willens- oder Verstandeskraft"⁷⁷ or "eine bestimmte Sinnesart oder Seelenverfassung..., der bestimmende, energische Sinn des mutigen Kriegers".⁷⁸

Another passage worth discussing is 10, 31, 2 f. *uta svena kratunā saṃ vadeta* / *śreyāṃsaṃ dakṣaṃ manasā jagrbhyāt* / *adhāyi dhītir asasgram aṃśās* / *tīrthe na dasmam upa yanty ūmāḥ* / *abhy ānaśma suvitasya śūṣaṃ* / *navedaso amṛtānām abhūma* "and he (i.e. the mortal man mentioned in

⁷⁵ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V (1959), p. 55; cf. IV (1958), p. 118.

⁷⁶ I refer to *Epithets in the R̥gveda*, p. 36 ff.

⁷⁷ Geldner, *Der R̥gveda in Auswahl*, I (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 176.

⁷⁸ K. Rönnow, "Ved. kratu-", in *Le monde oriental*, 26 (1932), pp. 1-90, esp. p. 72 ff.

st. 2 a) must converse (and agree) with his own inventiveness and must gain with his consciousness-and-will⁷⁹ an energy (ability, disposition) which is conducive to welfare. The vision has been conceived; the portions (of Soma) were poured out. Like (cattle) to a ford the helpers come to the man who accomplishes wonderful deeds. We have gained the energy needed for a prosperous course. We have become aware (conscious of and participant in) the immortal ones". Interestingly enough, the relation between man and his *kratuḥ* is indicated by a term which, though translated by "zu Rate gehen" (Geldner), can hardly convey a sense other than "to speak (and to agree) with": man consults with his mental and psychical abilities. Geldner's translation of *adhāyi dhītiḥ* "die Erkenntnis ist erfolgt" is perhaps not completely incorrect; it is however a tempting surmise to connect this phrase with the combinations of *dhā-* and *retah*, *garbham* and to compare the double sense of the English *conceive*. Cf. also 8, 12, 11 where the *dhītiḥ* is called *garbho yajñasya*. In any case 5, 16, 5 *ye vayan ye ca sūrayaḥ svasti dhāmahe* means "wir selbst und die Opferherren wollen zusammen Glück erlangen" (Geldner); 1, 92, 13 *yena tokaṃ ca tanayaṃ ca dhāmahe* "... und Nachkommenschaft erlangen". In view of 8, 74, 7 *iyam te navyasī matir agne adhāyy asmād ā* ("dieses neueste Gedicht wurde dir, Agni, von uns gewidmet", Geldner); 1, 162, 7; 7, 34, 14 other possibilities should however not be precluded. The helpers in st. 3 b must be divine powers or gods who whilst accepting the invitation to enjoy the soma further the interests of the seer.⁸⁰ Stanza 4 expresses the wish that Agni may be satisfied with the eulogy into which the vision – which God Savitar has created or produced (*jajāna*)⁸¹ for him – will have been converted.

The assumption would however be out of place that the man to whom the *dhītayaḥ* have come or in whom they have arisen must stand idle. It is on the contrary expressly stated that he must fashion them, give them a definite form. This activity is compared to that of the carpenter or cartwright. Cf. 7, 64, 4 *yo vām gartam manasā takṣad etam | ūrdhvām dhītim kṛṇavad dhārayac ca* "celui qui charpentera votre trône en pensée, qui mettra haut-et-droit ce poème-ci et le maintiendra" (Renou⁸²). As

⁷⁹ For *manah* as the "Sitz des Denkens, Fühlens und Wollens" see H. Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft* (Göttingen, 1919), p. 69; E. Abegg, *Indische Psychologie* (Zürich, 1945), p. 8.

⁸⁰ I am not convinced by Geldner's note on st. 3 c.

⁸¹ "für den (ihn) Gott S. bestimmt hat" (Geldner) does no justice to the sense of these words.

⁸² Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V (1959), p. 88; cf. also VII (1960), p. 61. Ludwig, *o.c.*, I, p. 125 "... hoch aufstreben macht und hält das Lied"; Grassmann, *R̥V. übers.*, I, p. 351 "die Andacht aufwärts richtet und bewahrt".

this hymn is addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa whose throne is referred to by the same term in 5, 62, 5 and 8; 68, 5, it seems difficult to subscribe to Geldner's view that *garta-* means "the seat of a war-chariot" and to agree with Renou in regarding the *dhītiḥ* ("en tant que pensée 'réussie' ") as the occupant of the throne. The sense of the line seems to be that the *dhītiḥ* is so to say made a high and firm throne produced by the poet's "thought" or rather "consciousness-and-will" (*manah*). Since the throne is "un symbole de dignité"⁸³ and even makes the king, the tenor seems to be: "who by fashioning the *dhītiḥ* confirms or consolidates the power of the gods", what is one of the main functions of the "Kultlied".

The line may to a certain extent be elucidated by 1, 119, 2 *ūrdhvā dhītiḥ praty asya prayāmany adhāyi śasman* "das emporgerichtete Nachdenken (this is of course not the right term) ist bei seiner Ausfahrt – i.e. at the start of the chariot of the Aśvins – auf (euern) Preis gerichtet". The *dhītiḥ* must be *ūrdhvā* lest it should miss the gods. Cf. also 1, 88, 3.

That a *dhītiḥ* is among those products of the human mind which may strengthen the gods may appear from places such as: 8, 8, 19 *ā no gantam ... aśvinā... | yo vām vipanyū dhītibhir gūrbhir vatso avīṛdhat* "come to us, O Aśvins, to Vatsa, who has made you increase with the products of his intuition and inspiration, with words of praise"; 6, 34, 3 *na yaṃ himsanti dhītayo na vāṇī | indraṃ nakṣantīd abhi vardhayantīḥ* "dem die Gedichte, die Sängerstimmen keinen Abbruch tun, sie kommen vielmehr zu Indra ihn stärkend" (Geldner); 8, 44, 22 *uta tvā dhītayo mama giro vardhantu viśvahā* "and my *dhītayaḥ* and words of praise must always strengthen (increase) thee". Agni is 8, 60, 4 requested to approach to the objects of delight (libations) and to rejoice impelled by the *dhītayaḥ*. Cf. 10, 140, 3 *ūrjo napāj jātavedaḥ suśastibhir mandasva dhītibhir hitaḥ*⁸⁴; 8, 54, 1, and 9, 9, 4.

Hence also the statement in 6, 38, 1 that Indra wants to have for the benefit of the collectivity of the gods the exceedingly energetic or powerful⁸⁵ product of inspiration: *panyasīm dhītim*. It is worth noticing that the same adjective accompanies the name of the goddess Aramati "der rechte Sinn, die gemäße Gesinnung" (10, 64, 15; 92, 4), the name of Agni (8, 74, 3), the abode of Soma (9, 9, 2), the power of the Maruts (1, 39, 2), Indra's specific energy (6, 18, 9).

⁸³ J. Auboyer, *Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne* (Paris, 1949), p. 177.

⁸⁴ For *hitaḥ* see Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 374.

⁸⁵ For the sense of *panyasīm* see my remarks in *Oriens*, 2, p. 195 ff., esp. p. 202 "there is a good chance that the fundamental meanings of Vedic *pan-* are (a kind of) energetic power, which may be enhanced by praising; to enhance this power".

It was also possible to see, have, obtain "visions" and to turn them into verses and eulogies for the benefit of a god. Cf. 6, 15, 11 *tam agne pāsy...* / *yas ta ānaṭ kavaye śūra dhītim* "Agni! Du schüttest..., der dir, dem Seher, o Held, eine Dichtung fertig gebracht hat" (Geldner); Grassmann incorrectly preferred: "dargereicht hat", but compare 8, 4, 6 where the object is *upastutim*; 6, 1, 9 *ānaṭ samidhā havyadātīm*; 7, 90, 2 *prahutim*; 6, 13, 4 *yas te... gīrbhir... niṣitiṇ... ānaṭ*; 10, 11, 7 *yas te agne sumatim marto akṣat*. The sense must be: "succeeded in attaining to, in producing; accomplished". R̥V. 2, 31, 7 is similar: *śravasyavo vājaṃ cakānaḥ saptir na rathyo aha dhītim aśyāḥ*; Geldner explains: "dh. aś-heiszt: seine Absicht erreichen (which as far as I am able to see is an impossibility) und das Gedicht richtig treffen", considering the singular *aśyāḥ* to be a substitute for the plural form of the 3rd person. In the preceding line the *āyavaḥ* are said to have "fashioned" or "constructed" (the subject probably is "the eulogies") for a new (probably: praise, worship): *atakṣann āyavo navyase sam*. The activities of the *āyavaḥ* who are called *viprāḥ* and are 9, 10, 6; 23, 2 said to belong to the antiquities of the poets are to some extent identical with those of the *kāraḥ*. They are ritual officials, eloquent, makers of mantras and prepare the soma and the fire for the yajña ceremony.⁸⁶ The question arises whether the process performed by the *Āyavaḥ*, which is expressed by an imperfect, does not belong to a more or less remote past and the form *aśyāḥ* is not a 2nd pers. sing., representing a case of "Selbstapostrophe"⁸⁷: "may you, (O poet), attain to inspiration!"

To the above stanzas I subjoin the difficult passage 8, 12, 10 f. *iyam ta rtviyāvatī dhītir eti navīyasī | saparyantī purupriyā mimīta it | | garbho yajñasya devayuh kratum punīta ānuṣak | stomair indrasya vāvrdhe mimīta it | |*. Instead of Geldner's translation of st. 10 I would propose: "here goes, in proper time, a *dhītiḥ*, rather new,⁸⁸ worshipping, dear to many, it is realized in the phenomenal world (or converted into dimensional actuality)". That the expression *mimīta it* should be translated: "wird sie (nach dem Versmasz) gemessen" (Geldner) is problematic, because parallel passages seem to be wanting. I would ascribe a more general sense to these words: the root *mā-* probably meaning "converting that

⁸⁶ See H. W. Bailey, in *Studies in honour of Sir Ralph Turner, B.S.O.A.S.*, 20 (London, 1957), p. 41 ff.

⁸⁷ See e.g. W. Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax* (Heidelberg, 1931), p. 152; Geldner, *o.c.*, IV, p. 207.

⁸⁸ For the magico-religious value of this newness see my paper "Ein neues Lied", in *Wiener Zs. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, 48, p. 275 ff.

which has been mentally conceived into dimensional actuality"⁸⁹ they seem to corroborate the view that the *dhītiḥ* by assuming a material form is converted into a "hymn" or "poem". A tentative rendering of st. 11 is "the new-born child of the act of worship,⁹⁰ who is devoted to the gods (tries to reach the gods), clarifies the (seer's) inventiveness uninterruptedly; he (it) has increased by the hymns of praise dedicated to Indra, he (it) is realized etc." For the phrase *kratum punīte* compare 8, 13, 1 where Indra is the subject: the god is said to clarify his kratu over the prepared soma-juices; 8, 53, 6 where Indra's eulogists are the subject. The meaning of st. 11 c seems to be that the *dhītiḥ* was so to say a nucleus which increased by gathering words of praise and so developed as to become a complete hymn.

That the *dhītayaḥ* attempt to reach a god or look for him may appear from 1, 25, 16 "my *dhītayaḥ* ("materialized visions") go along like cows along the pastures, in search of the far-seeing one (Varuṇa)"; 9, 99, 4 *uto krpanta dhītayo devānām nāma bibhratīḥ*; 1, 132, 5 *indra okyaṇ didhiṣanta dhītayo | devām achā na dhītayaḥ*; 1, 139, 1 *yad dha krāṇā vivasvati | nābhā samdāyi navyasī | adha pra sū na upa yantu dhītayo | devām achā na dhītayaḥ*, a tentative translation of which may be: "when (or, as) the active cooperation⁹¹ is once agreed upon (and has started) all over again in the presence of Vivasvant, at the navel (of the earth), then our (materialized) visions must go forward (to the gods), just as visions (are usually eager to go) to the gods".⁹² Vivasvant, whose personality constitutes one of the difficult problems of Vedic mythology, is associated with the Soma sacrifice and seems to have been regarded as the first sacrificer. In 1, 53, 1 his "seat" no doubt refers to the sacrificial ground. The word *nābhi-*⁹³ is repeatedly applied to that very place, which is 1, 164, 35; 2, 3, 7 called "navel of the world"; 8, 12, 32 the (ritual) "milking" takes place *nābhā yajñasya*.

Let us now consider those places which bring the idea of *dhītiḥ* into connection with particular gods. The stanza R̥V. 5, 25, 3 *sa no dhīti variṣṭhayā | śreṣṭhayā ca sumatyā | agne rāyo didhi naḥ | suvṛktibhir vareṇya* was translated by Geldner: "so sollst du uns mit bester Absicht und mit schönstem Wohlwollen, o Agni, Reichtümer erstrahlen, du mit

⁸⁹ See *Four studies in the language of the Veda*, p. 168.

⁹⁰ "Die Leibesfrucht oder das neugeborene Kind des Opfers ist jedenfalls der *stomaḥ* oder die *dhītiḥ*" (Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 308); in my opinion, not the *stomaḥ*.

⁹¹ For *krāṇā* "alliance activement (menée) des humains et de Varuṇa-Mitra, ou: alliance en vue d'un acte (déterminé)", see Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VII, p. 63.

⁹² For *na* see e.g. Renou, *Grammaire de la langue védique* (Lyon, 1952), § 460.

⁹³ For which see my *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 85 ff.

Lobliedern zu Erwählender!“. The same combination occurs 6, 15, 9 *yat te dhītiṃ sumatim āvr̥ṇīmahe | adha smā nas... śivo bhava*, and here the same scholar translates: “wenn wir deine Aufmerksamkeit und Gunst erbitten, so sei uns... freundlich!“. It would appear to me that these texts in which the same god is related to excite, urge on, favour or promote the *dhīh* of men furnish us with the key to an understanding of these passages: what is expected from Agni is an “intuitive thought”, an “inspiration” which together with the god’s favourable disposition will be conducive to welfare and happiness. I would propose the following translation of 5, 25, 3 “do thou therefore, O Agni, by means of excellent ‘vision’ and of the most salutary benevolence, bestow upon us while shining objects of value...” and 6, 15, 9 “when we desire thy ‘vision’ and benevolence, be then... gracious towards us”.

It would appear to me that the same interpretation may be defended in the case of 3, 13, 5 *dīdivāṃsam apūrvyaṃ | vasvībhīr asya dhītibhiḥ*, which in my opinion can hardly convey the general idea expressed by Geldner’s translation “der aufgeleuchtet ist wie nie zuvor mit seinen guten Absichten” (cf. also Grassmann Wtb. “Achtsamkeit, wohlwollendes Aufmerken”). As is well known, the verb *dī-* may take the accusative to indicate an object which is bestowed upon somebody by shining: compare the above 5, 25, 3 *rāyo dīdīhi nah*; 7, 3, 10 *etā no agne saubhagā dīdīhi* “so bring uns mit deinem Lichte dieses Glück, o Agni”; 8, 60, 6 *śocā śociṣṭha dīdīhi viśe mayah* “... bestow comfort upon the clan by shining”; AV. 7, 78, 2 *dīdīhy asmabhyaṃ draviṇeha bhadram* “shine thou unto us here excellent property”. The same verb is on the other hand accompanied by the instrumental of a word for “light or flame”: 2, 2, 8 *svar ṇa dīded aruṣeṇa bhānunā*; 6, 48, 3; 7, 1, 3; 21. (Otherwise, in 6, 5, 5 it reads *sa martyeṣy amṛta pracetā | rāyā dyumnena śravasā vi bhāti* “the wise one (who worships Agni) shines (is resplendent) with objects of value, splendour or renown”). There seems therefore to be no reason why the god of fire may not “shine with ‘visions’”, why his radiant personality may not beam with that lustrous power revealing the mysteries which are only accessible to visionary thought, in short why it may not emit or reveal “visions”. I would therefore venture to translate the above words in 3, 13, 5 by “who has unprecedentedly shone with his beneficent (or, bright⁹⁴) visions”. It may be observed that in st. 3, 13, 3 Agni, himself a *vipra*, is called a *yantā*, “guide” of these (human) *vipra*’s.

⁹⁴ See also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 27 f.

I am afraid that 6, 14, 1 has also been misunderstood: *agnā yo martyo duvo | dhiyaṃ jujoṣa dhītibhiḥ | bhasan nu ṣa pra pūrvyah* |..., does in my opinion not mean “welcher Sterbliche Agni die schuldige Achtung (erweist) und mit seinen Gedanken gern (seiner) gedenkt...”, but “the mortal who with his *dhītayah*, or, perhaps, as may be inferred from his *dhītayah* (i.e. visions transferred into formulated thought), enjoys the bounty consisting in *dhī-* (‘vision, inspiration’)...”. For the construction compare 1, 14, 1 *aibhir agne duvo giro | viśvebhiḥ somapītaye devebhir | yāhi*... where Renou, no doubt correctly, translates: “viens, ô A., vers un don-d’hommage (consistant en paroles)...”.⁹⁵

According to Grassmann⁹⁶ *dhītibhiḥ* is in 8, 102, 16 accompanied by the genitive “dessen, was den Göttern andächtig dargebracht wird”. After Grassmann⁹⁷ (“... durch der Butter Glanz, o Gott, entbrannt in hellem Licht”) and Ludwig⁹⁸ (“Agni durch die künstlichen Mittel des Ghr̥ta brennend mit Flamme...”) Geldner proposed the translation: “O Agni, durch die (bloszen) Gedanken an das Schmalz mit Glut entbrannt...”. It does not seem unwarranted to interpret the stanza *agne ghṛtasya dhītibhis | tepāno deva śociṣā | ā devān vakṣi yakṣi ca* in the light of the Ṛgvedic beliefs with regard to the ghee (see especially 4, 58) on the one hand and of expressions such as 1, 2, 7 *dhiyaṃ ghṛtācīm*⁹⁹ on the other. The clarified butter (*ghṛta-*) which was a customary form of sacrifice has (4, 58, 1) together with the soma assumed the status of “immortality”. *Ghṛtam* is (st. 4) threefold: the *ghṛtam* proper of the cow, the *ghṛtam* which is soma, the *ghṛtam* of sacred speech which (*pāda d*) “they have in accordance with their own norms and nature fashioned out of the ‘seer’” (*venād ekaṃ svadhayā niṣ tatakṣuḥ*). These streams of *ghṛtam* proceed, like thought (*matih*) formed into a hymn (3, 39, 1; cf. 10, 91, 14; 119, 5); the *ṛk* (6, 16, 47), words of praise (*sukīrtiḥ* 1, 60, 3), the *mantram* (2, 35, 2), the *kratavaḥ* or “manifestations of inventiveness” (10, 64, 2), from the heart – “im Herzen ist der Ozean, aus dem die Gedanken der somabegeristerten Dichter emporsteigen”.¹⁰⁰ Only the true “poet” is able to see them (4, 58, 5), because they are protected by enclosures; the dishonest or false “poet” (*ripu-*) cannot perceive them. I would therefore propose to translate 8, 102, 16 as follows “glowing, O Agni, with (through) the “visions-hymns” of the clarified butter,

⁹⁵ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 2; see also IV, p. 14.

⁹⁶ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 686.

⁹⁷ Grassmann, *Rigveda übers.*, I, p. 520.

⁹⁸ Ludwig, *o.c.*, I, p. 444.

⁹⁹ See above, p. 131.

¹⁰⁰ Geldner, *o.c.*, I, p. 489.

with radiance...", the genitive syntagm indicating that the *dhītayaḥ* – to be understood "metaphorically", *dhiyaḥ* being a means of producing fire – consist of clarified butter.¹⁰¹

It is not surprising to read in 8, 8, 5 that the Aśvins, being kavis and increasers or promoters of the hymns of praise are ahead (of all others) with regard to *dhītayaḥ*: *svāhā stomasya vardhanā | pra kavī dhītibhir narā*. Geldner's "Gedanken" is not the right word.

Geldner's rendering of 1, 41, 5 *yaṃ yajñam nayathā... | ādityā... | pravaḥ sa dhītaye naśat* "das Opfer, dasz ihr... Āditya's... leitet, das kommt euch ganz nach eurem Sinn" can hardly be called correct. I would propose: "may reach you with a view to (in order to gain) *dhītiḥ*, i.e. inspiration". Since the verb *nī-* "to lead, guide" is often used "mit dem Nebengebegriff des Schutzes oder Heiles" (Grassmann), one might compare 10, 35, 11 (and 12) where the same gods are requested to favour (*av-*) the worship in order to gain prosperity (*vr̥dhe*) and be inclined to reject Geldner's note on the pādas a b "durch Inspiration des Sängers". The "inspiration" obviously is the aim of the act of worship.

It is difficult to decide what is the sense of 1, 164, 8; that neither Grassmann's¹⁰² translation of *sam jagme dhīti* "sich geschlechtlich vereinigen mit" nor Geldner's interpretation: "die Mutter machte den Vater seines Rechtes teilhaft,¹⁰³ denn sie hatte sich zuvor in ihrem Sin nen und Denken (mit ihm) geeinigt" is convincing, few would however dispute. Lüders¹⁰⁴ is right in denying that *ṛta* refers to "das (eheliche) 'Recht' of the father – who must be the Sky", but to his view that this word denotes "eine in Sprüchen oder Liedern enthaltene Wahrheit" I would prefer the following solution of the riddle: "the mother (in all probability Earth) let the father share in the *ṛta*, for she had attained to visionary insight and to consciousness-will-and the ability to make efforts" (*mātā pitaram ṛta ā babhāja | dhīty agre manasā saṃ hi jagme*). The first pāda seems to mean that by allowing him to marry her she made him participate in the universal order and harmony, in the *ṛta* that is the great constructive and preservative principle by which the earth has been extended (4, 42, 4), the rivers flow, the sun shines and the wind blows (cf. also TĀ. 10, 63), the structure of a house is protected (AV. 3, 12, 6). The verb *saṃ jagme* running semantically parallel to 5, 42, 18 *sam*

¹⁰¹ For the gen. see e.g. 9, 24, 7.

¹⁰² Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 380; 384.

¹⁰³ "... hat dem Vater an der Ordnung Teil gegeben" (Ludwig, *o.c.*, II, p. 580; "machte den Vater (den Himmel als Geist gedacht) teilhaft des gebührenden Werkes" (Grassmann, *Rigv. übers.*, II, p. 456).

¹⁰⁴ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 583 f.

aśvinor avasā... suprañīti gamema and 7, 81, 2, the goddess Earth is, if I am not mistaken, in the second pāda, said to be enabled to perform that important deed by "vision" or "inspiration" and "conscious will".

As is well known the Ṛbhus acquired the rank of gods in consequence of their industry and marvellous skill.¹⁰⁵ In 1, 110, 4 an allusion to this event is made:... *ṛbhavaḥ sūracakṣasaḥ | saṃvatsare sam apr̥cyanta dhītibhiḥ*. Sāyaṇa's interpretation *agniṣṭomādikarmabhiḥ* is, like Mādhava's *devaiḥ*, mere guess-work. I am afraid that I cannot follow Geldner either: "die Ṛbhu's..., die sonnenäugigen, sahen in Jahresfrist ihre Erwartungen erfüllt". Is it warranted to suggest: "the Ṛbhus becoming sun-eyed, were endowed with visions" (for the verb cf. 6, 20, 6 *pr̥ṇag rāyā sam iṣā saṃ svasti*), that is to say: "they come by means of visions into contact with the suprahuman sphere of the divine"? The epithet "sun-eyed" also characterizes them as having become immortal: in 7, 66, 10 it applies to the gods in general and then the possession of *dhītayaḥ* may even mean a sort of climax. If Ludwig and Geldner¹⁰⁶ are right in their opinion that the former half of this stanza refers to the gods in general and the latter to the three kings, Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman (cf. st. 11)¹⁰⁷ it is the latter group which is characterized by "visionary insight" (Geldner prefers "Einsicht") and "superiority" or, rather, the "ability to enclose or compass": *trīṇi ye yemur vidathāni dhītibhir viśvāni paribhūtibhiḥ*. Whereas Renou¹⁰⁸ considers this line to refer to poetical thought and competition ("qui ont réglé les trois répartitions (sacrificielles),¹⁰⁹ à l'aide des pensées-poétiques, toutes (les répartitions), à l'aide des supériorités (en compétition)" I am inclined to attach a more general sense to it. Connecting the noun *paribhūti-* semantically with those places in which the verb *paribhū-* and the homonymous adjective convey such notions as "to be, either guiding or protecting, or surpassing, round anything" and "(to be) superior" – cf. e.g. 3, 3, 9 *pari kṣitīr agnir babhūva śavasā*; 10, 121, 10 *prajāpate na tvad etāny anyo viśvā jātāni pari tā babhūva*; 2, 13, 10; 2, 5, 3 *pari viśvāni kāvyā nemiś cakram ivābhavat*; 1, 69, 2 *pari prajātaḥ kratvā babhūtha*; 5, 16, 4 –, which like the English

¹⁰⁵ See Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 132.

¹⁰⁶ See Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 241.

¹⁰⁷ Otherwise Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 90.

¹⁰⁸ Renou, *l.c.*; cf. *ibid.*, VII, p. 66.

¹⁰⁹ For the difficult word *vidatha-* see P. Thieme, *Untersuchungen zur Wortkunde... des R̥gveda* (Halle S., 1949), p. 35 ff. (who translates: "welche (Āditya) die drei, die sämtlichen Verteilungen mit ihrer Weisheit, mit ihren Umfassungen halten" (?) and also Renou, *ibid.*, I, p. 14, n. 1; R. S. Sharma in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Congr.*, XV (1954), p. 85 ff. ("folk-assembly").

compass may develop into "to attain" – 4, 33, 1 (*rbhavas*) *ye ... pari dyām sadyo apaso babhūvuh*; AV. 10, 2, 18 (dealing with the wonderful structure of man) *kena paryabhavad divam*; 12, 3, 31 "(the herbs) of whom Soma compassed (*pari... babhūva*) the kingship" – I would consider *dhīti-* and this other noun in *-ti-* two essential aspects of divinity. Is it too bold a supposition that the hapax *paribhūti-* like *vibhūti-* "manifestation of might, power or abundance; prosperity; splendour, magnificence etc." was especially applicable to beings who extended their might, influence, or dominion over others? Whatever the exact meaning of 7, 66, 10, the compound *sūracakṣas-* recurs in 1, 89, 7 to qualify other gods,¹¹⁰ in 1, 16, 1 as an epithet of Indra's horses. It is this adjective which for a moment invites our attention. Being usually, and correctly, translated by "whose eye is the sun, sun-eyed" it must be regarded as one of those words which characterize a being as possessing a supra-normal or even unlimited power of sight and vision.

The Sun is with many peoples credited with the power of seeing everything; he watches everyone. According to the Semang Pygmies, the Fuegians and the Bushmen, he is the eye of the Supreme Being.¹¹¹ The Samoyeds see the sun and moon as the eyes of the sky, the sun as the good eye, the moon as the evil eye¹¹²; to many other peoples¹¹³ he is the eye of heaven, or of the sky-god. The ancient Babylonians believed the three astral deities, and above all Shamash, the god of the sun, to be omniscient; and this "omniscience" depended on sight, being attributed to deities who look down, like eyes, from the sky upon the earth.¹¹⁴ In Homer the sungod Helios "beholds all and hears all" and among the Greeks as amongst the Egyptians and Iranians the sun was an eye, the eye of heaven, or of the ether, or of the universe, or of Zeus, which nothing escapes and no one can deceive.¹¹⁵ In the Avesta, the same heavenly body is the eye of Ahura Mazdāh (Yasna 1, 11; 3, 13 etc.), as in the R̥gveda it is the eye of Varuṇa (1, 50, 6) or of Mitra-and-Varuṇa (6, 51, 1 etc.). Since Indo-Iranian times, then, it was no doubt the eye of heaven, cf. RV. 1, 72, 10 where the immortal ones are related to have

¹¹⁰ The gods in general (Bergaigne, *o.c.*, I, p. 69); the R̥bhus (Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 114); the Viśve devāḥ (Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 1566; Renou, *Ét. véd. et pān.*, IV, p. 20)?

¹¹¹ See W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (Münster, 1931), III, p. 1087.

¹¹² Lehtisalo, *Entwürf einer Mythologie der Jurak-Samojeden* (Helsinki, 1927), p. 16 ff.

¹¹³ Pettazzoni, *o.c.*, p. 8.

¹¹⁴ R. Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing god* (London, 1956), p. 79.

¹¹⁵ Pettazzoni, *o.c.*, p. 155; 161.

created the two eyes of heaven (viz. sun and moon), a conception which was for instance also known in ancient Egypt,¹¹⁶ where the moon was especially the eye of Horus and the sun that of Rê. Considered as an eye, the Sun is, also in the view of the Vedic poets, a representative of the all-seeing power or of the idea of universal vision: Sūrya is "all-seeing" (*viśvacakṣas-* RV. 1, 50, 2; 7, 63, 1); the same epithet is however 10, 81, 2 given to Viśvakarman when described as creating the earth and unveiling the sky, and 9, 86, 5 to Soma, the lord and ruler of the universe; he is "of wide vision" (*urucakṣas-* RV. 7, 35, 8; 63, 4; this epithet is in 1, 25, 5, and 16 used to characterize Varuṇa, the god who perceives everything and is supposed to witness man's doings; to Mitra-and-Varuṇa in 8, 101, 2, the two kings who hold the rays of the sun as reins; to the Viśvedevāḥ 6, 51, 9) and "observant on all sides" (*vicakṣaṇa-* RV. 1, 50, 8; 10, 37, 8).

The epithet mentioned last is a good example to illustrate the belief in an omniscience which is based essentially on the power of sight; a knowing which comes from, or is intimately connected with, an unusual and supra-normal faculty of seeing. Whereas magical omniscience is ascribed to animals, to sundry spirits, and to exceptional men, rather than to divine beings, "visual omniscience" is the specific attribute of deities and not, or not primarily, of deities in general, but of those gods who are somehow connected with the heavenly realms of light or whose "knowledge" might be considered to be of the same kind as that of the sky-gods. These deities are all-knowing because all-seeing and all-hearing because they are luminous. As pointed out by Pettazzoni¹¹⁷ divine omniscience has its own precise and characteristic object: man, his conduct and his activities, his inmost thoughts and secret intents.

Now that we have a clear picture of the widespread ideological complex of divine omniscience, it becomes intelligible that an adjective like *vicakṣaṇa-*, the etymological meaning of which is "shining widely" as well as "clear-sighted", could also answer to our "wise, sagacious, experienced etc.". Let us therefore, by way of digression, survey the R̥gvedic occurrences of this epithet. As already stated it first and foremost applies to the sun (Sūrya); to sun and moon as belonging to Varuṇa (probably as his eyes): 8, 41, 9; to Savitar, the supporter of heavens and lord of the creatures (*prajāpatiḥ*): 4, 53, 2; to Agni Vaiśvānara who found the celestial light and whose *dhāmāni* ("statutes, institutions"; "formes

¹¹⁶ Pettazzoni, *o.c.*, p. 51.

¹¹⁷ Pettazzoni, *o.c.*, p. 4 ff.

en tant que résultant de fonctions"¹¹⁸) are the object of the poet's desires: 3, 3, 10; to Indra 1, 101, 7; and often to Soma, who is stated, in 9, 86, 23, to have opened (detected), on behalf of the Aṅgirasas, the abode of the cows; in 9, 107, 24 to be stimulated by the *viprāḥ*; who is, in 9, 51, 5 urged on to flow; in 9, 12, 4, called a *sukratuḥ kaviḥ*; in 9, 97, 2 a *mahān kaviḥ*; 9, 107, 7 an *ṛṣir viprāḥ* (and addressed as *gātuvittama* "a promoter of welfare *par excellence*"¹¹⁹); in 9, 75, 1 and 85, 9 said to have mounted the chariot of the sun or the sky; in 9, 86, 11 described as the lord of the sky, in st. 19 as a *vṛṣā matīnām* i.e. "a fecundator of thoughts"; in 9, 106, 5 as a *pathikṛt*- "a maker of a road"; in 9, 107, 5 as a *vājin*- "one who wins or possesses *vāja*"¹²⁰; in st. 16 as a king; in 9, 107, 3 the words *devamādanāḥ kratur indur vicakṣaṇāḥ* "the juice which inspires the gods, the clear-sighted inventiveness" refer likewise to Soma pavamāna. In R̥V. 10, 11, 4 (~ AV. 18, 1, 21) where the falcon brings the soma to the sacrifice, the adjectives *vicakṣaṇa*- and *vibhū*- which expresses such ideas as "far-extending or all-pervading might, sovereignty and effectiveness" combine to characterize the drop (*drapsa*-). We would do well to translate this epithet – notwithstanding R̥V. 9, 86, 35 where the *vicakṣaṇāḥ* one is called the highest support of the sky – not by "outlooking" (Whitney-Lanman, AV. 10, 21, 19; 10, 3) but by "clear-sighted, wise", in harmony with other places where the god's wisdom, knowledge, and intellectual power is dwelt upon¹²¹: in 9, 71, 9 he surveys creatures with resourcefulness (*pari kratunā paśyate jāḥ*); he knows the races of the gods (9, 81, 2), and reveals their secret name (9, 95, 2); as observed already in a former chapter of this publication he is a *kaviḥ* (9, 78, 2 etc.), a wise god *par excellence*.

Returning now to the noun *dhīti*- the next question to consider is its signification in the really enigmatic stanza R̥V. 1, 164, 36 *saptārdhagarbhā bhuvanasya reto | viṣṇos tiṣṭhanti pradiśā vidharmanī | te dhītibhir manasā te vipaścitaḥ | paribhuvāḥ pari bhavanti viśvataḥ*, which according to Lüders¹²² means: "Sieben, deren Mutterschosz die Hälfte (sc. of *rodasī*, in *casu* the sky) ist, sind der Same der Welt; auf Anweisung des Viṣṇu

¹¹⁸ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, I, p. 21; II, p. 56; III, p. 59; VII, p. 30; 38.

¹¹⁹ *Epithets in the R̥gveda*, p. 181.

¹²⁰ *Vāja* in all probability represents the generative power manifesting itself in vegetation and in cattle, which may be generated by exploits of swiftness or heroism, and by which new food and new life is obtained. See *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 47 ff.

¹²¹ See e.g. also Bergaigne, *o.c.*, I, p. 185 f.; A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*², I (Breslau, 1927), p. 370 ff.

¹²² Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 683, n. 1.

befinden sie sich im weiten Raum. Die sind durch Gedanken, durch Denken redekundig; sich herum erstreckend sind sie rings herum". Without regard to the problem as to who are the subject of this stanza the third pāda is of special interest, because it shows that supranormal beings may understand the *vipaḥ* i.e. the vibrations of inspiration by or through *dhītayaḥ* and *manāḥ*, which here again occur in combination. If Lüders is right in considering the seven celestial rivers, on which all life in the world depends, to be the subject of these sentences, and in identifying the seed of the world with the seed which is the soma in st. 35, the quality called *vipaścīt*- and the possession of *dhītiḥ* and *manāḥ* are attributed to these soma streams.

Like the *dhiyaḥ* the *dhītayaḥ* are, moreover, mentioned in connection with oblations. R̥V. 1, 153, 1 "we worship you, Mitra and Varuṇa, with oblations... and what they offer to you (together) with *dhītayaḥ*"; the meaning of the word must be: "the materialized 'visions' ", i.e. "the inspired hymns"; here also I would object to Geldner's "unter frommen Gedanken". Thus those speaking express in 3, 52, 6 the wish to prevail upon the god Indra by offering him not only Soma, but also their *dhītayaḥ*: *upa śikṣema dhītibhiḥ*. A more specific statement of the relation between the *dhītayaḥ* and the oblation occurs 8, 50, 4 *anehasaṃ vo havamānam ūtaye | madhvaḥ kṣaranti dhītayaḥ* "to the safe (Soma) who calls in (Indra's) aid the delightful 'visions' flow": that is to say, the *dhītayaḥ* are regarded as hurrying towards the soma juices. Elsewhere they are related to roar "at the seed of the bull, the mothers at that of their son, the calf": 9, 19, 4 *avāvaśanta dhītayo vṛṣabhasyādhi retasi | sūnor vatsasya mātaraḥ*: the materialized *dhītayaḥ*, i.e. the hymns (Geldner prefers: "Gebete") being recited accompany the preparation of the soma juice (cf. also 9, 66, 11; 86, 31). According to 9, 99, 4 the *dhītayaḥ* (not "(fromme) Gedanken" (Geldner)) feel an intensive longing¹²³ for the soma, while "bearing the name of the gods". Of special interest are some places where the *dhītayaḥ*, to the number of seven – obviously because of the seven officiants mentioned in 9, 10, 3 – co-operate with the ten fingers in clarifying the soma juices: 9, 15, 8 *etam u tyam daśa kṣipo mrjanti sapta dhītayaḥ*...; 9, 93, 1 where the *dhītayaḥ* are also ten in number; in 9, 8, 4 the ten fingers are stated to clarify the draught whereas the seven *dhītayaḥ* urge it on and the inspired seers (*viprāḥ*) praise it or rejoice over it. It is the materialized inspired or visionary thought which must accompany the technique in order to

¹²³ For *kṛp*- see Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III (1957), p. 49.

render the latter effective. Compare also 9, 68, 7 where the ṛṣis are said to urge on the soma when it has been pressed out, "with thoughts and 'visions'" (*matibhir dhītibhiḥ*), the clarifying being the task of the fingers; 9, 107, 24 where those performing the same action are called *viprāḥ*. Elsewhere no mention is made of the fingers: 9, 40, 1 "they embellish the inspired seer (= Soma) with their *dhītayaḥ*": i.e. they exert a special favourable influence upon the draught. In 9, 62, 17 *tam... yuñjante yātave / ṛṣinām sapta dhītibhiḥ* "they yoke (prepare) him (Soma) in order to go to the accompaniment of the *dhītayaḥ* of the seven ṛṣis (seers)" the idea expressed by the numeral may belong to *dhītibhiḥ* as well as to their originators (cf. e.g. 9, 92, 2; 103, 3).

With regard to 3, 12, 7 *indrāgnī āpasas páry / úpa prá yanti dhītayaḥ / ṛtasya pathyā ánu* my interpretation would differ from the one which is, as far as appears from Geldner's and Lüders' (Alsdorf's) translations,¹²⁴ currently held today: "Indra und Agni, vom (heiligen) Werk (Opferwerk) her ziehen die Gedanken die Pfade der Wahrheit entlang". It is true that according to Roth¹²⁵ ("das heilige Werk am Altar usw."), Grassmann and others the noun *apas-* refers primarily to the sacred or sacrificial act, a closer examination of the relevant passages shows that the poets had a predilection for this word to denote the specific or particular activities of a group or individual. Thus the word applies in 7, 40, 4 to the work of Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman, the first of whom is called the *netā ṛtasya*; in 1, 85, 9; 4, 19, 10; 7, 20, 1; 21, 4; 6, 23, 5; 8, 96, 19; 21 to Indra, referring to his acts of heroism ("deeds of manly courage"); in 10, 88, 6 to Sūrya, whose able and quick activity is praised¹²⁶: "(behold) this incomprehensible creative power of those worthy of worship (the gods) that he (S.) set to work punctually"; in 1, 174, 3 to Agni, who must take an active part in the morning worship; 2, 3, 6 to the goddesses Night and Dawn, the weavers; 2, 32, 4 to the goddess Rākā engaging in needlework; 4, 33, 9 to the Ṛbhus who made a cow and a chariot (st. 8)¹²⁷; 10, 12, 4 to Heaven and Earth; 2, 17, 5 and 6, 30, 3 to the rivers; 1, 54, 8; 70, 8; 2, 14, 11; 5, 47, 6; 6, 69, 1 to ritual work in general, or rather, to various ritual pursuits. In 1, 110, 1

¹²⁴ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 349; Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 462.

¹²⁵ R. Roth in the *Petrograd Dict.*, I (1855), 295.

¹²⁶ See my monograph on the sense and etymology of Skt. *māyā*, in *Four studies in the language of the Veda* (= *Disp. Rheno-Traj.*, III) ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 132.

¹²⁷ See also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, I, p. 16, who, though right in observing that the Ṛbhus are called *āpasas* "active and skilful", creates, perhaps, the incorrect impression that the poet is given the same epithet (1, 71, 3) because it belongs to these mythical beings.

the activity of the poet himself is explicitly described as an *apaḥ*: *tatam me apas tad u tāyate punaḥ / svādiṣṭhā dhītir ucathāya śasyate* "my work has-been-undertaken-and-is-continued (this frequent metaphor – cf. e.g. 5, 47, 6 –, borrowed from the techniques involving the extending or stretching threads: cf. 1, 142, 1; 9, 86, 32; 2, 3, 6; 8, 13, 14; 10, 53, 6), it is undertaken-and-continued once more; the most pleasant 'vision' is recited with a view to (become) words of praise". That the word *apaḥ* referred to the "Gedicht" of the ṛṣi was seen by Geldner¹²⁸ who however unduly emphasized its character as a "Kunstwerk". Another passage exhibiting *apas-* with a similar application is 3, 3, 3 *viprāso agnim mahayanta cittibhiḥ / apāṃsi yasminn abhi samdadhur girāḥ* "the inspired ones magnify Agni with their thoughts, on whom they have concentrated their works, their words of praise". The adjective *apas-* qualifies (in 9, 72, 6) the inspired poets (*kavayaḥ*) who are at the same time called *manīṣiṇaḥ* ("wise by inspiration") and in 1, 71, 3 the same word no doubt refers to the singers or reciters. It would therefore appear to me that the above line 3, 12, 7 may be translated as follows: "... the materialized visionary thoughts go, away from the work of the ṛṣis – i.e. their receiving visions and the conversion of the latter into 'poems' – along the paths of ṛta". It may be recalled to memory that *pari* + abl. often refers to the origin or place of origin: 2, 1, 1 Agni is said to have arisen *adbhyas ... aśmanas pari* "from the waters, from the stone": it seems therefore that the *dhītayaḥ* originate in the *apaḥ*. As to "the paths of ṛta" it would appear to me that Lüders in his valuable survey of the relevant text-places¹²⁹ was, once again, too much fascinated by the belief that *ṛta-* only means "verbal truth", and *ṛtasya pathi*, *pathyā* therefore stands for "den Pfad der Wahrheit". It is worth noticing that the rather frequent expression almost always exhibits the nouns *pathyā-* or *pathin-*. These words are however, semantically speaking, inadequately rendered by the German "Pfad". The group *path-* etc. does not simply refer to a road, track or path leading from one place to another. "Il implique peine, incertitude et danger, il a des détours imprévus, il peut varier avec celui qui le parcourt, et d'ailleurs il n'est pas seulement terrestre, les oiseaux ont le leur, les fleuves aussi. Le *panthāḥ* n'est donc pas tracé à l'avance ni foulé régulièrement. C'est bien plutôt un 'franchissement' tenté à travers une région inconnue et souvent hostile, une voie ouverte par les dieux à la ruée des eaux, une traversée d'obstacles naturels..., somme toute un chemin dans une région interdite au parcours normal,

¹²⁸ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 142.

¹²⁹ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 461.

un moyen de parcourir une étendue périlleuse ou accidentée. L'équivalent le plus approché sera plutôt 'franchissement' que 'chemin'....¹³⁰

As moreover the words 10, 2, 3 *ā devānām api panthām aganma* "we have entered the path of the gods" may be taken to come to "we have (by a definite procedure) come into touch with the gods, penetrated into their sphere" – similarly, 1, 38, 5 *mā... pathā yamasya gād upa* "(noch) möchte er auf dem Pfade Yama's wandeln" (Geldner); 1, 105, 6 *kad aryamṇo mahas pathāti krāmema*; 5, 64, 3 *yan nūnam aśyām gatim mitrasya yāyām pathā*; 4, 35, 3 "you went the path of 'immortality'" clearly means "you became immortal"; cf. also 6, 51, 16 *api panthām aganmahi svastigām*; the derivative *pāthas-* even admits of the translation "place, domain" (e.g. 1, 154, 5; 162, 2) – the inference seems to be warranted that the phrase *rtasya pathyā anu*¹³¹ expresses some comparable sense.

Sometimes *dhītayaḥ* and words for eulogy, "hymn" are co-ordinated or put on a par without any indication of their mutual connection: 5, 53, 11 *śardham-śardham va eṣām... suśastibhiḥ | anu krāmema dhītibhiḥ*, where Geldner's translation "jeden Heerhaufen von euch (the Maruts are addressed)... wollen wir mit Lobpreisungen, mit (frommen) Gedanken begleiten" is not felicitous; 7, 13, 1 *prāgnaye... manma dhītim bharadhvam* "offer to Agni the composition resultant from thought-bent-towards-a-special-aim and the *dhītiḥ*"; 1, 77, 4... *agnir (no) giro 'vasā vetu dhītim* "Agni must promote our eulogies, our 'inspiration' by his favour"; 1, 143, 1 *pra tavyasīm navyasīm dhītim agnaye | vāco matim sahasaḥ sūnave bhare* "I offer a rather powerful and a new product-of-inspiration to Agni, an 'ausgedachte Rede' (Geldner) to the Son of victorious power"¹³²; so much is clear that both *mati-* and *dhīti-* have materialized; 6, 61, 2... *avase suvr̥ktibhiḥ | sarasvatīm ā vivāsema dhītibhiḥ* "we would like to win Sarasvatī with good hymns of praise and *dhītayaḥ* that she may assist us". There is no denying that in these texts the ideas indicated by the other nouns are very nearly related to that expressed by the term *dhīti-*.

From 7, 15, 9 it is apparent that the *viprāḥ* utilized their *dhītayaḥ* with a view to gain (*sātaye*). This point has already been commented upon in

¹³⁰ E. Benveniste, "Problèmes sémantiques de la reconstruction", in *Word*, 10 (New York, 1954), p. 256 f.; see also P. Thieme, *Der Fremdling im R̥gveda* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 110 ff.

¹³¹ It is my intention to revert in another publication to the relative comment made by Lüders.

¹³² See my *Some observations on the relations between "gods" and "powers" in the Veda*, à propos of the phrase "*sūnuḥ sahasaḥ*" (= *Disp. Rheno-Traj.*, I) ('s-Gravenhage, 1957).

the preceding chapter. The difficult stanza 10, 26, 2 is more explicit: *yasya tyan mahitvaṃ... | vipra ā vaṃsad dhītibhiḥ* "dessen (sc. of Pūṣan) Größe... der Sänger, durch seine Gedichte gewinnen möchte" (Geldner); "that swelling might of whom (i.e. Pūṣan) may... the bard win by his prayers" (Atkins¹³³).

Those in whom the *dhītayaḥ* arise are 1, 22, 14 explicitly called *viprāḥ* and the field of their action is said to be the firm or lasting abode of the *gandharva* where they with, or by means of, their *dhītayaḥ* lick the milk of heaven and earth which gives much ghee (cf. also AV. 6, 62, 1): *tayor id ghrtavat payo viprā rihanti dhītibhiḥ | gandharvasya dhruve pade*. The question arises as to the function of the *gandharvas*. The gist of the various statements of the character and activities of these deities¹³⁴ is, in my opinion, that they are genii of conception and procreation, who keeping watch over the place of conception come as "lords of being" (AV. 2, 2, 1), dwelling in heaven, as "Wesenskeime" or "Seelenwesen", into touch with various divine beings and phenomena of a similar nature. As such they know and reveal the immortal (AV. 2, 1, 2) and the divine secret, found the immortal names (RV. 10, 123, 4, cf. 10, 139, 6; 177, 2), proclaim that highest abode that is in secret (AV. 2, 1, 2) and Vāc (Speech) in the womb. These functions are similar to those of the seer and when therefore the *viprāḥ* are related to be active *gandharvasya pade* this no doubt means that they fulfil the functions of the *gandharva*: they find and proclaim Speech, they come into touch with divine secrets, they also came into possession of the goddess Vāc: when the *gandharva* Viśvāvasu had appropriated the soma, or when the soma dwelt among the *gandharvas*, the gods and the ṛṣis bought him from them at the price of Vāc (AiB. 1, 27; cf. also TS. 6, 1, 6, 5; MS. 3, 7, 3).

There is however further evidence that those inspired sages who were called *viprāḥ* had something to do with the idea conveyed by the noun under consideration. In 9, 107, 24 it reads in connection with Soma pavamāna: *tvām viprāso matibhir vicakṣaṇa | śubhraṃ hinvanti dhītibhiḥ* "the *viprāḥ* stimulate thee who art radiant, O clear-sighted one, with their thoughts and visions". The German words "mit Dichtungen, mit Gebeten" (Geldner) do no justice to the implications and characteristics of the words pronounced by the *viprāḥ*. Cf. also 7, 15, 9; 10, 26, 2. Elsewhere it is the *dhītayaḥ* of the seven ṛṣis – the officiants, contempo-

¹³³ Atkins, *Pūṣan in the R̥g-veda*, p. 88.

¹³⁴ See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I: *Veda und älterer Hinduismus* (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 101 f.; for a collection of relevant data: A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Harvard, 1925), p. 179 ff.

aneous representatives of the seven famous ṛṣis of prehistoric times who were the first to sacrifice¹³⁵ – which accompany the preparation of the Soma (9, 62, 17): *tam... rathe yuñjanti yātave | ṛṣinām sapta dhītibhiḥ*. When, in 8, 54, 1 the *kāravaḥ* (proclaimers of the gods' praise) glorify the god Indra *gīrbhiḥ* i.e. with eulogies, the Pauras – who may be a family of poets and be identical with the *kāravaḥ* – come *dhītibhiḥ*. In 1, 144, 5 it is the *dhītayaḥ* and the ten fingers which impel or set in action the god Agni, whose identity with fire is never lost sight of: the well-known cumulation of manual technique and sacramental words. In 9, 8, 4; 15, 8; 93, 1 similar words return in connection with the preparation of the soma draught.

That *dhīti-* and words for "eulogy", e.g. *ucatha-* are not synonymous may appear from 1, 110, 1 *svādiṣṭhā dhītir ucathāya śasyate* "the most pleasant 'vision' is recited with a view to (become, produce) words of praise". The meaning apparently is that a *dhītiḥ* when formulated, and couched in versified words which are recited, was considered to materialize as a eulogy. The same relation between a *dhītiḥ* and a eulogy is, if I am not mistaken, expressed otherwise in 8, 12, 31: *imām ta indra suṣṭutim vipra iyarti dhītibhiḥ* where I would reject Geldner's translation: "diese Lobrede hebt der Redekundige für dich, Indra, gedankenvoll an": the *dhītayaḥ* are rather the means enabling the inspired one to start his eulogy, or by which he accomplishes the action.

Like *dhīḥ*, *dhītiḥ* is rarely but significantly used without any connection with "poets", eulogies etc. The mental quality enabling the Ṛbhus to fashion a cow is in 1, 161, 7 a = 4, 36, 4 b *niś carmaṇo gām ariṇṭa dhītibhiḥ* stated to be *dhītiḥ*: "aus dem Fell lieszt ihr durch eure Erfindungsgabe (Erfindungen) die Kuh herauslaufen" (Geldner). I would prefer: "by your vision, i.e. higher insight, extraordinary intuition, imagination" (cf. the English use in cases such as *vision is indispensable to a statesman*).

Although much of what is said about the figure of Trita is more or less wrapt in darkness¹³⁶ so much seems, as far as RV. 10, 8, 7 is concerned, to be clear that a person of that name, when being within a pit,¹³⁷ desired, on the advice (or rather through the resourcefulness) of Agni, and through, or at the instance of, the, or his, distant ancestor to have a, or the, *dhītiḥ* (not, with Geldner, "wünschte mit Eifer des höchsten

¹³⁵ See Geldner's note on RV. 3, 4, 7 (*o.c.*, I², p. 339 f.).

¹³⁶ See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 58.

¹³⁷ I refer to Macdonell, *o.c.*, p. 67 (not, however, "T. within a pit prays to his father" 10, 8, 7).

Vaters Erkenntnis"); moreover, seeking help, he was anxious to possess weapons which he addressed as related to or belonging to his relatives: *asya tritaḥ kratunā vavre antar | ichan dhītim pitur evaiḥ parasya*. The weapons are in the beginning of st. 8 called *pitryāṇi* "belonging to his father or, rather, to his ancestors". The order of words indicates that *pituh* depends on *evaiḥ*,¹³⁸ which must mean "impulse"; cf. 8, 18, 13 *svaiḥ śa evai ririṣṣṭa yur janah*; 8, 97, 3 ("through his own conduct"); 10, 67, 11 ("spontaneously"); 8, 103, 13. For the phrase *pitur... parasya* compare 10, 15, 1 *avare, parāsaḥ, madhyamāḥ pitarah*; 10 *paraiḥ pūrvaiḥ pitrbhiḥ*¹³⁹ and especially 4, 2, 16 which running as follows: *adhā yathā naḥ pitarah parāsaḥ | pratnāso agna ṛtam āśusāṇāḥ | śucīd ayan dīdhitim ukthaśāsaḥ...* refers to the well-known myth of the Aṅgiras who by their singing succeeded in cleaning the rock in which the cows were kept (cf. 4, 1, 15). In Lüders¹⁴⁰ translation "und wie unsere Väter, die vormaligen, uralten, o Agni – das Ṛta schnaufend gelangten sie zur Klarheit, zur Erkenntnis, indem sie Hymnen sangen..." I would instead of "Erkenntnis" prefer "visionary insight or wisdom"; even a translation "pure vision or holy visionary wisdom" (hendiadys of *ś.* and *d.*) or "extrasensory perception of fundamental truths" would be worth considering.

¹³⁸ For the sense of which see also Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 21.

¹³⁹ See also Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 145, who also quotes TS. 4, 3, 3, 2 *pitarah pitāmāḥ pare 'vare* "father, grandfathers, near and far".

¹⁴⁰ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 514.

IV
THE VERB *dhī-* IN THE ṚGVEDA

Turning now to a discussion of the forms of the verb *dhī-* as used in the Ṛgveda, it may at the outset be observed that the translations given by Grassmann, Geldner and others are, generally speaking, not infrequently unconvincing. Such renderings as "sinnen, nachdenken", or "das Augenmerk richten auf, denken, nachtrachten" (Petr. Dict.) do not seem to give an adequate idea of the meaning of the original texts. It would appear to me that the verb means, preferably in the active form, "to see, to look (at)" often in connection with extraordinary supranormal vision ("to bring about visionary contact"), and especially in the middle forms, "to have (receive) a vision".

From a number of places the sense of "seeing, looking" emerges beyond any doubt. Thus 7, 91, 41¹ *yāvat taras tanvo yāvad ojo yāvan naraś cakṣasā dīdhyānāḥ* "as much efficacy as there is of the body, as much creative energy, as far as men see with the eye".

Even Geldner must in translating 10, 32, 4 admit with great probability that *abhi dīdhaya* means "habe ich geschaut": "der Dichter sieht im Geist, wohin die Brautfahrt Indra's geht, zu der Opferstätte": *tad it sadhastham abhi cāru dīdhaya gāvo yac chāsan vahatuṃ na dhenavaḥ* "I have beheld that lovely place, towards which the milch-cows will direct (you) like a bridal procession". "Das Seherauge des Dichters erschaut (Indra) wie in einem Hochzeitszug zu der Geliebten, der Opferdichtung, fahrend".²

In 7, 33, 5 *ud dyām ... adīdhayur dāśarājñe vṛtāsaḥ* must mean: "those who in the fight with the ten kings were surrounded looked up at the sky".

I would quote here also 5, 40, 5: when Svarbhānu (the demon supposed to eclipse the sun) has struck Sūrya with darkness, "creatures looked out like one gone astray who is not familiar with the locality" (... *yathā mugdho bhuvanāny adīdhayuh*).

In 4, 33, 9 the sense of the verb *abhi-dhī-* is, it is true, to "look at", but the subject is the gods and the concomitant adverbs are to modify that sense considerably: "the gods found pleasure in their (viz. the Ṛbhus)"

¹ Notwithstanding Sāyaṇa who even here explains *dīdhyānāḥ* by *dīpyamānā bhavanti*.

² Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 180.

work, when they looked at it with effective mental power³ and intentional and directed thought (*abhi kratvā manasā dīdhyānāḥ*): that is to say, in looking at the work of the Ṛbhus the gods were guided by those "qualities" of theirs which enabled them to rate the work at its true value.

"To gaze" is in all probability the correct translation in 10, 144, 3 "in froher Erwartung des ... Adlers ... schaut er herab (*ava dīdhed*) auf die des Ahīśū" (Geldner).

Thus I cannot agree with Geldner in interpreting 2, 20, 1 "wir führen dir, Indra ... eine Stärkung vor (rather, "we offer thee vigour ..."), laut preisend, im Geist nachsinnend (*dīdhyato manīṣā*), um die Gunst eines Herrn gleich dir zu erlangen". Should it not be something like: "bringing about visionary contact (with thee) by means of "inspiration" (*manīṣā*)"? The active forms of a verb for seeing used in connection with visionary sight must, I think, admit of this translation.

In any case, the procedure adopted by Geldner, i.e. to present the reader with a great variety of translations, does not serve a useful purpose. Instead of "wie kann der, der eifrig den Opferdienst besorgt, seinen Reichtum erlangen, wie er ihn sich wünscht?" in 4, 23, 4 (*kathā ... naśad abhi draviṇam dīdhyānaḥ*) I would consider: "... when he sees it by his mental eye", or, rather, "when he receives a mental vision, or comes into visionary contact (with the god)". For *draviṇam*, which does not refer to ordinary possessions, compare 2, 23, 15 "O Bṛhaspati, help us to the bright (excellent) wealth which ... shines among men brilliantly, bearing inventiveness, which is illustrious by power ...": "der Schatz der Weisheit" (Geldner⁴). For *draviṇam* in the nuance of highly valued and important gifts of those gods who also give "vision" see e.g. 4, 5, 12; 11, 3; 54, 1; 5, 54, 15; 7, 10, 3; 10, 37, 10; 45, 11. Cf. also 3, 38, 6 and similar places.

According to the Anukramaṇī on ṚV. 10, 98 Devāpi praised the gods when he was desirous of rain⁵; the Bṛhaddevatā 8, 5ff. relates that Devāpi, being at his own request appointed to be the royal chaplain, duly performed the rites productive of rain, sacrificing to Bṛhaspati with the stanzas ṚV. 10, 98, 1-3. In st. 1 he implores through the intermediary of Agni, Bṛhaspati, to ask, on his behalf, Parjanya for rain. When with the second stanza Agni Jātavedas as Bṛhaspati's messenger had informed him: "I will place brilliant speech in your mouth; praise the gods", then Bṛhaspati bestowed on him divine Speech with which he in the stanzas

³ For *kratu-* see also my *Epithets in the Ṛgveda*, p. 37 f.

⁴ Who adds "der den Sänger berühmt macht", words which may lead to a misunderstanding of the passage.

⁵ Cf. also Geldner's introduction to this hymn, *o.c.*, III, p. 308.

4-7 sang in praise of the gods with a view to rain. Now, st. 7 *yad devāpiḥ ... kṛpayann adīdhet* | ... *vr̥ṣṭivaniḥ ... br̥haspatir vācam asmā ayachat* does not, in my opinion, mean "als D. ... sehnsüchtig ausschaute, da verlieh ihm B. ... die regengewinnende Rede" (Geldner), but "when D. had, yearningly, visionary contact, etc.", the vision consisting in the mental relations with the god and the hearing of the god's message; it is also implied in the being gifted with divine speech.

In the difficult and much-discussed stanza 10, 40, 10,⁶ which in my view is a statement of events, activities and experiences of those concerned in marriage ceremonies, it reads (in pāda b): *dīrghām anu prasitiṃ dīdhiyur naraḥ*. After Bloomfield⁷ who considered these words to mean: "for a long time the men have lived (or, shall live) their pious lives", Mukherjee⁸ who believed them to express the idea: "(the sacrificers) contemplate over the long continuity of being", Oldenberg⁹ who paraphrased their contents as follows: "sie sehen in die Ferne, wo Untergang ihres Geschlechts herannaht", Geldner, who preferred: "die Männer sannen über die langen Bande nach", I recently proposed, dissociating, with Bloomfield, *anu* from the verb form: "for a long time the men have (have had) the visionary sight (so as to come into touch with higher powers, to have inspirations, to be successful on the spiritual level)"; the pāda may allude to the men's gaining a visionary insight into the meaning of marriage, the deep secret of procreation, the continuation of family and race.

In this connection attention must be drawn to R̥V. 10, 10, 1 = AV. 18, 1, 1 *pitur napātam ā dadhāta vedhā*¹⁰ *adhi kṣami prataram dīdhyānaḥ* where neither Geldner's "... wenn er weiter die Zukunft auf Erden bedenkt" nor Whitney-Lanman's note¹¹ "making thoughtful provision for the future" can satisfy me. I would venture to translate: "a leading man (?) should have a grandson of his father, 'seeing' (in the above way) further onward (i.e. the future) upon the earth". Cf. 1, 94, 4.

In the "hymn of the gambler" 10, 34, st. 5 the words *yad ādīdhye na daviṣāni ebhiḥ* are translated, by Macdonell¹²: "when I think to myself

⁶ See my relative paper (R̥gveda 10, 40, 10) which is to appear in the *Norman Brown Commemoration Volume* (Philadelphia).

⁷ M. Bloomfield, in *Am. J. of Phil.*, 21 (1900), p. 418.

⁸ B. L. Mukherjee, in *J. and Proc. As. Soc. of Bengal*, N.S. 20, p. 63 ff.

⁹ Oldenberg, *R̥gveda. Noten*, II, p. 245.

¹⁰ For the uncertain sense of *vedhas*- see Renou, *Ét. véd. et pān.*, IV, p. 68; VII, p. 10; and my *Epithets in the R̥gveda*, p. 156, 231.

¹¹ Whitney-Lanman, *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā translated* (Cambridge, Mass., 1905), p. 816.

¹² Macdonell, *A Vedic reader for students* (Oxford), p. 189.

"I will not go with them ...", by Geldner: "wenn ich mir vornehme ...". Here also "to see with the mental eye" is not impossible, with the contextual variant, in Dutch, "zich voor ogen houden", that is "to hold (something) before oneself, to impress (something) upon oneself".

We may subjoin here 8, 99, 3. Instead of Geldner's "so oft (die Sonne) mit Kraft geboren ist, erwarten wir die Güter wie unseren Anteil" (*vasūni ... prati ... dīdhima*) I would propose: "to look forward to (i.e. to await)".

The combination *vi dīdhayaḥ* in 8, 21, 6 is usually translated: "to be uncertain, hesitate", or "sich besinnen" (Geldner). "When we invite thee (Indra), wilt thou even for a moment look in different directions?" may however be a good equivalent of the original text. Cf. e.g. 1, 131, 2.

In 7, 7, 6 the sense of the group *ā dhī-* seems to be "to pay attention to" rather than "gedenken" (Geldner)¹³: *ete dyumnebhīr viśvam ātiranta ... ā ye me asya dīdhayann rtasya* "these surpass all in splendour who will pay attention to this ṛta (hymn) of mine".

Turning now to 5, 33, 1 c *māhi mahé tavāse dīdhye* ..., translated, by Grassmann: "dem groszen, starken Indra leg' ans Herz ich ..."; by Geldner: "ein groszes (Lied) ersinne ich auf den Groszen, Starken ..." (: *tīkṣṇīkaromi*, Mādhava; *dīpayāmi prakāśayāmi*, Sāyaṇa). I would decidedly prefer "I see something great (with my mental eye)", that is: "I have a great vision", i.e. "a great inspiration comes to me".

Essentially similar, but more complicated in elaboration is 3, 38, 1 *abhi taṣṭeva dīdhayā maṇiṣām*. The simile has no doubt induced Geldner to translate: "wie ein Zimmermann (sein Werk), so habe ich das Gedicht überlegt". Letting alone the fact that, as we have seen, artisans also need vision and inspiration, the simile may be brachylogical. Not rarely indeed one of the terms of a R̥gvedic simile has been omitted so as to necessitate the hearer's supplying it from the context. Even when it is from the grammatical point of view correct and complete, it may be felt as incomplete or even as unintelligible to the uninitiated.¹⁴ The correct interpretation may therefore be: "like a carpenter (builder of chariots) (who starts work) I look towards (perceive) an 'inspiration' (and start composing this hymn)".

In 7, 90, 4 b the subject of the sentence *uru jyotir vividur dīdhyānāḥ* seems to be the Uśijas mentioned in c: they found the light, not, if I am not mistaken, "nachsinnend" but "receiving visionary insight": compare 1, 71, 2 where the ancestors, the Aṅgiras, destroyed the rock and found

¹³ Lüders-Alsdorf, *o.c.*, p. 430 "achten auf".

¹⁴ See *Ellipsis, brachylogy and other forms of brevity in speech in the R̥gveda* (Amsterdam, 1960), p. 50 ff.

the light by their recitations. The poet continues (st. 5): *te satyena manasā dīdhyānāḥ svena yuktāsaḥ kratunā vahanti* "they (the present poets and eulogists, receiving visions with a truthful (pure) mind drive (the chariot, i.e. sacrifice) attaching to themselves¹⁵ their own resourcefulness": not "nach sinnend" (Geldner) or "denkend",¹⁶ or "aus eigenem Entschluss angeschirrt" (Geldner).

The short sūkta 10, 18 contains a mystical speculation on the two famous sāmāns Rathantara and Bṛhat and on the Gharma, the pot used for heating milk in the Pravargya rite. Vasiṣṭha brought the first from the "shining" "creator" (Dhātār), from Savitar and Viṣṇu (st. 1), Bharadvāja the second, which was put away and was the highest form of worship in secret (st. 2). Then, st. 3, it reads: "they (viz. Dhātār etc., Sāyaṇa) receiving (or perhaps, "applying") visionary illumination with their "thought" (*manasā dīdhyānāḥ*) found the first yajuḥ (sacrificial formula) which had fallen along the paths of the gods". Geldner ("im Geiste nach sinnend") overlooks the fact that those concerned were supranormal beings superior to any form of discursive thought.

Also in 10, 67, 2 the verb occurs in a reference to the origin of worship: *ṛtaṃ śamsanta ṛju dīdhyānā divas putrāso asurasya vīrāḥ | vipram padam aṅgirasas dadhānā yajñasya dhāma prathamam mananta* "stating the ṛta, having the right visionary insight (certainly not: 'redlich denkend', Geldner), the sons of heaven, the men of the Asura, instituting (creating) the inspired sage and (sacred) word¹⁷ imagined the first form of worship (the sacrifice)". For the Aṅgīrasas as institutors of worship, sacral speech etc. see 1, 31, 17; 71, 3; 72, 6; 3, 53, 7; 10, 62, 6 f.; they reconstructed the world: 1, 6, 4; 3, 31, 12; 10, 68, 11.

In connection with the seven original priests the author of 3, 4, 7 (= 3, 7, 8) states: *ṛtaṃ śamsanta ṛtam it ta āhur anu vrataṃ vratapā dīdhyānāḥ* "stating ṛta they spoke the ṛta, receiving (having), whilst observing the religious ordinances, visions in accordance with the ordinance". Not "über das (göttliche) Gesetz nach sinnend" or "meditierten dem Gelübde entsprechend (d.h. sie dachten und sprachen nur die Wahrheit)".¹⁸ That the semi-divine first seers and priests, the "fathers" of the poets, enjoyed the gift of *dhīḥ* is self-evident because "vision" is,

¹⁵ Or: having yoked their chariot with a *persona pro re* construction? (see W. Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax*, Heidelberg, 1931, p. 165 f.). For *yuktāsaḥ kratunā* cf. 2, 18, 1; 10, 114, 6; for the construction: 1, 165, 5; 5, 17, 3.

¹⁶ Cf. Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 636.

¹⁷ Cf. Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 523, n., criticizing Geldner's "den Redekundigen zu ihrer Wegspur machend": "making the inspired sage their sacred word".

¹⁸ Schmidt, *Vedisch vrata*, p. 56.

as we have seen,¹⁹ essential in a seer. If any characteristic may be expected to turn up in a passing reference to the seven ancient ṛṣis, it is this.

Geldner's translation of 4, 50, 1 arouses similar doubts: *yas ... bṛhas-patis ... | tam pratnāsa ṛsayo dīdhyānāḥ puro viprā dadhire*: "B. ... haben die vormaligen Ṛṣi's, die redekundigen unter tiefem Nachdenken an ihre Spitze gestellt". Rather: "the ... ṛṣis, the inspired ones, when receiving visions ...". Cf. 10, 14, 3 (B. exalted by the eulogists); and the above 2, 23, 15 (imploring the god for the treasure of wisdom and inspiration); 19 ("B., be thou a guide of this hymn").

Whilst exalting, in a speculative manner, the sacrificial horse, the author of 1, 163 states (st. 12) *upa prāgāc chasanam vājy arvā devadrīcā manasā dīdhyānāḥ* "he has approached the slaughtering, the courser rich in vāja, seeing (i.e. receiving supranormal sight or 'vision') with a mind that is turned towards the gods", and not "... pondering with pious mind" (Keith²⁰). From st. 13 it appears that the horse has come to the highest abode; the wish is pronounced that he may go most welcome to the gods and that he shall assign boons to the worshipper (cf. R̥V. 1, 162, 22). The sacrificial horse indeed knows the way to the heavenly world (ŚatB. 13, 2, 8, 1) and is in touch with the unseen (cf. R̥V. 1, 162, 7; 21; 163, 2ff.); the animal may, it would appear to me, be credited also with the faculty of "sight".

The stanzas 10, 183, 1 and 2 run parallel. In st. 1 the housewife addresses the husband: *apaśyaṃ tvā manasā cekitānam*, which I would tentatively translate: "I saw that you fixed your mind upon (something, viz. fatherhood), that you were anxious in your mind", the instrumental *manasā* being mainly added to restrict the rather wide range of meanings of *cit-*. In st. 2 the husband answers: *apaśyaṃ tvā manasā dīdhyānām*. Do these words mean: "I saw that you had, with your mind, visions (of motherhood)"? Cf. 7, 90, 5 *te satyena manasā dīdhyānāḥ*; 10, 181, 3.

The verbal adjective *dhīta-* occurs four times in the hymns of the Kaṇvas (8, 1-66). Grassmann's translation (Wörterbuch) was "das Gedachte, im Sinne liegende, der Gedanke", Geldner: "das Erwartete" (8, 3, 16; 8, 10); "Wunsch" (8, 40, 3), "Gedanke" (8, 41, 1). It would appear to me that in all these places "object of visionary sight, what is seen by way of vision" is the central meaning of this word. In 8, 40, 3 Indra and Agni are implored to obtain completely, i.e. to realize, to convert into an accomplished

¹⁹ See also p. 67 ff.; 102 ff.

²⁰ A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School* (Cambridge, Mass., 1914), p. 377 (TS. 4, 6, 7, 5). Nor "méditant d'un cœur pieux" (P. E. Dumont, *L'Āśvamedha*, Louvain, 1927, p. 174).

fact, like two sages (*kavī*) on behalf of the man who attaches himself to them as a friend, what he has seen before his mental eye, what hitherto belonged to the sphere of "visions": *tā u ... kavī ... sakḥīyate saṃ dhītam aśnutam*. In 8, 41, 1 *asmā ū śu ... varuṇāya ... arcā ... | yo dhītā mānu-ṣāṇām paśyo gā iva rakṣati* "à ce (dieu) V. ... je vais donc adresser-ce-chant, (à V.) qui surveille les pensées des humains comme (on garde) les vaches du (troupeau de) bétail"²¹ I would prefer "what has as visionary sight come to men", or in short "their visions". Varuṇa, the omniscient, is a seer (*kaviḥ*, st. 5), in whom all seer functions are concentrated (st. 6), who makes revelations (7, 87, 4) and belongs to those gods who enable man to receive visions (cf. 1, 105, 15); in 8, 42, 2 he is implored to protect the poet. In 8, 8, 10 the Aśvins are addressed: *ā yad vāṃ yoṣaṇā ratham atiṣṭhad ... | viśvāny aśvinā yuvam pra dhītāny agachatam* "when the young woman mounted your chariot ..., ye attained, O Aśvins, all (your) mental images, or visionary hopes". Cf. 1, 116, 17; 1, 117, 13 (where *śrī-* means "happiness, welfare", not "Schönheit"). With regard to 8, 3, 16 *kaṇvā iva bhr̥gavaḥ viśvam id dhītam ānaśuḥ* Geldner observes that one expects to find "the K. like the Bh."; here also I would translate: "the K. attained all their visionary aspirations" or something to that effect.

²¹ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 72; cf. also VII, p. 28.

V

THE ADJECTIVE *dhīra-* IN THE ṚGVEDA

It must now be attempted to present a reasonably complete account of the central meaning and the contextual nuances of the adjective *dhīra-* in the Veda, which is usually, but no doubt inadequately, translated by German and English words such as "verständig, klug, weise; geschickt, kunstfertig" (Petr. Dict.); "intelligent, wise, skilful, clever, familiar with, versed in".¹ Being used only in connection with persons² (or, incidentally, with an object represented as such) it is one of those adjectives in *-ra-* which expressed, in Ancient Indian, either the idea of "powerful, mighty" (*sūra-*, *sthūra-*, *ugra-* etc.) or "characterized by vivid physical or psychical movements or a lively intellect" (*rjra-*, *jīra-*), and in addition to these some of the opposite ideas (*chidra-*, *kṣudra-*) and which moreover formed a group of adjectival nouns denoting colours or variegations of light (*usra-*, *rjra-*, *citra-* etc.) and words for "sharp, hard" (*kṣura-*, *krūra-* etc.).³ Frisk was no doubt right in observing that during the Indo-Iranian period the number of these *-ro-* adjectives increased, although the numerous corresponding words for "powerful, vivacious, splendid" in the Balto-Slavic idioms⁴ show that the Aryan languages were not alone in this preference. In Vedic times "new" words in *-rá-* appear: *śakra-* "mighty, able, powerful" – "wie *ugra-* ein gewöhnliches Götterepithet, vor allem des Indra"⁵, *vigrá-*, *vīgra-* "vigorous, strong", *pajra-* "strong, solid". One might compare, especially with regard to the semantic categories to which these words belong, the Avestan *gufra-* "mysterious, wonderful"; *angra-*, *aṇra-* "Schaden und Verderben bringend" (Nyberg⁶); such Latin terms as *sakros* > *sacer* "sacred, belonging or relating to the higher

¹ "weise" (e.g. Wackernagel-Debrunner, *o.c.*, II, 2, p. 857).

² Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 257.

³ See H. J. Frisk, "Zur indoiranischen und griechischen Nominalbildung", *Göteborgs Kungl. Vet. och Vitterh. Samhälles Handlingar*, Femte följden, A, 4, 4 (Göteborg, 1934), p. 2 ff., esp. p. 19.

⁴ A. Meillet, *Études sur l'étymologie... du vieux-slave*, p. 402 f.; A. Leskien, "Die Bildung der Nomina im Litauischen", *Abh. der phil.-hist. Classe der k. sächs. Akad. d. Wiss.*, XII (Leipzig, 1891), p. 440 ff.

⁵ Frisk, *o.c.*, p. 20. For *ugra-* see my *Ancient-Indian ojas, Latin *augos and the Indo-European nouns in -es-/os* (Utrecht, 1952), passim.

⁶ H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 94.

powers etc.", *mīrus* "wonderful, strange, mysterious", *pūrus* "pure, purified".⁷ Without endorsing everything that Frisk⁸ has said in connection with *dhīra*-, which according to him "sich auf die innere Lebhaftigkeit bezieht ('weise, klug')". I borrow his remark that it is closely connected with *vipra*-, whereas it is more loosely associated with the ideas expressed by *madira*- "intoxicating, exhilarating (of Soma)", *medhira*- "wise" (: *medhā*) and some other adjectives. What seems to be of special interest is the suitability of these *-ro*- words to form adjectives beside substantives in *-es/-os*- which, as is well known, denote "power-substances" or "Daseinsmächte"⁹: *ojas*- "creative vital energy": *ugra*-; *vepas*- "quivering": *vipra*-; *daṃsas*- "marvellous skill or power, wonderful or surprising deed": *dasra*-; *śavas*- "heroic strength, prowess, superiority": *śūra*-; *tejas*- "brilliance, energy": Av. *tiγra*- etc.¹⁰ It is therefore beyond doubt that *dhīra*- etymologically means "possessing, having received, being characterized by the 'Daseinsmacht' *dhīh*".

Although I made by way of digression some observations on the meaning of this adjective in a recent publication,¹¹ it seems useful to return to this subject, first as what has been said there is not devoid of onesidedness because my main intention was to show that it was the applicability, the practical and not the theoretical aspect, of "knowledge" or intellectual labour that was appreciated most of all by the ancient Indians, and in the second place because an attempt must now be made to establish the meaning of the word more precisely. From the survey which is to follow the meaning seems to emerge "gifted with, possessed of, *dhīh*" and hence "'wise', having insight into and knowledge of things, connections, phenomena which are hidden from ordinary men"; wisdom being as a rule practical ability, skill and cleverness, the adjective is not rarely translatable by "able, expert, skilful". It is worth noticing the range of application, the restricted character of which may however be to a certain extent due to the limited horizon of the authors and the onesided nature of their subjects.

The intimate connection with *dhī*- appears e.g. very clearly in the

⁷ "C'est un terme de la langue religieuse qui, comme nombre d'autres de même genre, s'est perdu ailleurs" (A. Ernout-A. Meillet, *Dict. étym. de la langue latine*, Paris, 1951, p. 967).

⁸ Frisk, *o.c.*, p. 23.

⁹ See H. v. Glasenapp, *Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens* (Halle S., 1940), p. 9 ff., esp. p. 13. Cf. also J. Manessy, *Les substantives en -as- dans la Ṛk-Saṃhitā* (Dakar, 1961).

¹⁰ *A.-I. ojas*, p. 82 f.

¹¹ "The 'original' sense and etymology of Skt. *māyā*", in *Four studies in the language of the Veda* (s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 119 ff., esp. p. 146-147.

important stanza ṚV. 8, 59, 6 *indrāvaruṇā yad ṛṣibhyo manīṣām vāco matim śrutam adattam agre | yāni sthānāny asṛjanta dhīrā yajñam tanvānās tapasābhy apaśyam*. As stated by Renou¹² the first half of the stanza refers to three stages of the activities of the seer-poet-eulogist who converts the inspiration received into the actuality of the liturgical word: "O Indra and Varuṇa, when you gave, in the beginning, to the seers inspiratory thought, thought as realized in speech (*vāco matim*, "die ausgedachte Rede", Geldner¹³), knowledge as heard and transmitted by poets, eulogists, priests, I perceived by means of the internal heat of ecstasy (*tapasā*) over which places those who have received (the) visions (*dhīrāh*), performing worship, emitted¹⁴ them". The strophe recurs in Khila 1, 6 (st. 6) where *tāni chandāmsi* is read instead of *yāni sthānāni* "... da ergossen die Weisen diese als Gedichte ..." (Geldner). With all desirable clearness it is stated here that those to whom the gods gave *manīṣām* etc. are regarded as *dhīrāh* who either produced (emitted) sacred hymns or distributed these over different places, which were no doubt sacrificial sites.

In connection with *kavayo vipāścitaḥ* "sages who know the inspired words¹⁵" the adjective *dhīrāsaḥ* is applied to the Ṛbhus when they are 4, 36, 7 implored to enjoy a eulogy. The semantic connection with *dhīh* is, here also, beyond doubt.

From a variety of texts it appears that those who are called *dhīrāh* were credited with an insight into the important phenomena in nature and in the realm of the divine and ritual powers. Thus 7, 56, 4 *etāni dhīro nīnyā ciketa pṛśnir yad ūdho mahī jabhāra* "the wise one knows these mysteries that the great P. has borne (them) in her udder", the "wise" one understands the mystery how Pṛśni, the mother of the Maruts, had become pregnant with them.

It is therefore small wonder that a ṛṣi, in casu 1, 179, 4 Agastya, could be referred to as a *dhīraḥ*. In the same sentence his wife Lopāmudrā is qualified as *adhīrā*.

Perhaps the *dhīraḥ* of the difficult stanza 5, 50, 4¹⁶ is the inspired sage in general who is able to achieve extraordinary deeds. Anyhow, this use may be assumed in 7, 31, 11 *tasya* (sc. *indrasya*) *vrātāni na minanti dhīrāḥ*: "die Einsichtigen" (Geldner; Schmidt), or "the wise".

¹² Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VII, p. 88.

¹³ Also 1, 143, 1; see also Renou, *o.c.*, I, p. 1.

¹⁴ Cf. 1, 9, 4 *asṛgram indra te girāh*.

¹⁵ See also Renou, *Études sur le vocabulaire du Ṛgveda*, I, p. 30.

¹⁶ See e.g. R. Roth, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 48, p. 681; Oldenberg, *Ṛgveda. Noten*, I, p. 346; Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 56; Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 79.

Those who by important achievements obtain a boon or a high position are also regarded as "wise": R̥V. 1, 91, 1 Soma is requested to reveal himself through inspired intentional thought (*manīṣā*) and to guide those speaking along the straightest way; "under thy guidance, O juice, our Fathers received as their share, among the gods, the jewel (*ratnam*) so that they became possessed of higher-insight-and-knowledge (*dhīrāḥ*)"¹⁷ (*tava praṇītī ... ratnam abhajanta dhīrāḥ*). Here the wisdom of the Fathers no doubt consists in what is called the *ratnam* (cf. e.g. 1, 140, 11; 141, 10; 2, 38, 1; 3, 18, 5; 26, 3 etc.), a term which, as has been stated in one of the preceding chapters, is also used in connection with access to light and visionary insight, with the initiation into higher knowledge (cf. 3, 26, 8; 7, 37, 2; 9, 47, 4; also 10, 74, 3).

In 9, 73, 3 the adjective occurs in regard to a detail of the soma sacrifice. After pāda 3 which identifies the soma, while being mixed with water, with Varuṇa, the author states *dhīrā ic chekur dharuṇeṣv ārabham* "nur die Sachkundigen vermochten (ihn) in seinen Unterlagen zu erfassen" (Geldner). It is clear that these experts (*karmaṇi kuśalāḥ prājñā evartvijah*, Sāyaṇa) are gifted with some form of extraordinary insight and imagination.

In stanza 9 of the same sūkta the idea expressed by this adjective (*karmaṇi prājñāḥ*, Sāyaṇa) is opposed to that denoted by *aprabhu* "wanting power, unable, incompetent". "(Diese Strophe) verlegt die von Soma ausgespannte Lieder-Seihe auf die Zungenspitze des Sängers und nennt sie *ṛtasya tantu*."¹⁸ "the warp of *ṛta* has been extended in the sieve on the tip of the tongue by Varuṇa's *māyā*. Only the 'wise' ones who desired to attain that have reached it; the incompetent one will fall down into the hole¹⁹". "Soma, mit dem allwissenden Varuṇa gleichgesetzt, hilft also ... nur dem Frommen (rather, "the man who observes the rules and ordinances", cf. 8 d *avratān*), den er Wahrheit und Lüge (these words can only be used, if they are given a very general sense, exceeding that of verbal or logical truth) scheidend und nicht zu trügen, als solchen erkennt; er hilft ihm, indem er seine Lieder von Unwahrheit (see above) läutert..." (Lüders). The man whose hymns have successfully passed through the sieve because they are in harmony with the reality underlying the phenomena, do not infringe the laws and rules obtaining in the universe, and

¹⁷ Rather than "unsere weisen Väter" (Geldner). The adjective is thrown into relief by its very position: *Four studies in the language of the Veda*, p. 43 ff.; 53 f.

¹⁸ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 471.

¹⁹ Unsuccessful attempts at handling that which is sacred lead the incompetent into dangerous situations.

are so to say rays of divine light in the world of man, is obviously entitled to the epithet *dhīrāḥ*.

An interesting combination of adjectives occurs in the initial stanza of the rather obscure sūkta 3, 56 *na tā minantī māyino no dhīrā vratā devānām ...* "ni les (êtres) artificieux ni les sages ne contrecarrent les vœux des dieux..."²⁰: "noter l'opposition entre *māyin-* et *dhīra-*, qui revient probablement à celle entre les atharvan et les ṛṣi proprement dits". Yet I would hesitate to explain this contrast by the terms "die Truglistenreichen" and "die Klugen",²¹ or "Truglistige" and "Einsichtige",²² preferring: "those characterized by the possession of *māyā*" and "those who are able by 'vision'".

We know already that these terms are applied indiscriminately to gods and beings of human status. It is therefore not surprising that the adjective *dhīrāḥ* also applies to the herdsman or protector of the world (*viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ*, 1, 164, 21). The whole stanza is worth translating: "there, where the eagles vigilantly raise their voices for the sake of a share in 'immortality', of rites (*vidathā*)²³, there the mighty herdsman of the whole world, the 'wise' one, has entered (taken possession of) me, the ignorant one". The share in "immortality" is the fruit of higher knowledge referred to in the next stanza stating that he who does not know the Father will not attain the sweet fruit. The juxtaposition of *dhīrāḥ* and *pākam* shows that the divine power is characterized by a quality opposite to "ignorant", that is by higher, intuitive, knowledge.

In this connection 8, 42, 2 should be quoted also: *evā vandasva varuṇam bṛhantaṁ namasyā dhīram amṛtasya gopām* "extol thus the firm Varuṇa, pay homage to the wise herdsman of 'immortality'". It seems warranted to explain *dhīram* as "possessing *dhīh* and, hence, able to perform extraordinary deeds". In st. 1 the same god is called *viśvavedāḥ*.

The adjective is used to characterize those gods who possess and give *dhīh*. Thus it qualifies the god Agni: 8, 44, 29 *dhīro hy asy admasad viprona jāgrviḥ sadā* "denn du bist ein Weiser, der beim Mahle sitzt, wie ein Redegewandter immer munter" (Geldner), rather "... like an inspired one, always watchful". It may be remembered that in 3, 39, 2 the *dhīh* is described as *jāgrviḥ*; the same epithet applies to Soma and Indra. After enumerating the sacerdotal functions fulfilled by Agni the poet of 1, 94,

²⁰ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, V, p. 17; IV, p. 53.

²¹ Thieme, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 95, p. 90.

²² Schmidt, *Vedisch vratā usw.*, p. 47.

²³ Cf. e.g. Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 36. Certainly not "nach Weisheit" (Geldner) or "with counsel" (Whitney-Lanman, *AV. transl.*, p. 556).

6 states *viśvā vidvāṃ ārtvijyā dhīra puṣyasi* "alle Priesterämter bringst du kundig zur Blute, o Weiser" (Geldner). There can hardly be any doubt that this epithet qualifies Agni as a possessor of the *dhīh* which is required by the sacrificial priests as well as the inspired seer and "poet".

In 1, 145, 1 and 2 Agni is glorified as the knowing one (st. 1 ... *sa veda sa cikitvāṃ īyate sa nv īyate*) whom people ask without asking himself (st. 2 *tam it prchanti na simo vi prchati sveneva dhīro yad agrabhīt*). He needs no asking because he has like a *dhīraḥ* understood with his own thought or mind. Here the *dhīraḥ* is considered to be able to know, by his *manah*, the solution of difficult problems, to give an answer to questions of high importance. The "etymological" sense of *dhīraḥ* would be a suitable translation: Agni, the god who gives, more than others, "visions", inspirations, and mental illumination to seers and "poets", is a *dhīraḥ* who by means of his own mind attains to higher insight. What is said here is indeed typical of a god or man who is possessed of *dhīh*.

In 5, 29, 1 d Indra is addressed as a *ṛṣir ... dhīraḥ*. There is no reason to assign to these words now that they apply to a god a meaning essentially different from what would be *prima facie* evident if the *ṛṣi* was a human being: "a seer characterized by 'vision'".

In 1, 62, 12 Indra is praised as follows: *dyumām asi kratumām indra dhīraḥ* "thou possessest celestial splendour, thou art a possessor of inventiveness (resourcefulness), and art qualified by 'vision'". The combination *dhīh* and *kratuḥ* occurs also in st. 8, 42, 3 which has already been discussed. Agni is 5, 26, 3 addressed as a *kavi*- and called *dyumant*-. An interpretation according to which the three epithets of 1, 62, 12 are mutually complementary does not appear to be impossible.

Sometimes we encounter an unusual combination, which though obviously requiring not much racking of the brains on the part of former interpreters presents us with an interesting problem. In 10, 89, 8 the god Indra is called a *dhīraḥ* punisher of guilt (*ṛṇayāḥ*), who crushes wickedness and those who transgress the "law" of Mitra and Varuṇa. What is a *dhīraḥ* punisher?: is he *prājñāḥ* (Sāyana), "klug" (Geldner)? In my opinion the adjective qualifies him as possessed of an extraordinary faculty of sight which enables him to detect all those who perpetrate dishonest acts, or to express myself otherwise: the god is believed to be *dhīraḥ* in demanding fulfilment of obligations, because he is one of those omniscient gods who punish the wicked.

It seems therefore reasonably certain that the son of heaven and earth who (according to 1, 160, 3) while possessing the means of purification of his parents, purifies the creatures is said to perform this action *dhīraḥ*

because the Sun, who is meant here, in achieving mighty deeds by means of the supranormal creative power called *māyā*²⁴ which was often supposed to underlie the marvels of nature – the author has, of course, in view the daily illumination of the universe – must have, to a considerable degree, the extraordinary faculty of "vision", an insight in that reality which is beyond the phenomenal world and is kept from ordinary beings. Deeds of marvellous skill and uncommon creative ability presuppose, indeed, the possession of a quality which may be called "vision". For practical purposes a translation "wise", though vague, may do duty.

The initial stanza of the sūkta addressed to Viśvakarman 10, 82 furnishes us with the interesting communication that "the father of the eye created these two submitting ones (i.e. sky and earth)²⁵ like *ghṛta*"; after the first clause the parenthesis is inserted: *manasā hi dhīraḥ* "for he is 'wise' by (through) 'thought' ". Geldner is right in observing that the text refers to "das geistige Auge des Sehers, das in die Vorzeit schaut", on the understanding that the "seer" is Viśvakarman who in st. 2 is described as *vimanā ād vihāyā dhātā vidhātā paramota samdyk*. The inference is therefore warranted that an exalted being possessed of the faculty of supranormal vision is on the one hand considered to be capable of creative achievements of enormous import, on the other hand described as *manasā dhīraḥ*, a phrase which – as will be seen from the following text-places – is not only used in connection with beings which are characterized by extraordinary insight, but also with experts and skilful artisans.

In 4, 56, 3 the quality expressed by the adjective is ascribed to a demiurge: "he was among the beings skilful (*svapāḥ*) who produced heaven and earth; being *dhīraḥ* ("Meister", Geldner) he joined together, with powerful dexterity (*śacyā*), both broad ... worlds". Again the combination of "vision", and ability: "gifted with vision and hence able" or "able on account of the possession of 'vision'".

Those who are in 10, 71, 2 said to have made or fashioned speech by thought²⁶ are called *dhīrāḥ* (*dhīrā manasā vācam akrata*): "die sakrale Sprache ist eine Erfindung der alten Weisen, die das was im Inneren schlummerte, hervorhoben, sichteten und zur heiligen Rede ausbildeten".²⁷ Cf. also TB. 2, 8, 8, 5 *vāg akṣaram prathamajā ṛtasya | devānām mātāmṛtasya nābhiḥ | sā no juṣāṇopa yajñam āgat | avantī devī suhavā me astu | yām ṛṣayo mantrakṛto manīṣiṇaḥ | anvaicchan devās tapasā śrameṇa*

²⁴ See also *Four studies*, p. 147.

²⁵ I refer to Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 264.

²⁶ See above, p. 106.

²⁷ Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 248 ff.

/ ... That the sort of "skill" or "wisdom" required to "invent" sacral speech was not devoid of vision or imagination few will contradict.

Among the beings which are credited with the quality expressed by this adjective are also the Ṛbhus.²⁸ Remarkably enough, the term applies to them when fulfilling different functions or showing different aspects of their nature. In 4, 33, 2 they are stated to promote the activity of the priestly poet: *dhīrāsaḥ puṣṭim avahan manāyai*. Is the thought underlying the use of the adjective this: Gods who provide the poets with new themes further the inspiration of the seers and poets and the elaboration of their "themes" must be "able" and "clever" in that particular way which is the special signification of the adjective *dhīraḥ*? As the Ṛbhus are, in 7, 37, 2, stated to bring the "ratnam" to the patrons of the poets, and in 1, 111, 2 they are said to grant power and refreshment, the author may – as in 3, 54, 17 – have represented them as promoters of the *dhīyah*, i.e. the hymns. Or, is *dhīraḥ* a more or less fixed qualification? In 9, 87, 3 it is intimated that finding what has been concealed requires the ability of a *dhīraḥ* Ṛbhu, the phrases *ṛṣir vipraḥ*, *puraetā janānām*, *ṛbhur dhīraḥ* and *uśanā kāvyena* being applied to Soma.

What does the poet of the Varuṇa hymn 7, 86, 1 intend to say when he states (st. 1) that "creatures (generations)²⁹ are *dhīrāḥ* by his (i.e. Varuṇa's) greatness, who has stemmed asunder heaven and earth (*rodasī*), broad though they may be"? This "captatio benevolentiae" (Geldner), or rather, ritually effective statement of two of the god's main functions, was connected by Ludwig and Geldner³⁰ with st. 7c *acetayad acita devo ariyaḥ* "the 'social'³¹ god (in all probability: Varuṇa³²) instructed those who lacked in understanding" or "... enlightened the unenlightened" (Thieme). Renou, on the other hand, observes: "*dhīra*- est d'ordinaire 'expert (, spécialiste)' – terms which in my opinion do no justice to the central meaning of the word –, mais ici faut-il admettre le sens de 'ferme, solide', qui n'est pas garanti pour les mantra?" Considering the latter interpretation improbable I can no more subscribe to the view pronounced by Thieme³³ according to which the place shows that Varuṇa, being the

²⁸ For 4, 36, 7 see above.

²⁹ Cf. Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VII, p. 20; cf. 4, 17, 20.

³⁰ See Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 257.

³¹ Cf. also Thieme, *Der Fremdling im RV.*, p. 80; the same, "Mitra and Aryaman", in *Trans. Connecticut Acad. of Arts and Sc.*, 41 (New Haven, 1957), p. 64: "friendly to the stranger (=helpful to those who are without protection and do not know their whereabouts)". H. W. Bailey, in *Transactions Phil. Soc.*, 1959, p. 84; 94 "owner, possessor of wealth",?); cf. also Renou, *o.c.*, III, p. 56; "Gott der Herr" (Geldner).

³² Cf. however Renou, *o.c.*, VII, p. 22.

³³ Thieme, "Mitra and Aryaman", *l.c.*

god of true speech, has created the universe by the magic power of spoken truth, and that by revealing and protecting this truth he makes people wise. Modifying my former interpretation³⁴ I would propose: "the generations (creatures) owe to his greatness *dhīḥ* 'vision' and hence higher insight and special practical wisdom". Cf. also 10, 66, 2 where the gods are said to be *varuṇapraśiṣṭāḥ* "instructed by V."

RV. 10, 130 deals with the invention or creation of the sacrifice and some of the main principles underlying it and identifications and associations warranting its operation. The "human seers" (*ṛṣayo manuṣyāḥ*, st. 5 d; 6 a), "our fathers", followed the example set by the "inventors" who "in prehistoric times" instituted the ritual. The author of the sūkta believes he can see, with his mind as an eye (*manasā cakṣasā*), those who were the first sacrificers. The "fathers", the seven primeval seers – qualified as *dhīrāḥ* in 10, 114, 7 – give in their turn a lead to the priests of the present generation who are in the final stanza described as *dhīrāḥ* who while keeping in view (*anudṛśya* "looking back upon") the path of the ancestors, seized the reins of the sacrificial acts, that is to say: who while relying on ancestral traditions conduct the sacrificers. Geldner's "Sachverständige" throws only one aspect of the adjectival idea into relief. The other aspect relates to their "power of vision", their participating in the "inspiration" granted to their ancestors.

The seven priests of the ancient ritual who by means of speech promote or execute the sacrifice are likewise explicitly called *dhīrāḥ*: 10, 114, 7 *taṃ* (sc. sacrifice regarded as a chariot) *dhīrā vācā pra ṇayanti sapta*. This is not surprising because they are in 10, 130, 7 explicitly described as "divine" (or, rather, "having the qualities of, relating to, the gods": *daivyāḥ*) and in 10, 109, 4 as associated with the gods.³⁵ So they were "inspired sages, possessed of vision" and on the strength of these qualities also "skilful experts". What is referred to in st. 9 is likewise on the one hand a question of superior insight, but on the other hand insight in a process of practical importance: *kaś chandasām yogam ā veda dhīraḥ* "who knows, wisely (expertly), the harnessing of the metres?" (which are like draught animals put to the "sacrificial chariot").

The highly useful activity of the sacrificial priests to which the author of 10, 101 resorting to images and metaphors exhorts his colleagues is in st. 4 compared to the work of the farmer: the kavis or inspired seers put the draught-animals to the ploughs ..., the *dhīrāḥ* ("possessing *dhīḥ* and

³⁴ *Four studies*, p. 149.

³⁵ See also Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 144.

hence able to perform extraordinary deeds") by their activity intended to win favour among the gods³⁶.

In the Indra-sūkta 1, 130, 6 the composition of a ritual hymn is compared to the construction of a chariot by an artisan, who is described as *dhīraḥ*: *imāṃ te vācam vasūyanta āyavo ratham na dhīraḥ svapā atakṣiṣuḥ*. There can be no doubt whatever that the cartwright is "skilful, expert" etc.; hence Geldner's "geschickt". Yet there is room for the consideration that this artisan also needs a sort of "vision" or inspiration, that he should at least have seen the chariot which he intends to make before his mental eye. Without stressing the "etymological sense" of the word it may safely be contended that the relation between this and the contextual meaning is evident. Similarly, 5, 2, 11 *etaṃ te stomam ... vipro ratham na dhīraḥ svapā atakṣam*; 29, 15 *vastreva bhadra sukṛtā vasūyū ratham na dhīraḥ svapā atakṣam*. The comparison with the cartwright recurs 1, 64, 1 "wie ein handfertiger Künstler mit Verstand sein Werk (*apo na dhīro manasā suhastyah*), mache ich die zum Opfer dienlichen Lobesreden salbungsvoll" (Geldner).³⁷

Some shade of meaning like "expert" must, in connection with the correct performance of ritual functions, be assigned to the adjective in 10, 86, 19 where Indra, putting up with a drink of poor quality, admits that he has looked out for an expert: *abhi dhīram acākaśam* (obviously in the art of preparing soma).

The author of 3, 28, 4 furnishes us with the statement that the *vidatheṣu dhīrāḥ* – that is to say: those who are on the strength of their higher insight experts in sacrificial technique – do not wrong Agni of his share in the sacrifice. The same expression occurs 3, 26, 6 in connection with the Maruts.

According to 9, 96, 11 the "wise" ancestors of the eulogist *cum suis* formerly performed their achievements together with soma: *tvayā hi naḥ pītarāḥ soma pūrve karmāṇi cakruḥ ... dhīrāḥ*. Here also the most probable translation seems to be "possessed of vision". The *dhīḥ* which they had received enabled them to carry out their important and exemplary task as "poets" and sacrificers.

That the possession of the quality expressed by *dhīraḥ* was considered to enable a ṛṣi to overcome practical difficulties appears also from 3, 31, 5 where in a reference to the Vala myth the "wise ones" – the seven *viprāḥ*

³⁶ For *sumnayā* see A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins* (Paris, 1956), § 870 a (p. 320); Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, III, p. 50; IV, p. 24 "faveur divine ou activités humaines provoquant cette faveur".

³⁷ See also Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 84.

or ancient ṛṣis who were the first to sacrifice (pāda b) – are related to have broken a way to the imprisoned cows. They indeed found the way (pāda c) which was ever since taken by the knowing one(s) (*prajānan*, pāda d).

In 10, 25, 5 the "wise" (*dhīrāḥ*) devotees of the strong (*tavās*-) god (Soma), through his powerful co-operation (*śaktibhiḥ*) succeed in opening the cow-pen.

"Sūrya, the sun, has", the author of 5, 45, 10 informs us, "ascended the pure sea ...; the wise ones (*dhīrāḥ*) led him like a ship over the water".³⁸ There is no denying that *dhīrāḥ* refers to experts in a special technique, but if we are aware of the fact that the poet refers to the inspired singers who perform their mighty deed by means of their sacred words (cf. pāda d: "the waters, listening from close by, came to a standstill) the "etymological" sense of the adjective stands out somewhat more clearly.

According to 1, 65, 2 the *dhīrāḥ* were able to follow Agni's track, when he had fled and was lurking in the waters. From 10, 46, 2 it appears that it was the ancient group of priestly sacrificers called Uśijaḥ and the Bhṛguṣ – who, being chiefly connected with the communication of fire to men, are in this connection likewise qualified as *dhīrāḥ* – who found the god of fire. After having found him they worshipped him in the waters and placed him in the abodes of man (2, 4, 2), so that Agni was considered to be the Bhṛguṣ' gift (3, 2, 4). They caused him to shine with hymns of praise (10, 122, 5), and invoked him while skilfully rubbing him with prayer (1, 127, 7). Their dexterity was so evident that they incidentally showed themselves as the equals of the gods (10, 92, 10). That these achievements presupposed a considerable degree of vision, imagination, sagacity and skill is self-evident. In 1, 146, 4 the same great figures are, likewise in connection with their following Agni's track, described as *dhīrāsaḥ ... kavayaḥ*; the latter term is often applied to Agni himself, to other gods, priestly "poets" and eulogists, and sacrificers.

Those who erected the sacrificial post are in 3, 8, 4 likewise stated to have been *dhīrāsaḥ kavayaḥ* who performed this achievement while being *svādhyo manasā devayantaḥ* "thoughtful or careful and loving the gods with (in) their mind". In st. 5 these *dhīrā apāsaḥ* "wise (able) skilfully busy ones" are said to purify or sanctify it *manīṣā* "with inspired intentional thought".³⁹

Those who 9, 97, 57 are said to set Soma in motion with their ten

³⁸ See Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 297; 332 ff.

³⁹ Not: "mit Bedacht" (Geldner); "with skill" (A. B. Keith, *Rigveda brāhmaṇas*, Harvard, 1920, p. 136).

fingers are qualified in the same way: *hinvanti dhīrā daśabhiḥ kṣipābhiḥ*. Here Sāyaṇa's explication (*karmaṇi kuśalā rtvijaḥ* "skilful in ritual work") is not out of place: the adjective applies to those who ably execute the process of preparing the divine draught. Yet this ability does not only presuppose practice but also insight and initiation.

The word may even be used as a substantive denoting an expert or artisan. In 1, 67, 10 *sadmeva dhīrāḥ sammāya cakruḥ* "wie die Werkmeister ein Wohnhaus haben sie gleichmässig ausmessend seinen Sitz (d.h. den Feueraltar) bereitet" (Geldner). Constructing a fireplace and building a house involved measuring and technical skill, but also "vision", i.e. intuition and imagination.

The interpretation of 2, 38, 4 is not definitely settled: pāda b *madhyā kartor ny adhāc chakma dhīraḥ* "mitten in der Arbeit hat der Künstler sein Werk niedergelegt" may, with Durga and Hillebrandt, be attributed to the sun or, what is perhaps less probable, with Sāyaṇa and Geldner, to a human artisan.⁴⁰

The adjective is not rarely added to the name of Soma. In 6, 47, 3 Soma, being qualified as *dhīraḥ*, is related to have measured the six broad (worlds), an activity which no doubt requires "vision" and "skill". In 8, 48, 4 the god and divine draught is described somewhat as one of the wise (*dhīraḥ*) and experienced, admired and revered elders, in whom other people find a treasure-trove of wisdom, a fount of advice in danger and perplexity. We cannot disconnect st. 4 – "prolong our lifetime" – from st. 3 in which those speaking state that they having drunk soma have become "immortal", attained to the light (*jyotiḥ*) and found the gods. In 9, 92, 3 Soma is called a *sumedhā gātuvit* "an intelligent finder of a way", i.e. "a promoter of unimpaired progress"; he, moreover, "strives to comply with the five peoples, being a *dhīraḥ*". The author of 9, 97, 30 imploring the god's protection combines the adjective with the negated verb *pramināti*: "the wise one (*dhīraḥ*) like a king does not violate friendship". In st. 46 the epithets *dhīraḥ* and *tavasvān* "strong" occur in combination, the adjective *tavās-* being in most cases applied to gods. Referring to the process of purification the poet of 9, 93, 1 substitutes the adjective *dhīrasya* – it is true so as to obtain a case of paronomasia⁴¹: *dhīrasya dhītayaḥ* – for the name of Soma or one of its usual variants. From these text-places it appears that although the adjective sometimes occurs in contexts in which the god is said to put his "wisdom" or

⁴⁰ See Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 325.

⁴¹ See my *Stylistic repetition in the Veda* (Amsterdam, 1959), ch. XI, p. 232 ff.

"knowledge" into practice, it is more often and more evidently used as a more or less fixed or standing epithet. The supposition may however be ventured that the frequency of cases in which this epithet is given to Soma is not unrelated to his close associations with *dhīḥ*.

Curiously enough the pressing-stones while dancing with the sisters, i.e. the fingers of the officiating priests are in 10, 94, 4 qualified by the same adjective: *saṃrabhyā dhīrāḥ svasrbhir anartiṣuḥ*. Since these stones are in pāda a stated to get drunk on soma and to speak, they may, here again, be regarded as living beings characterized by a quality which is proper to Soma himself and to those definite men.

The substantive *dhīrya-* occurs 2, 27, 11 as opposed to *pākya-*: *pākya cid vasavo dhīryā cid yusmānīto abhayaṃ jyotir aśyām* "whether in ignorance, O Vasus, or in enlightenment, may I, guided by you, attain the safe light".⁴²

⁴² "Das Licht des Lebens und Heils" (Geldner).

SOME COMPOUNDS AND DERIVATIVES

Embarking now upon an examination of some other derivatives and compounds of the root *dhī-* it must first be noticed that the translation "andächtig, fromm" proposed, by Grassmann (*Wtb.*) – to which the *Petr. Dict.* adds "einsichtig" –, for *dhīvat* is wrong.¹ The poet of 6, 55, 3 calls Pūṣan – who, as we have seen, is among the gods who stimulate *dhī-* (1, 89, 5; 6, 58, 2), *dhīvato dhīvataḥ sakḥā*. Atkins² rendering "a friend of every devout man" should in my opinion be replaced by "... of every man to whom a 'vision' has come", i.e. "... of every inspired 'poet'" (Geldner has understood this: "eines jeden Liedersinnenden"). The same sense – and not "dessen Sinn darnach stand" (Geldner) – must be assumed in 8, 2, 40 *dhīvantam... kāṇvam medhyātithim...* "the inspired 'poet' K.M.". Medhyātithi was a famous Vedic ṛṣi, to whom the authorship of various hymns, i.a. 8, 1-3 is attributed (cf. e.g. also 9, 43, 3). The text refers to the legend according to which Indra came to him in the form of a ram. In 7, 83, 8 a reference is made to another legend, viz. that of the Tṛtsus helping king Sudās in the great battle against the ten kings. There is a sharp difference of opinion among the scholars on these people. According to Oldenberg's hypothesis³ they were the priests of the Bharata people and identical with the Vasiṣṭhas. Geldner,⁴ however, considered them to be the "subjects of the Tṛtsu family" the head of which was Sudās himself.⁵ Although the exact position of the Tṛtsus cannot be determined they are represented in this stanza as being – no doubt in support of the king – engaged in religious rites: *śvityañco yatra namasā kapardino dhiyā dhīvanto asapanta tṛtsavaḥ* "when the T., (clad in?) white, wearing braided

¹ An exact establishment of the connotations of the later *dhīmant-* and an examination of the contexts in which it occurs would not be devoid of interest: cf. e.g. Mbh. 3, 57, 45 of Nala worshipping and sacrificing; ViPur. 1, 20, 8 of Prahlāda who *tuṣṭāva... puruṣottamam | ekāgramatir avyagraḥ*.

² Atkins, *Pūṣan in the Rīg-veda*, p. 66.

³ Oldenberg, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 42, p. 207.

⁴ See (Pischel-) Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, II, p. 136; Geldner, *Rgveda, Glossar*, p. 74.

⁵ For other views and a discussion see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, p. 320 ff. A. D. Pusalker, "Aryan Settlements in India", in R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, *The history and culture of the Indian people*, I (London, 1951), p. 246.

and knotted hair, acting as inspired singers by the *dhīḥ* they had received (which comes to: with a religious hymn) performed religious observances". Geldner's "unter Verneigung kunstvoll dichtend" is improbable. In 8, 92, 11 *dhīvato dhiyo... jayema* he has however come nearer to the truth: "wir wollen die Dichtungen des Dichtenden... besiegen".

The compound *dhījavana-*, not "inspiring the mind" or "rousing devotion" (Monier-Williams) "prayer-inspiring" (Atkins⁶), occurs, 9, 88, 3 as an attribute of Pūṣan: "promoting visions". Cf. e.g. also 6, 55, 3. According to Geldner the words *naraṃ dhījavanam* in 9, 97, 49 refer to the same god (Sāyaṇa: *dh.: buddhyā samaṃ vegam kurvāṇam... ane-nāśvināḥ abhidhīyete*). The Aśvins are indeed qualified in the same way: 8, 5, 35 "(kommt) auf goldenem Wagen..., ihr Gedanken erweckenden Nāsatya's!" (Geldner), rather: "inspiring, exciting visions". The synonym *dhījū-* occurs twice in 9, 86, as an attribute of the soma draught: st. 1 *pra ta āśavaḥ pavamāna dhījavo madā arṣanti*, and 4 *pra ta āśvinīḥ p. dhijuvo divyā* (sc. streams).

The compound *dhīraṇa-* in RV. 3, 34, 8 does not mean "delighting in devotion", but "being pleased by vision (and hymns)": *indram madanty anu dhīraṇāsāḥ* "the *dh.* praise I. (who is the irresistible etc.)".

There can be no doubt whatever that the noun *dīdhiti-* belongs to the word family under examination: "vereinzelt erscheint vor -ti- die Reduplikationsform einer Wurzel, doch nur wenn sie auch sonst verallgemeinert wird".⁷ The translation "Andacht" (Grassmann, Geldner, Wackernagel-Debrunner), is, here again, deceptive. The word occurs in RV. 7, 1, 1 *agniṃ naro dīdhitibhir aranyor hastacyutī janayanta* where Geldner's translation "den Agni erzeugten die Männer unter innerem Erschauen⁸ mit Handbewegung aus den Reibhölzern" and his commentary "... vom inneren Schauen: sie sahen zunächst im Geiste die Erscheinung des Gottes, während sie ihn ausreiben" stands a good chance of hitting the mark. Compare 3, 26, 1 *vaiśvānaram manasāgnim nicāyyā haviṣmanto anuṣatyam svarvidam | ... havāmahe* "having perceived by our 'mind' Agni V., who is conformable to 'truth', the bestower of light, we offering oblations, invoke (him)...".

RV. 5, 18, 4 has already been commented upon.

In 1, 186, 11 the *dīdhitiḥ* has the same function as the *dhīḥ* or the *dhītiḥ*: *iyam sā vo asme dīdhitir yajatrā apiprāṇi ca sadanī ca bhūyāḥ |*

⁶ Atkins, *o.c.*, p. 83.

⁷ Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, p. 629.

⁸ "mit beharrlicher Absicht" (Ludwig, *o.c.*, I, p. 407); "andachtsvoll" (Grassmann, *RV. übers.*, I, p. 302).

ni yā deveṣu yatate vasūyuh "this materialized vision of ours must, O you worthy of worship, 'fill' (satisfy) you and must invite you to sit down, which, desiring wealth, comes to the gods".

Compare also 3, 4, 3 *pra dīdhitir viśvavārā jigāti hotāram ilāḥ yajadhyaī | achā namobhir vṛṣabhaṃ vandadhyaī*.

When in 5, 42, 1 the wish is pronounced that the words of praise (*gīḥ*) may reach with, or by means of, *dīdhitih* to Varuṇa, Mitra, Bhaga and Aditi, it is clear that again the force inherent in the vision of the seer is meant which is to make the eulogies powerful and efficacious.

The place 4, 2, 16 showing the sense of "visionary insight or wisdom" has already been dealt with in connection with 10, 8, 7 which exhibits an instance of *dhīḥ*. The same sense was to be attributed to *dhītiḥ* in the phrase *ṛtasya dhītiḥ*. In 3, 31, 1 we encounter a similar shade of meaning: *śāsad vahnir duhitur naptyaṃ gād vidvāṃ ṛtasya dīdhitim saparyan*. Here also the text speaks of coming, by way of a visionary intuition, into touch with the norms, "laws", order, harmonious structure which underlie the phenomenal world and make it an organic whole: "the conveyer (of the oblation) came, censuring the granddaughter of the daughter, honouring (this may imply offering,⁹ or accepting, reverentially) the insight into the ṛta" or "knowing (= possessing) the insight into the ṛta, honouring (it)". The general meaning of the stanza is disputed¹⁰: whether Agni is the subject (Oldenberg) or the sacrificial priest (Geldner) the phrase *ṛtasya dīdhitim* is, however, perfectly intelligible.

The same expression occurs in 9, 102, 1 where Soma is stated to urge on (*hinvan*) the visionary insight into the ṛta, and *ibid.* st. 8 *kratvā śukrebhir akṣabhir ṛnor apa vrajaṃ divaḥ | hinvaṇ ṛtasya dīdhitim prādhvare* "with (thy) resourcefulness thou (wilt) by thy bright eyes open the fold of heaven, urging on the v. i. i. the ṛ., at the performance of the liturgical acts".¹¹

That *ādhi-* (subst.) means "care, trouble, concern" cannot reasonably be questioned: cf. 1, 105, 7 *tam mā vyanti ādhyo vṛko na tṛṣṇajam mrgam* "nun verfolgen mich die Sorgen wie ein Wolf das durstige Wild" (Geldner); 10, 95, 13 *cakran na krandad ādhye śivāyai* "wie ein schreiendes (Kind) wird er schreien nach der freundlichen Sorge (der Mutter)" (Geldner). Cf. also AV. 6, 131, 1 where *ādhyo ni tirāmi te* was translated: "Thy longings I draw down" (Whitney-Lanman); *ibid.*, 6, 132, 1 where

⁹ Thus Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 512, n. 5. Geldner translates: "die Erkenntnis des Gesetzes hochhaltend".

¹⁰ See e.g. Oldenberg, *Rgveda. Noten*, I, p. 239 ff.; Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 366.

¹¹ Certainly not, with Grassmann, *RV. übers.*, II, p. 275 "des Werkes Andacht förderst du – beim Opferfest".

it combines with *smara-* "remembering, loving recollection, love"; 3, 25, 2 "longing"; 7, 114, 2 *vyādhyah* "anxieties"; ŚB. 11, 5, 1, 4 "sorrow" etc. What interests us here is its semantic connections with the uncompounded verbs and nouns belonging to the root *dhī-*. In view of 7, 7, 6 where, as has been observed higher up, the verb *ā-dhī-* comes near to "pay attention to" and of 1, 170, 1 *anyasya cittam abhi sam-careṇyam utādhitam vi naśyati* "man muss sich nach dem Sinn eines anderen richten und die Absicht wird zunichte" (Geldner) the semantic starting-point of the compound seems to have been: "to bend one's eye upon, to have one's eye upon, to pay attention to". See also AV. 2, 12, 5; 8, 1, 8; in PañcBr. 7, 8, 8 the commentator takes this compound to be equivalent to *ā-dhyā-*: *prajāpatir vā etāṃ gāyatrīm yonim apaśyat sa ādīdhītāsmād yoneḥ pṛsthāni srjā iti* "P. forsooth saw this womb, the gāyatrī metre; he thought: 'out of this womb I will create the pṛsthas'" (Caland), or: "he bent his mental eye upon...". "To bend one's mental eye upon" or something to that effect is also the sense of the verbal adj. *ādhitā-* in the passages ŚBr. 3, 1, 4, 11 ff. which deals with the *ādhitaya-jūṃṣi*: (12) "to the purpose (intention: *akūtyai*), to the impulse (*prayuje*), to Agni, hail!; for by his self (*ātmanā*, by his own person) he purposes to sacrifice, and from his self (*ātmanaḥ*, from his own person) he impels it (the sacrifice) when he performs it: these two deities, the Purpose and the Impulse are object of the attention (of his mental eye) in his own self (person: *ātman... ādhīte*)": Eggeling's translation is "are meditated upon in his mind".¹² In §13 *medhā-* "wisdom" and *manas-* "thought", by which one conceives that one may sacrifice, are in a similar way *ātman ādhīte*, and in §14 Sarasvatī, "who is speech, and this sacrifice is also speech" and Pūṣan who means cattle and prosperity, the sacrifice meaning cattle. Because these deities are *ādhitāḥ* the libations are called *ādhitayajūṃṣi*.

In a large number of complementary terms, characterized as such by the well-known *ca... ca* construction (e.g. *ojaś ca me sahaś ca me*; *ātmā ca me tanūś ca me*; *śarma ca me varma ca me*) VS. 18, 1 ff. it reads, *inter alia*, *cittaṃ ca mā ādhītaṃ ca me* which is in Mahīdhara's commentary explained as follows: *cittaṃ mānasaḥ samkalpaḥ*; *ādhitam bāhyaviśaya-jñānam*: "c. (empirical thought, intention¹³) is the purpose of the mind; ā. is knowledge of the external sphere": a more explicit rendering of *ādhitam* seems to be "the function of turning the mental eye towards the 'external sphere'". In VS. 22, 20 *ādhim ādhītāya svāhā* the verbal adj. may be rendered by 'experiencing'.

¹² Similarly, L. Silburn, *Instant et cause* (Paris, 1955), p. 101.

¹³ See Silburn, *o.c.*, p. 121 and *passim*.

VII

THE RELEVANT OCCURRENCES IN THE ATHARVAVEDA

Dhīh.

We shall now discuss those Atharvavedic occurrences of the noun *dhīh* which are not found in the Ṛgveda. After stating (st. 19) that Kāma was born first, that he is superior to the other gods, to the Fathers and to mortals, that he is great, that sun and moon, wind and fire do not reach or affect him etc., the author of AV. 9, 2 asks this deity "to enter wholly into us with his propitious excellent bodies, with which what thou choos-est becomes real", adding: "make evil *dhīyah* enter elsewhere" (st. 25: *anyatra pāpīr apa veśayā dhīyah*). To Whitney-Lanman's¹ "devices" I would prefer "flashes of intuition, inspirations". "This Kāma is not to be separated entirely from that kāma which is the 'first seed (product) of the mind' that came from 'the one', after it had sprung into existence through creative fervor (*tapah*)".² This place is the more interesting as it shows us what the limited and onesided mental outlook of the Ṛgvedic poets does not make us acquainted with: that the *dhīh* which was borne in upon a man could also be evil.

Invoking various divinities for aid the compiler of 6, 4, 3 also addresses the Aśvins who, as we know, are among the gods who grant and favour 'inspiration': *dhiye sam aśvinā prāvatam*. Whitney-Lanman's translation: "unto knowledge (?)... do ye aid us" is no doubt wrong; I render this: "in order to obtain a vision". In an enumeration of "Daseinsmächte"³ in the "psychical" and "intellectual" spheres, worshipped as deities, we find (6, 41, 1) also *dhīh*: *manase cetase dhiya ākūtaya uta cittaye matyai śrutāya cakṣase*. I would avoid "device" (Whitney-Lanman); rather "faculty of (receiving) vision(s)".

Here *dhīh* is used also in connection with artisans: 10, 1, 8 *yas te parūṃsi saṃdadhau rathasyeva ṛbhur dhiyā* "he who put together your joints, as a skilful artisan (those) of a chariot with 'vision'" (Whitney-

Lanman's "skill" is however not wide off the mark). I for one would imagine that the artisan in working with skill is guided by a mental image. In 3, 5, 6 it reads *ye dhīvāno rathakārāḥ karmārā ye manīṣiṇaḥ*. The smith's craft is with many peoples considered "sacred". "To early man the processes of iron working must have seemed indeed mysterious, so that both smelting and forging would naturally be invested with an occult character. This attitude would be strengthened by the fact that the art of metallurgy is so often practiced by outsiders... who keep the secrets of their craft strictly to themselves".⁴ In many countries, however, all crafts and technical accomplishments are considered to be "Ausfluss geheimer Kräfte". In West Africa "findet eine Kraftübertragung durch die Priester auf die Menschen statt, und von diesen auf ihre Arbeit und deren Erzeugnis".⁵

In 5, 20, 8 *dhīh* can hardly be mere "skill". Speaking of the war-drum the author prays: *dhībhiḥ kṛtaḥ pra vadāti vācam*, which does not, in my opinion, mean: "made by devices (i.e. apparently, with art) may it speak forth its voice" (Whitney-Lanman), but, rather, either "constructed after mental images borne in upon the maker by vision or inspiration..." or, what would be more plausible "constructed with mantras". As is well known the makers of weapons and other important implements should, if these were to answer their purpose, not only be good technicians but also masters of supranatural methods of lending them their specific properties. It is impossible to divorce Indian music from the whole structure of Indian religion and philosophy, with which it is to the mind of the traditional Indians directly and inextricably linked. Sound which, in its unmanifested aspect, is identical with the divine creative principle of the universe and which rules the world by means of the word is the same spontaneous manifestation which produces the musical phenomena. Being of cosmic importance music when properly practised – so that the individual is brought into direct contact with the divine creative principle – may even bestow liberation.⁶ The special power of drums which are sometimes treated as lesser divinities⁷ has often been emphasized. Not only do they drive away the enemy by their very sound,

¹ W. D. Whitney- Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā* (Cambridge, Mass., 1905), p. 525.

² M. Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda and the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* (Strassburg, 1899), p. 87.

³ H. von Glasenapp, *Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens* (Halle S., 1940), p. 9 ff.

⁴ H. Webster, *Magic* (Stanford, Cal., 1948), p. 165; see e.g. also K. Birket-Smith, *Geschichte der Kultur* (Zürich, 1946), p. 90 ff.

⁵ R. Thurnwald, *Des Menschegeistes Erwachen, Wachsen und Irren* (Berlin, 1951), p. 187.

⁶ See e.g. A. A. Bake, in E. Wellesz, *Ancient Oriental Music* (London, 1957), p. 195 ff.

⁷ S. H. Fox Strangways, *The music of Hindustan* (Oxford, 1914), p. 77 f.; C. Marcel-Dubois, *Les instruments de musique de l'Inde ancienne* (Paris, 1941), p. 3 ff.

but according to medieval authorities⁸ the whole of creation has emerged from them. The famous drum of the Shamans is to establish, in some way or other, the contact with the Unseen.⁹ In Tibet where to the present day a great variety of drums is used,¹⁰ this instrument has for instance an important function in divination and in the practices of shamans. In view of these facts and of st. 12 of the AV. text under discussion where the war-drum is addressed: "... conquering scorners, unsubduable, protected by Indra, burning the hearts of our adversaries, go quickly". The *dhiyaḥ* mentioned in st. 8 must, in my view, refer to formulas, mantras originating in 'vision': cf. also st. 10... *vasujit sahyān saṃgrāmajit saṃśīto brahmaṇāsi*... "thou art sharpened by brahman".

In 2, 5, 4 Indra is requested to hear the speaker's call, to enjoy his songs, to draw near by his prayers, verses or whatever word may serve to translate *dhiyā*. A similar translation should be given for 6, 19, 1 *punantu manavo dhiyā* "let men purify (me) with *dhiḥ*"; the verse is used in a purification or in a rite for good fortune etc. and 19, 42, 1 where brāhman is invoked *dhiyā*.

Dhītiḥ.

AV. 7, 1, 1 is an instructive stanza: "they who by vision¹¹ led the beginning of speech (*dhītī*..... *anayan vāco agram*), or they who by mind (*manasā*) spoke truths (*ṛtāni*), having increased by the third brahman, perceived with the fourth the name of the milch-cow",¹² or "ceux qui ont par l'intuition conduit la tête de la parole, ou qui par la réflexion ont exprimé les exactitudes-réelles, – croissant par la troisième formulation, au moyen du "quatrième" ils ont pensé le nom de la vache" (Ruegg).

⁸ Quoted by Marcel-Dubois, *o.c.*, p. 9.

⁹ See e.g. M. Eliade, *Le chamanisme* (Paris, 1951), p. 166 f.; see also H. Findeisen, *Schamanentum* (Stuttgart, 1957), p. 158 f.

¹⁰ See also R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and demons of Tibet* ('s-Gravenhage, 1956), p. 398 ff., 457 ff.; R. A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le Barde au Tibet* (Paris, 1959), p. 637 s. v. tambour. "Mit dem Schamanen aufs engste verknüpft ist die Trommel: Man kann sie ohne weiteres als sein wichtigstes Handwerkszeug bezeichnen... (Man) versichert ..., die Trommel gelte ihnen als lebendes Wesen, sie spreche... Der summende, vibrierende Ton befördert den Trancezustand..." (W. Müller, "Die Religionen der Indianenvölker Nordamerikas", in *Die Religionen des alten Amerika*, Stuttgart, 1961, p. 182 f.)

¹¹ Not "meditation" (Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 389), and W. Caland, *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra* (Nagpur, 1953), p. 425 (15, 3, 7)) or "Sinnen" (Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 543).

¹² This text is prescribed by Kauś. 41, 8 in a ceremony for success in gaining wealth; and by 59, 17 in a rite for gaining various objects of desire. See also D. S. Ruegg, *Contributions à l'histoire de la philosophie linguistique indienne* (Paris, 1959), p. 21.

As will be shown in chapter XV the stages passed by the poet in formulating his thought will in later times return, *mutatis mutandis*, as the functions of the four stages or degrees of the "ascent" of speech in the theories of the philosophers of the grammatical school. The order of the nouns is as remarkable as the statement that *dhītiḥ* is leading: speech is not only preceded, but also introduced and led by "vision". Cf. RV. 10, 67, 2. AV. 11, 1, 11 is unclear.¹³

Dhīraḥ.

An interesting place exhibiting the adjective *dhīra-* twice is AV. 10, 8, 44 where the man who knows the unaging, (ever) young and *dhīram* ātman is regarded as "free from desire, *dhīraḥ*, "immortal", self-existent, satisfied with (life-)juice, not deficient in any respect and not afraid of death". Whitney-Lanman's "wise" may do duty, if we are aware of the implications of *dhīra-*. The spiritual illumination denoted by the adjective obviously is part of the perfection reached by him who reached the highest goal, viz. the knowledge of brahman.

An equally important passage is 11, 4, 24 *yó asyá sarvājanmana īśe sārvasya céṣṭataḥ | ātandro brāhmaṇā dhīraḥ*... "he who is lord of this that consists of all kinds (of beings), of all that stirs, unwearied, 'wise' by brāhman" the statement relating to life-breath in whose control is this All (st.1) which is described as waking upright among the sleeping (st. 25), and to which homage should be paid (st. 23). The life principle is "illuminated" through brahman.

That contact with "realms" or powers which are beyond normal human control and transcend the limits of the earthly spheres appears also from 19, 56, 1 *yamasya lokād adhy ā babhūvitha pramadā martyān pra yunakṣi dhīraḥ*... These words are addressed to the dream: "thou hast come hither out of (originatest in) Yama's world; with delight (?¹⁴) dost thou(,) wise(ly) direct (set in motion, make use of) mortals...". However obscure the stanza is, so much is clear that the dream, which in pāda c is called *vidvān*, which is regarded as "revelling in the sky with the highest relative" (st. 5 c) and as having been born out of the mind of one practising "asceticism" (*tapah*) is represented as coming from Yama's realm and as being *dhīraḥ* "gifted with supranormal visionary knowledge".

Enumerating some of the aspects and qualities of the god of fire the

¹³ I refer to Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 614.

¹⁴ I refer to Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 994.

author of 3, 21, 4 assigns to him *inter alia* the characteristics "wise, mighty, encompassing, unharmable" (*dhīraḥ śakraḥ paribhūr adābhyah*). We know already that this deity is an inspirer of *dhīh* par excellence.

With regard to the connections between the concepts of *kaviḥ* and *dhīh* AV. 5, 11, 4 is of interest because it, in addressing Varuṇa, states that none other than he is "a greater inspired sage, nor by wisdom more wise" (*na tvad anyah kavitaro na medhayā dhīratarah*). It is difficult to divorce these qualities from the god's "omniscience" which is emphasized in the next pāda: *tvam tā viśvā bhuvanāni vettha*. Compare also 9, 4, 8 stating that those who are *dhīrāsaḥ kavayo ye manīṣiṇaḥ* call the bull "Bṛhaspati concentrated". It is not surprising that the boundless exaltation of this animal which "carries all forms in his body" (cf. st. 1) and the speculations about its nature required in the opinion of the compiler an uncommon insight into the hidden connections between, and the origins of, things.

In 10, 1, 18 the adjective is opposed to *pāka*- "simple, ignorant", but so as to apply to witches: "the witchcraft which they, being more *dhīra*-, (against) you who are simple (and) innocent, have buried for you..." (*pākaṁ santam dhīratarā anāgasam*). Whitney-Lanman's "wiser" could be replaced by "wily" without affecting the meaning of the adjective.

In 9, 2, 6 the adjective applies to the practical skill of a boatman: "I thrust forth my rivals as a *dhīraḥ* (cunning) boatman a boat on the waters" (for "cunning" cf. Genesis 25, 27 *Esau was a cunning hunter*). Cf. also 11, 1, 13.

AV. 11, 9, 22 has little value: "the author implores the battle-demon Arbudi to make the enemies to see the 'wise' ('illuminated') and the 'unwise' (*adhīrāḥ*), those going away and those who are deaf etc." The same opposition occurs in 5, 31, 10 which is of greater interest. Forming part of a text to be used in a ceremony for counteracting magic (Kauś. 39, 7) it observes that "he (the adversary) has brought it by what was not the road", but "we send it forth from here by the road"; "he unwise (*adhīra*-) has brought (it) together, out of thoughtlessness, for the wise (*dhīra*-)".¹⁵

AV. 2, 35, 3 is too obscure to be of much help in establishing the sense of the adjective. Dealing with errors and shortcomings of sacrificers it qualifies somebody as "(though) knowing of the sacrifice, not cunning in the meeting (?)" (*yajñasya vidvānt samaye na dhīraḥ*).

¹⁵ For the reading see Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 280.

Verbal forms.

That the process denoted by the verb *dhī*- while referring to an act of seeing which cannot be called physiological, may imply a certain identification of subject and object appears from AV. 8, 1, 8 where in a series of stanzas which are to secure somebody's continued life the person concerned is enjoined "not to regard the departed who lead (one) to the distance" (*mā gatānām ā dīdhīthā ye nayanti parāvataṁ*); it follows: "ascend out of darkness, come to the light" and in st. 7 it reads: "let not thy mind go there, let it not be lost; do not neglect the living; go not after the Fathers". Stanza 9 continues "... come here, do not look in a different direction (*mā vi dīdhyah*), usually translated: "do not hesitate", do not stand there with mind averted". For AV. 14, 1, 46 see RV. 10, 40, 10.

In the long charm against vipers and serpents 10, 4 it reads (st. 11) *ime paścā prdākavaḥ pradīdhyata āsate* "here behind sit vipers watching (on the look-out)" (rather than "plotting forth", Whitney-Lanman). Whatever the precise implications of the compound it does not refer to normal physiological sight.

Another place to show that *dhī*- is not merely "to see" is AV. 2, 12, 5 "O Heaven and Earth, attend to (look after: *ānu mā dīdhīthām*) me; O all ye gods, take ye hold of me". There can be hardly any doubt about the correctness of this translation of the verb, the less so as the same sense recurs in 2, 34, 3 "they who, giving attention (*anu dīdhyānāḥ*) to the one being bound, looked after (him) with mind and eye": comparison with the next stanza seems to show the other animals, comrades of the sacrificial animal, to be aimed at.

Commenting upon the destiny of those who have died unmarried and without progeny the compiler of the funeral stanzas of AV. 18 says (2, 47) that "they, going up to heaven, have found a world (*lokam*), seeing (*dīdhyānāḥ*) upon the back of the firmament". I have my doubts about Whitney-Lanman's proposal to read *dīdyānāḥ* "shining": those concerned may have received visions, have come into visionary contact with the unseen, the verb being used absolutely.

Though corresponding on the whole to RV. 4, 2, 16, AV. 18, 3, 21 reads *śúcīd ayan dīdhyataḥ*. The distant Fathers, the ancient ones, are said to have gone to the bright and to have shone, uttering praise. Whitney-Lanman may be right in considering *dīdhyataḥ* (instead of *dīdhitim* in RV., VS. 19, 69, TS. 2, 6, 12) a corruption, it is not devoid of sense.

The ἄπαξ *anudhyā*-, though translated by "sorrow" (Monier-Williams)

or "regret" (Whitney-Lanman), seems in AV. 7, 114, 2 – which is used in a healing rite against demons (Kauś. 31, 4) – to denote something like "watchful notice (*in malam partem*)": *preto yantu vyādhyāḥ prānu-dhyāḥ pro aśastayaḥ* "forth from here let anxieties go, forth (inimical) attention, and forth imprecations". There is no need to think of the evil eye,¹⁶ but rather of evil thoughts or intuitions with regard to a person.¹⁷

¹⁶ See W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual* (Amsterdam, 1900), p. 79, n. 27; V. Henry, *La magie dans l'Inde antique* (Paris, 1904), p. 173 f. etc.

¹⁷ Compare also H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*⁴ (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1923), p. 432 f.

VIII

THE TERMS *DHĪḤ*, *DHĪTĪḤ*, *DHĪRAḤ* IN THE OTHER
SĀMĤITĀS AND THE BRĀHMAṆĀḤ

There are also in the other Sāṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas – which for obvious reasons may be conveniently dealt with in one chapter – a considerable number of places of no mean interest for those who study the meaning of *dhīḥ* and related words. It will however be needless to discuss here again those many occurrences which these texts have in common with the Ṛgveda or those places which while being interpretations of or digressions on quotations do not furnish us with something new. Nevertheless, it will be seen that the main shades of meaning which could be ascertained in the hymns of the Ṛgveda recur in the later corpora.

VS. 11, 1; TS. 4, 1, 1; MS. 2, 7, 1; KS. 15, 11; ŚB. 6, 3, 1, 13; ŚvUp. 2, 1 *yuñjānaḥ prathamam manas tatvāya savitā dhiyaḥ | agnim* (or, *agner* thus VS.; ŚB.; ŚvUp.) *jyotir nicāyā prthivā adhy ābharat* "harnessing (engaging) first manas (the internal organ of will, intention, directed thought etc.), having extended (stretched) the *dhiyaḥ* ('visions'), Savitar (the divine stimulator) brought fire which he had perceived (recognized) as light (or, he brought the light of fire after having perceived it), from the earth". Here Savitar, the Impeller, is in the Brāhmaṇas identical with Prajāpati, who is identified with Agni, who is also the Fireplace for the construction of which (Agnicayana)¹ these formulas were used. In the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad Savitar is considered the great god who stimulates and animates all existence, the symbol of sun and light, the god who assumes and manifests all forms, from whom the world emanates and who is also the great divinity which activates the mind of man and inspires him, which incites the yogin to concentrate himself and to strive after the yogic ideal. The tenor of this statement seems to be: "Savitar by means of *manaḥ* and *dhiyaḥ* discerned fire (or light) and brought it from the earth". This mythical process performed by an "originator" god needs no ordinary physical or physiological means. It takes place through "mind (thought)" and vision only. After the next stanza (of uncertain reading) *yuktena manasā vayan devasya savituḥ*

¹ See my *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 191 ff.

save / suvargyāya śaktyai "with our mind engaged, (we are) under the impulse of god S. for obtaining heaven, for might" the activity of the god appears to have evoked a response in man.

The expression *yuj- dhiyaḥ* occurs, in a series of mantras, TB. 2, 5, 3, 2 where Indra's *dhiyaḥ* are said to be "yoked", i.e. to be made use of in order to realize one's ambitions: ... *kāmam asya samṛddhyai / indrasya yuñjate dhiyaḥ / ākūtiṃ devīṃ manasaḥ purodadhe*; for the last formula ("I have (he has) placed before (I am, he is, intent upon) the divine intention of mind") compare AV. 19, 4, 2.

The third stanza in the series VS. 11, 3 (MS. 2, 7, 1 etc.) *yuktvāya savitā (ŚvUp. 2, 3 manasā) devān svar yato dhiyā divam / brhaj jyotiḥ kariṣyataḥ savitā prasuvāti tān* means "Savitar having (ŚvUp. "having with (the power of) thought), by immediate visionary mental contact, engaged the gods who go to the light in order to create heaven, the unwavering light, – may Savitar urge them on their way". We may quote the explication given in ŚB. 6, 3, 1, 15... *dhiyai tasmai karmaṇe yuyuje brhaj jyotiḥ kariṣyata iti*. If the above translation hits the mark² *manah* and *dhiḥ* are again Savitar's means of converting his intentions into actuality.

In TB. 2, 4, 8, 5 *ime nu dyāvāprthivī samīcī / tanvāne yajñam purupeśasam dhiyā / āsmāi prñitām bhuvanāni viśvā*, the second pāda being identical with RV. 3, 3, 6 b, Heaven and Earth are said to perform in conjunction with each other and enabled by *dhiḥ*, a (the) multiform sacrifice and invoked to fill all beings (worlds) on behalf of the interested. From this place also it appears, that even divine powers are in need of vision of the faculty of supranormal insight in order to achieve something important.

TB. 2, 7, 13, 2 *sa sūra ā janayañ jyotir indram / ayā dhiyā taraṇir indrabarhāḥ* (cf. ŚāŚS. 18, 5, 1 *sa sūrye j. j. indrah / ... t. āṅgirasvān*) "that sun generating light (and) Indra, carrying over, i.e. helping through (less probably, moving energetically forward) by this *dhiḥ*...": so much is clear that the sun which generates not only light but also the energetic god Indra, moves forward by, or with, the important power called *dhiḥ*.

VS. 19, 73 *adbhyaḥ kṣīram vyapibat kruṇṇ āṅgirasō dhiyā / rtena satyam indriyam* "the curlew (a bird, a kind of snipe) of Aṅgiras by 'vision' drank up milk from out the waters; by ṛta came truth and Indra power". (There is a variant TB. 2, 6, 2, 2 (etc.) *kruṇṇ āṅgirasō dhiyā rtena satyam*

² For various translations of this stanza see e.g. R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda* (Benares, 1927), p. 104; J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, III (Oxford, 1894), p. 193; R. Hauschild, *Die Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 10; A. Silburn, *Śv. Up.* (Paris, 1948), p. 57.

indriyam annāt parisruto rasam / brahmaṇā vyapibat kṣatram).³ The stanza belongs to a series of verses to be recited by the adhvaryu when he approaches, during the Sautrāmaṇi⁴, the libation cups of milk and spirituous liquor. The formulas bear upon selection, separation and rejection, with special reference to the soma drink of Namuci which though it had been mixed was recovered in a pure state (hence the last pāda); the "power of Indra" is according to st. 72 "the sweet immortal milk". The bird *kruṇṇ*-, like the "swan", was credited with the power of separating milk from the water with which it had been mixed. It obviously was enabled to do so by "vision". Compare st. 74 stating that the "swan" (*haṃsa*-) drank by means of the metre (of the Veda, *chandaḥ*), 75 Prajapati drank by brahman. Here *dhiḥ* clearly belongs to a group of highly potent and fundamental powers – the metres are according to the speculations of the Brāhmaṇas immortal, vital juice, life-sustaining gods, connected with the brahman etc. –, by means of which objects may be achieved which are otherwise unattainable.

To the same series of stanzas belongs VS. 20, 67 (etc.) *aśvinā havir indriyam namucer dhiyā sarasvatī / ā śukram āsurād vasu magham indrayā jabhrire* "the Aśvins and Sarasvatī, by (means of) "vision",⁵ brought from Namuci, one of the asuras, sacred food, Indra's specific strength, brilliant treasure, wealth to (for the benefit of) Indra".⁶ The asura Namuci is related to have drunk up, together with soma and spirituous liquor, the strength of Indra. On his complaining to the Aśvins and Sarasvatī the latter received from them a thunderbolt in the shape of foam with which he cut off the asura's head. As has been shown in chapter II the Aśvins and Sarasvatī are among the gods who have the disposal of *dhiḥ*. Obviously this power or faculty enables them to detect and recover the valuable substances which by right belong to Indra. They made Indra strong again (cf. VS. 20, 68; 73; 76).

VS. 11, 57 (TS. 4, 1, 5, 3; MS. 2, 7, 5 etc.; ŚB. 6, 5, 1, 11) *ukhām kṛṇotu śaktyā bāhubhyām aditir dhiyā / mātā putram yathopasthe sāgniṃ bibhartu garbha ā* "let Aditi fashion the fire-pan with (her) skill, (her) arms, (her) 'vision',⁷ and in her womb as a mother (bears) her son in her body". The combination *śaktyā bāhubhyām dhiyā* is remarkable: these

³ Cf. also MaitrS. 3, 11, 6 a. k. v. k. ā. dh. / *rtena satyam indriyam vipānam śukram andhasaḥ / indrasyendriyam idam payo 'mṛtam madhu*.

⁴ *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 59 and 173.

⁵ Not exactly "wit" (Griffith, *o.c.*, p. 229).

⁶ The term *magha*- obviously expresses the sense of property, wealth, possessions, viewed from the angle of a donor or recipient.

⁷ "intellect", Griffith, *o.c.*, p. 113; "wisdom", Eggeling, *o.c.*, III, p. 232.

are the three mutually complementary means of making or producing something: the "vision", ability and knowing how to use one's arms.

The formulas VS. 4, 19 etc.⁸ *cid asi mano 'si dhīr asi dakṣiṇāsi* are in ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 16 explained as follows: "having gone up to her (the soma-cow which in § 15 is identified with Vāc) he (the Adhvaryu) salutes her saying: "thou art intellect (*cit*), thou art thought" – for speech (*vāk*) speaks in accordance with intellect, with thought –, "thou art 'vision' (*dhīh*), thou art the *dakṣiṇā* – for it is by means of their respective 'vision' ('ideals') that people seek to make their living, either by reciting (the Veda) or by effusive speech, or by songs; therefore he says: "thou art 'vision'...". I would doubt the correctness of "intelligence; thought expressed by speech" or "by means of this their respective genius (in regard to speech)". We might compare the use of *dhīh* in RV. 9, 112, 1. AV. Par. 26, 5, 1 where *rājyadhīh* – besides *puṣṭikāmaḥ* "desirous of welfare" – must mean "whose ideal is kingship, who has kingship in view" and Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 17, 5, 4 (a person of royal blood is to shoot at a race-meeting) "if he is not acquainted with this 'art'... " (*ya etāṃ dhiyaṃ na vidyāt*). The same explication is furnished by ŚB. 3, 5, 3, 11 in commenting upon VS. 5, 14; RV. 5, 81, 1 *yuñjate mana uta yuñjate dhiyaḥ* which gives occasion to the remark "with the mind (*manasā*) and with speech (*vācā*) they truly perform the sacrifice".

In explanation of VS. 5, 14 (= RV. 5, 81, 1) *yuñjante mana uta yuñjante dhiyaḥ*⁹ "they harness *manaḥ* and they harness the 'visions'..." it reads in ŚB. 3, 5, 3, 11: "with *manaḥ* and with speech they perform the sacrifice... when he says: 'and they harness the visions', he harnesses speech, for it is thereby that people attempt to make their living in accordance with their respective 'mental image' (ideals) either by reciting (the Veda) etc.". For speech see the observations made in chapter II.¹⁰

The same words are as VS. 11, 4 commented upon in ŚB. 6, 3, 1, 16 "they harness *manaḥ* and they harness the "visions"" – for both the *manaḥ* and vital airs (*prāṇāḥ*) he harnesses for this ritual work...¹¹ We may compare here ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 24 discussing VS. 12, 49 (= RV. 3, 22, 3) *agne divo arṇam achā jigāsy achā devāṃ ūciṣe dhiṣṇyā ye*: "O Agni, thou goest up to the flood of heaven" – the flood of that heaven doubtless is the waters (of the heaven): to them he goes by his smoke –

⁸ I refer to M. Bloomfield, *A Vedic Concordance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1906), p. 369 f.

⁹ Incorrectly Griffith, *o.c.*, p. 42; 104 "holy thoughts" (*dhiyaḥ*).

¹⁰ See p. 92.

¹¹ Whereas the commentator Mahīdhara on VS. 11, 4 even goes so far as to explain *dhiya iṣṭakādiviṣayāṇi jñānāni yuñjate sampādayanti*.

'hither callst thou the divine *dhiṣṇyāḥ*'¹² – the divine *dhiṣṇyāḥ* doubtless are the vital airs, for these animate (incite) all *dhiyaḥ*...".

VS. 11, 41 (= but for *kṛpā* instead of *dhiyā* TS. 4, 1, 4, 1; KŚ. 16, 4; quoted in ŚB. 6, 4, 3, 9¹³) *ud u tiṣṭha svadhvara avā no devyā dhiyā / dṛṣe ca bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvanir āgne yāhi suśastibhiḥ* "arise, thou of good ritual performances (i.e. Agni – the sun), favour us with (cf. ŚB. 6, 4, 3, 9, or "by the") divine *Dhīh* ('Vision'), and with unwavering light brilliant to see, O Agni, come with good hymns of praise". In the ritual the formula is used when wet dust or clay is taken for the fireplace: the priest takes the clay and pronounces it while rising. That Agni, the Sun, brings visions has already emerged from the examination of the relevant Rgvedic texts.

MaitrS. 4, 9, 2 *yajur yuktaṃ sāmabhir... viśvābhir dhībhiḥ saṃbhr̥taṃ dakṣiṇābhiḥ / pratataṃ pārayiṣṇuṃ stubho vahantu sumanasyamānāḥ* "the praisers, being in good spirits, must convey the sacrifice together with the sacred songs of praise, prepared with all 'visions' and furnished with the donations to the priests, so as to continue and to be successful".

MaitrS. 3, 7, 5 *dhīr asīti: yad vāva dhyāyatītham asād ittham asād iti tad asyā dhītvaṃ* "thou art inspiration, as far as she contemplates 'it will (must) be thus, (or) it will (must) be thus', that is her having inspiration". – MaitrS. 2, 13, 2 *tapo yonir asi, viśvābhis tvā dhībhir achidrām upada-dhāmi* etc. In MaitrS. 4, 2, 10 *tā no hinvantu sātaye dhiye juṣe* a number of feminine divine powers are requested to stimulate (cf. RV. 1, 23, 17) those speaking with a view to acquisition, to inspiration and to satisfaction.

MaitrS. 1, 9, 4 (p. 134, 8) *gnās tvākṛntann, apaso 'tanvata, dhiyo 'vayan, bṛhaspataye tvā, mahyaṃ varuṇo dadāti so 'mṛtatvam aśīya...* "the women have cut you (viz. the fleece for the cloth), the industrious ones (viz. the fingers of the women) have stretched (you on the loom); the inspirations have woven; etc." (cf. KS. 9, 9; PB. 1, 8, 9; ĀpŚS. 14, 12, 4 etc.). Instead of *dhiyo 'vayan* PB. reads *vayitryo 'vayan* "the weaving females have woven (you)": formula for the acceptance of a woven cloth.¹⁴

Instead of RV. 9, 67, 27 etc. (*dhiyā*) it reads VS. 19, 39 Kāth. 38, 2: *punantu mā devajanāḥ punantu manasā dhiyaḥ / punantu viśvā bhūtāni*

¹² For this word see Renou, *Ét. véd. et pān.*, IV, p. 19.

¹³ Cf. also RV. 8, 23, 5; 6. See the note by Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 294, n. 4.

¹⁴ Cf. also Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba* (Amsterdam, 1924), II, p. 385 (on 14, 12, 4).

jātavedaḥ punihi mā "... inspirations with 'mind' must cleanse (me)...".

In a curious passage of the GopBr. 1, 3, 19 *dhī-* is brought into connection with the *dīkṣā*, consecration or preparation for the ritual rebirth¹⁵: *athāto dīkṣā. kasya svid dhetor dīkṣita ity ācacakṣate. śreṣṭhām dhiyaṃ kṣiyatīti. taṃ vā etaṃ dhīkṣitaṃ santaṃ dīkṣita ity ācacakṣate parokṣeṇa. parokṣapriyā iva hi devā bhavanti pratyakṣadvīṣaḥ* "now the *dīkṣā*; they give utterance to the question: 'for which reason does one consecrate oneself?'; the answer is: 'one puts oneself in possession of the best vision (inspiration)'; him who is '*dhīkṣita*-' they call *dīkṣita*- concealedly (by way of tabu substitute), because the gods like the concealed and hate what is indicated directly".

In VS. 28, 10, which forms part of a series of Āprī invocations, the sacrificial post is propitiated as follows: *hotā yakṣad vanaspatim śamitāram | śatakratuṃ dhiyo joṣṭāram indriyam* (also TB. 2, 6, 7, 5; cf. 3, 6, 2, 2) "let the hotar worship the lord of the forest, the slaughterer, of hundred-fold resourcefulness, the lover (fosterer) of the 'vision', of the nature of (or, agreeable to) Indra". For *joṣṭar-* cf. RV. 4, 41, 9. The yūpa to which the sacrificial victim is fastened is given the name *śamitar-* which properly belongs to the priests who prepare the animal, and the epithet *śatakratu-*¹⁶ which is almost exclusively Indra's, although it is incidentally in a significant way used to qualify, for instance, the medicinal herbs (RV. 10, 97, 2) and the sacrificial sessions (ŚB. 11, 5, 5, 12). The yūpa – which was the substitute for the sacrificer, who is also identified with Indra – was not only believed to be a "thunderbolt", to bring wealth and esteem to those concerned with sacrificing, to play a rôle in the process of raining,¹⁷ it was, like Indra's tree and similar stakes, also a representative of the axis mundi and a means of attaining the abode of the gods, "light", (higher) life, or "immortality".

VS. 4, 23 *sam akhye devyā dhiyā sam dakṣiṇyorucaṣasā | mā ma āyuh pramoṣīr mo ahaṃ tava | vīraṃ videya tava devi samdrśi*: here Griffith's translation of the first line is not correct. "I with my thought have commerced with divine farsighted Dakṣiṇā" because the order of words shows that *devyā* and *dhiyā* belong together and are put on a par with *dakṣ. u.* The meaning obviously is: "I have been in touch eye to eye with the divine Dhī, with the far-seeing Dakṣiṇā; do not take my (complete) life-time from me; I will not thine; may I, O goddess, in thy sight obtain a hero (son)". According to the ritual this text is spoken by the matron

¹⁵ *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 151 f.

¹⁶ For which see *Epithets in the Rgveda*, p. 36 ff.

¹⁷ *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 81 ff.

on whom the cow needed to purchase the soma has been made to look. "She thereby asks a blessing", ŚB. 3, 3, 1, 12 observes, "a hero meaning a son, she thereby means to say: 'may I obtain a son in thy sight' ". What is the tenor of the first part of the stanza? A *dakṣiṇā* which is often incorrectly translated by "fee" or "salary",¹⁸ is a gift which being presented to the officiating priests and other brahmins, establishes, or is expressive of, a bond between giver and recipient¹⁹; which produces rich returns for the giver and establishes a generative alliance between both parties concerned. The *dakṣiṇā* serves as a bridge to heaven (MS. 4, 8, 3; KS. 28, 4); it follows the sacrifice when it departs towards the world of the gods, and holding on to it the sacrifice follows (ŚB. 1, 9, 3, 1). There exists moreover a relation between the *dakṣiṇā* and the ceremony of the soma purchase²⁰: the cow which serves as the price of the soma plant (*somakrayaṇī*) is called *dakṣiṇā* (TS. 6, 1, 7, 5 *vadati dakṣiṇāsīty āha dakṣiṇā hy eṣā*). According to the ritual (cf. ĀpŚrS. 10, 22, 8) the *somakrayaṇī*²¹ is addressed as follows (TB. 1, 2, 4 f g): *cid asi manāsi dhīr asi dakṣiṇāsi yajñīyāsi kṣatriyāsy aditir asy ubhayataḥśīrṣṇī* "thou art intelligence, thou art 'mind',²² thou art 'vision',²³ thou art the *dakṣiṇā*-gift, thou art suitable for sacrifice, thou art endowed with kingly power, thou art the double-headed Aditi".²⁴ The *somakrayaṇī* is however not only identified with these entities and power-substances, she is also explicitly stated to be Vāc (Speech): TS. 6, 1, 7, 2; 4; ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 10; MS. 1, 6, 4 etc. It is therefore only logical that Vāc on her part is associated with the *dakṣiṇā*: whereas for instance, in the myth of Indra's birth, the Black Yajur Veda makes *Dakṣiṇā* the mother of Indra, the White Yajur Veda attributes this rôle to Vāc.²⁵ The relations between the cow – which is identified with Aditi – and speech and the function of this animal as a stimulator of visionary speech among men, as a mediator between the Unseen and the world of men who transmits "vision" and speech has already come up for discussion.²⁶ Another point of interest may finally

¹⁸ See my remark in the periodical *Lingua*, 5, p. 75.

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. M. Mauss, *The gift* (London, 1954), p. 45.

²⁰ See J. C. Heesterman, "The significance of the *dakṣiṇā*", in *Indo-Ir. Journal*, 3, p. 251 ff.

²¹ Cf. W. Caland-V. Henry, *L'Agnistoma* (Paris, 1906), p. 36.

²² See Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 24, n. 3.

²³ Not: "die Überlegung" (Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, Amsterdam, 1924, p. 169).

²⁴ Cf. also ŚB. 3, 3, 1, 13. – For the relation between two-facedness and 'omniscience' see chapter II, p. 92.

²⁵ For particulars: Heesterman, *o.c.*, p. 253.

²⁶ See Chapter II, p. 91.

be touched upon: like *dhīh* the *dakṣiṇā* is closely associated with Dawn which, as we have seen, is among the divinities which give *dhīh*. In the Ṛgveda the goddess Dakṣiṇā is (cf. 6, 64, 1; 10, 107, 1) practically identical with Uṣas, both divine powers having the sunwise circulation round the universe in common.²⁷ Summing up these short notes the conclusion may be that in the above-quoted text the *somakrayaṇī* cow represents "Vision" and "Dakṣiṇā", both of them being so to say gates or 'bridges' to the world of the Unseen; that the matron on whom she has been made to look feels herself confronted with higher power and asks a blessing.

In the formulas VS. 4, 11; MS. 1, 2, 3 etc., viz. *daivīm dhiyaṃ manā-mahe sumṛḍīkām abhiṣṭaye varcodhām yajñavāhasaṃ* (VSK. 4, 5, 2; KS. 2, 4 *viśvadhāyasam*) *sutīrthā no asad vaśe* "for help – i.e. to help us in the performance of the ritual acts – we concentrate our mind upon the divine "Vision", who is very gracious, who gives splendour, who brings worship (= *yajñanirvāhakartrīm* "accomplishing worship" Mahīdhara on VS. 4, 11; VSK. etc.: "is all-nourishing"); may she guide us safely according to our desires!",²⁸ *Dhīh* is, again, represented as a goddess (*devasaṃ-bandhinīm dhiyam*, Uvaṭa on VS. 4, 11, adding: *sā ca sutīrthā no 'sat yajñam prati śobhanāvātārā asmākaṃ bhavatu*). In the ritual this stanza is to accompany, during the preparatory rites of the Soma sacrifice, the touching and sipping of water or washing the hands²⁹; according to TS. 6, 1, 4, 4 it is to make the sacrifice smooth. According to MS. 3, 6, 9: 72, 8 ff. the hands are washed in order to be protected by the sacred word and also lest the water should take away the *dīkṣā* or "consecration" of the sacrificer.

In explaining the same passage the author of ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 17 observes: "thus far it was for a human meal that he cleansed himself, but now it is for the sake of divine *dhīh*...; whenever, being about to take the fast-food, he touches water, let him touch it with the same formula".

There is a remarkable chapter in the JUpBr. (1, 53 = 1, 17, 1) in which *sāman-* (which being male is identified with the existent) has *ṛc-* (female, and the non-existent) cleanse herself before being willing to have intercourse with her. "She cleansed herself with that which the inspired bards say (*yad idam viprā vadanti tena*). She said: 'what is to become of

²⁷ Heesterman, *o.c.*, p. 255 f.

²⁸ See also Keith, *Veda Black Yajus School*, p. 22.

²⁹ See Eggeling, *o.c.*, II, p. 41, n. 2, and W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba* (Amsterdam, 1924), p. 157.

this?" 'Cast it back', he said, 'verily this is 'vision' (*dhīh*³⁰); it will become the livings (*jīvanam*) of people'. She cast it back. Therefore is this *dhīh* the livings of people". Thereupon she cleansed herself with the *gāthā*, with the *kumbyā* (a precept in the form of a verse), with the *nārāsaṃsī* (eulogistic hymns), with the *purāṇam* and *itihāsaḥ*. These too are said to be *dhīh* and the livings of people. Notice the order in which these "texts" are enumerated, the prominent place attributed to *dhīh* and its becoming the livings of people.

The words ṚV. 1, 1, 7 *upa tvāgne dive dive doṣāvastar dhiyā vayam / namo bharanta emasi* are repeated in VS. 3, 22 and used during the ritual in connection with the worship of the fires; they are quoted ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 28: "he then approaches the Gārhapatya and renders homage to it with this text. He thus renders homage to it in order that it may not injure him". Instead of the interpretation *dhiyā* = *buddhyā proktam* (Uvaṭa) and *śraddhāyuktayā buddhyā* (Mahīdhara) one could consider the aspect: "powerful or sacred text".

In quoting ṚV. 1, 2, 7 AiĀr. 1, 1, 4 explains *dhīr ghṛtāci* as *vāk*; Keith's translation³¹ "speech is the oil-fed rite" is not to be endorsed. In the same paragraph the epithet *dhiyāvasu* given to Sarasvatī (ṚV. 1, 3, 10) is likewise explained: *vāg vai dhiyāvasuḥ*, so that "speech is his who knows this or for whom a hotar who knows this recites".

In JUpBr. 1, 57, 1 (= 1, 18, 2, 1) *dhiyaḥ* is used as a common designation for *gāyatrī-*, *triṣṭubh-* and *jagatī-*. These have struck away fearful defilement and therefore these *dhiyaḥ* are *bhīmalāḥ* ("terrible"?).

In the mantras accompanying the depositing of bricks as part of the ceremonies to be performed in connection with the piling up of the fire altar TS. 4, 4, 5, 1 prescribes the formula "Ambā etc. art thou by name, with Prajāpati with every formula of ours, I deposit thee" (*prajāpatinā tvā viśvābhīr dhībhīr upa dadhāmi*).

Among the formulas which are to accompany the Aśvamedha it reads VS. 22, 14 *devasya savitur matim āsavam viśvadevyam / dhiyā bhagaṃ manāmahe* "we set through a prayer (consisting in inspired speech) the mind on good fortune, viz. the inclination of the god S., the excitement dear to all the gods".

In dealing with the hair-cutting which belongs to the Varuṇapraghāsa rite³² ĀpŚS. 8, 8, 21 prescribes the use of the formula TB. 1, 5, 5, 2 f. *yad gharmaḥ paryavartayat* (Āp. *paryā-*) *antān prthivyā divaḥ / agnir*

³⁰ "device".

³¹ A. B. Keith, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (Oxford, 1909), p. 168.

³² *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 80.

īśāna ojasā varuṇo dhītibhiḥ saha | indro marudbhiḥ sakhibhiḥ saha (cf. also ĀpŚS. 8, 19, 9) "since the heat (i.e. the sun) turned round (?³³) the ends of the earth (and) the sky, lord Agni with the power called ojas, Varuṇa together with the Dhītis, Indra together with the Maruts, his friends". That "Visions" are made to accompany the omniscient god Varuṇa in the same way as the Maruts are Indra's companions is in itself not surprising. The relation between formulas and rite is however not clear.³⁴

In MaitrS. 2, 11, 2 *dhītiś ca me kratuś ca me*, these two terms obviously refer to complementary concepts.

Among the formulas required for the Evening Soma-pressing which form the contents of VS. 8, st. 30 *purudasmō viṣurūpa indur antar mahimānam ānañja dhīraḥ* "the drop (juice) abounding in wonderful operations, of many shapes, has invested itself with greatness, the inspired one": I have my doubts about the translations "strong" proposed by Eggeling (ŚB. 4, 5, 2, 12) and Griffith and "rege" given by Caland (ĀpŚS. 9, 19, 5); Keith has "wise (TS. 3, 3, 10 f.). The verse refers to the case where it is found that the sacrificial animal is with young; the embryo has to be cut out and with this verse the juices are to be caught: in TS. it accordingly reads... *dhīra ānañja garbham* "has anointed the embryo".

In ŚB. 11, 5, 5, 1ff. it is told how the gods, after having repelled the asuras and darkness, found the way to the world of heaven. Having however become confused they resorted to Prajāpati, saying: (7) *vipaścid yajñān mugdhān vidvān dhīro 'nuśādhi naḥ* "O sage, being learned and wise, teach thou us who are ignorant (how to perform) the sacrifice".

GopBr. 1, 5, 24 is interesting because of the relation established between *dhīḥ* and *dhīraḥ*: *yo brahmavit so 'bhikaro 'stu vaḥ śivo | dhiyā dhīro rakṣatu dharmam etam* "the knower of brahman must act for your sake, being benevolent; he must, wise by vision, observe this dharma".

In a brāhmaṇa portion of MaitrS., 2, 4, 2, the author observes: *tasmād brāhmaṇaḥ sarva eva brahmābhi dhīraḥ* "therefore every brahman is 'wise' with regard to (intuitively familiar with) brahman".

The wise or experts in a question of religious import who declare sacred lore are in VS. 40, 10 and 13 explicitly said to be *dhīrāḥ*.

The term is also quite naturally given to those who are able to contrive something or to accomplish extraordinary deeds. Thus ŚB. 11, 5, 5, 13

³³ "ringsum kürzte (?)" Caland, *Āpast.*, II, p. 33 ("dieser Vers..., dessen Inhalt rätselhaft ist").

³⁴ For Agni and ojas (cf. e.g. RV. 1, 127, 3) which then evidently consists in the god's fiery energy see *Anc.-Ind. ojas* ..., p. 12.

paver nu śakveva hanūni kalpayann ahnor antau vyatiśajanta dhīrāḥ "like the artificer contriving 'cheeks' to the point of the spear, the wise ones coupled the ends of the two days".

Similarly to experts, to those who excel in skill or possess special knowledge and experience: VS. 1, 28 the experts (*dhīrāsaḥ*) still point out and worship the earth (viz. the spots of the moon to which the earth had been lifted by oblations); to which place the ŚB. 1, 2, 5, 19 adds "and the offering of him also who understands this, is performed in that place of worship"; ŚB. 12, 3, 1, 7 *abhiplavā ubhayato 'sya bāhū, prṣṭham prṣṭhya iti dhīrā vadanti*; GopB. 1, 5, 24 *yo brahmavit so 'bhikaro 'stu vaḥ śivo dhiyā dhīro rakṣatu dharmam etam*.

VS. 1, 28 *purā krūrasya viṣpo... udādāya prthivīm jīvadānum | yām airayaṃś candramasi svadhābhis tām u dhīrāso anudīśya yajante* "before the cruel foe slips away..., taking up the life-giving earth which they lifted up to the moon by oblations, that (earth) the inspired experts still point out (viz. in the spots of the moon) and worship".³⁵

The term *dhīra-* applies to those who are characterized by an extraordinary insight into the connections of the phenomena which are kept from ordinary men, and into the identifications which are of the utmost importance in attempting to control natural phenomena or one's own destiny. Thus KapS. 1, 9 *tām (prthivīm) jīradānum | tām airayaṃś candramasi svadhābhis tām dhīrāso anudīśya yajanta*; ŚB. 12, 3, 1, 9 it reads "the supreme Self (*adhyātman-*) has entered into the year endowed with all stomas and all sāmans: having fashioned him alike with his body (person: *ātmanā*), the sage (*dhīraḥ*) is seated free from pain on the heights of the ruddy one (the sun)"; and AiB. 5, 30 "with these (the sāmans Bṛhad and Rathantara) should he go who is wise taking the (sacrificial) fires". Cf. also ŚB. 11, 5, 5, 9.

Some categories of gods are in VS. 11, 55, MS. 2, 7, 5 *saṃsrṣṭām vasubhī rudrair dhīraiḥ karmanyām mṛdam | hastābhyām mṛdvīm kṛtvā sinīvālī kṛnotu tām* which deals with the construction of the fire place characterized as "(the) wise": "the lump of clay that has been mixed by the Vasus, the Rudras, (and) by the wise...": "for wise those (gods) are, and suitable for the sacred work is this clay", thus the comment of ŚB. 6, 5, 1, 9. "The sages (*dhīrāḥ*)", the same brāhmaṇa observes (11, 5, 5, 12), "left behind the gloom, the knowing (wise: *vidvāṃsaḥ*) gods who performed the session of a hundred sacrifices". "The inspired skilful (*kavayaḥ*) and those who know (*vidvāṃsaḥ*)", the author of ŚB. 7, 2, 2, 4 observes

³⁵ See Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 10.

with regard to VS. 12, 67 f.; RV. 10, 101, 4; 3 *sīrā yuñjanti kavayo...* *dhīrā deveṣu sumnayā*. Cf. also Maitr. S. 2, 3, 8 *ayajñiyan yajñiyan man-yamānaḥ prāṇasya vidvānt samare na dhīraḥ | eno mahac cakṛvān baddha eṣa taṃ viśvakarman pramuñcā svastaye*; KāṭhS. 12, 2... *ugraś cettā vasuvid abhibhūr asy abhy ahaṃ sajātān bhūyāsaṃ dhīraś cettā vasuvit* etc.; ibid. *vahiṣṭe astu bāl iti purudasmavad viśvarūpam induḥ pavamāno garbham ānañja dhīraḥ*.

IX

DHĪḤ, DHĪRAḤ ETC. IN THE UPANIṢADS

Leaving those quotations from older texts which have already been discussed out of consideration we must now invoke attention to some passages in the Upaniṣads which contain the noun *dhīḥ*. When the "soul" of those deceased who come to "non-death" has, Kauṣ. Up. 1, 3 ff. teaches,¹ reached the realm of Brahmā, they should when asked who Brahmā is, answer "the real" (*satyam*). All knowledge of Brahmā concerning his names, forms, actions etc. is, in § 7, communicated to the "soul" who should, when interrogated, give the proper answers, so that he will share in Brahmā's victory and whatever expansion belongs to the god. One of the questions is "by what do you acquire visions (*dhiyaḥ*), what is to be known (*viññātavyam*), and desires (*kāmān*)?" The answer is: *prajñayaiva*. This word, which has more than once² been translated by "intelligence", is in the commentary explained as follows: *svayam-prakāśenātmabodhena* "by the cognition of the Self which is spontaneously manifest". The same expression occurs in 2, 15 dealing with the dying father bequeathing his various powers and faculties to his son: "I would place my speech in you" : "I take your speech in me" etc.; *dhiyo viññātavyaṃ kāmāṃs me tvayi dadhānīti pitā dhiyo viññātavyaṃ kāmāṃs te dadha iti putraḥ*. Instead of this other texts however read *mano me tvayi d...*, *prajñā me t. d.* It is worth observing that these faculties are mentioned at the end of the enumeration after speech, vital breath, sight, activities, procreation etc.

In a short treatise on the correlation between the individual's functions and the facts of existence the same work proceeds in 3, 5 to explain how all beings (*bhūtāni*) become one with the highest function called *prajñā* "the knowing wisdom" or higher consciousness. Speech, breath, sight etc. are only "portions taken out of *prajñā*", name, odour, form etc. being their externally correlated existential elements (*parastāt prativihitā bhūtāmātrā*); *manaḥ* likewise is "one portion taken out of it", and *dhīḥ*, *viññātavyam*, *kāmāḥ* its externally correlated existential elements. That means that *dhīḥ* is put on a par with name, odour, form, sound, taste,

¹ For a summary of this chapter see L. Renou, *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (Paris, 1948), p. 6.

² See e.g. S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads* (London, 1953), p. 760.

work, procreation etc. The usual translation is: “thoughts (what is to be known) and desires are its externally correlated existential elements”.³ “Visions” would however be more satisfactory because they correspond, in a way, on the one hand to form, sound etc. and on the other to “what is to be known” and “objects of love or desire”. “Having obtained control of the *manaḥ* by *prajñā*”, the text continues in § 6, “one obtains all *dhiyaḥ* etc. by the mind”: *prajñayaiva dhiyaṃ samāruhya manasā dhiyo vijñātavyaṃ kāmān āpnoti*.⁴

Many translations have been proposed for BĀU. 1, 5, 2 *yo vai tām akṣitiṃ vedeti, puruṣo vā akṣitiḥ, sa hīdam annaṃ dhiyā dhiyā janayate karmabhiḥ, yad dhaitan na kuryāt kṣīyeta ha* “he who knows this imperishableness means that the Person is imperishable, for he produces this food as his work by his continuous meditation. Should he not do this, his food would be exhausted” (Radhakrishnan⁵). Röer⁶ however translated “... for he produces this provision by understanding, by understanding and by works”; Senart⁷: “c’est lui qui, de rite en rite, par les oeuvres liturgiques produit la nourriture”; Hume⁸: “for by continuous meditation he produces this food as his work”. These words form part of an explication of some stanzas in which the Creator, Prajāpati, is said to have produced by *medhā* (“knowledge”) and *tapah* (“austerity”) sevenfold food; they give an answer to the question: “how is it that these do not perish when they are being eaten all the time?” “The ‘Person’ (Puruṣa)”, it is answered, “is imperishableness, for he produces this food again and again ... The ‘Person’ is imperishable because he produces this food by repeated visionary contact with Higher Power, by (ritual) works”. Why should we not, indeed, interpret this place in harmony with those many passages of the R̥gveda which exhibit the co-operation of *dhīḥ* “vision” and *karman* “(ritual) work”? Compare Śaṅkara’s interpretation: “... It is then declared: the soul which is the enjoyer of the food, is the cause that it does not decrease..., because he again and again produces the food, which is to be enjoyed, the characteristic of which is to be cause and effect, and which consists in the effect of work – ‘by understanding’, by knowledge which will take place at this or the other time, ‘and by works’, the effects of speech, mind and body.”

³ See e. g. Radhakrishnan, *o.c.*, p. 779; R. E. Hume, *The thirteen principal Upaniṣads* (Oxford, 1934), p. 325.

⁴ Cf. also Renou, *o.c.*, p. 56.

⁵ Radhakrishnan, *o.c.*, p. 174 f.

⁶ E. Röer, *The twelve principal Upaniṣads*, II (Adyar, 1931), p. 176.

⁷ E. Senart, *Bṛhad-Araṇyaka-upaniṣad* (Paris, 1934), p. 17.

⁸ Hume, *o.c.*, p. 87.

In explaining the ‘mystic’ nature of the syllable *Om* the Brahmaṇḍa Up. 13 observes *yasmīn vilīyate śabdāḥ tat paraṃ brahma gīyate | dhiyaṃ hi līyate brahma so ’mṛtatvāya kalpate* “that in which the sound is absorbed is called the highest brahman, (he in whose) *dhīḥ* brahman ‘alights’ is fit for obtaining ‘immortality’”. Again, *dhīḥ* as a means of experiencing the presence of the highest and, as a result of this, of being delivered from mundane limitations.

Avadhūta Up. 25 is remarkable in that it exhibits the combination *dhīr dhyāyatu*: ... *devārcanasnānaśaucabhikṣādaḥ vartatāṃ vapuḥ | tāraṇaṃ japatu vāk tadvat paṭhatv āmnāyamastakam | viṣṇuṃ dhyāyatu dhīr yad vā brahmānande vilīyatām | sāksya ahaṃ kiṃcid apy atra na kurve nāpi kārāye* “the body must be occupied with the worship of the god, ritual ablutions, purifications, begging etc., the voice must mutter mystical syllables and also recite ‘the head of sacred traditions’; the *dhīḥ* (i.e. that special function which enables a man to enter into contact with the Highest) must by way of ‘meditation’ penetrate into the nature of Viṣṇu and assimilate it, or else it must be rapturously absorbed into Brahman: I am (only) a witness, I am not doing anything here, nor have I done anything”.

As is well known the yogin proceeds on his path by stages (*bhūmi*-): “by overleaping the next stage without having first mastered the lower stage, he does not gain constraint in the highest stages” (Vyāsa, on Pat. YS. 3, 6). The MahāUp., ch. 5, furnishes us with a description and theory of these stages, which being seven in number constitute as many conditions of knowledge; the man who has completed the full course attains to emancipation. The seventh stage is accordingly called *turyagā* “leading to the fourth, i.e. highest, ‘superconscious’ state (of the soul)” (st. 25). “Brahman is assumed to move with three quarters in this turyam, with one quarter in the three other ‘conditions’” (Maitri Up.). “*Turyam* is above cognition and non-cognition, incapable of being spoken of, without distinctive marks, the essence of the knowledge of the one self (*ekātmapratyayasāram*), that into which the world is resolved (*prapañcopaśa-mam*), the non-dual (*advaitam*)” (MāṇḍUp.). In regard to the *turyagā gatiḥ* the MahāUp. says: *eṣā hi jīvanmukteṣu turyāvastheti vidyate*, and in regard to those who have attained to it: *ye ... mahābhāgāḥ saptaṃ bhūmim āśritāḥ | ātmārāmā mahātmānas te mahat padam āgatāḥ || jīvanmuktāḥ ...* and further on: (39) *bhūmikāsaptakaṃ caitad dhīmatām eva gocaram* “the seventh of the *bhūmis* is the place of (is accessible to) those who are characterized by *dhīḥ*”. They will be delivered (40).

⁹ The state assumed to exist above the waking consciousness, the dreaming sleep and the dreamless sleep (see e.g. Māṇḍ. Up. 7; Maitri Up. 7, 11).

The words Mahānārāyaṇa Up. 2, 12, 3 (223) *yo devānāṃ prathamam purastād viśvā dhiyo rudro maharṣiḥ || hiraṇyagarbham paśyata jāyamānaṃ sa no devaḥ śubhayā smṛtyā saṃyunaktu* are borrowed from Taitt.Ār. 10, 10, 3 where they constitute a *varia lectio* besides *yo ... viśvādhiko r. m.* etc.¹⁰: “Rudra, the great sage, who originally (saw) before (all other things) all the *dhiyaḥ* of the gods, saw the birth of the Golden Germ; that that god endow us with an eminent (splendid, auspicious, good) memory”.¹¹ Rudra, God, who is not like the devas (gods) a product of the secondary creation, was already before the creation of the world.¹² Being omniscient he “saw” all “visions” of the gods, i.e. all knowledge which they in a supranormal way had of things eternal and transcendent.

The compound *dhīcakra*- “whose disk is *dhīh*” which occurs, in the Tripādvibhūtim. Up. 7, 42, in a series of epithets of Viṣṇu (*om sucakrāya svāhā / om dhīcakrāya svāhā*) may be of some interest, because it shows that the god’s favourite weapon could be believed to consist of *dhīh*. The sharp-rimmed battle-discus, the fiery weapon, through which its owner was a superior warrior originally was, in all probability, a representation of the sun, which illuminates the universe. Was *dhīh* considered Viṣṇu’s weapon – we are reminded of the Bodhisattva Maitreya’s famous sword – while destroying the powers of darkness?

In an enumeration of the factors or elements constituting the bodily person and occurring in the Śārīraka Up. 5 *manah*, *dhīh* and *buddhiḥ* are put on a par with the *karmendriyāṇi* and the *prāṇāḥ*. Anyhow, a distinction is made between *dhīh* and *manah*. Sāṃkhya texts¹³ on the other hand not rarely mention synonyms to replace the usual expression for the first of the internal organs, *buddhiḥ*. Beside *matiḥ*, *khyātiḥ*, *prajñā*, *smṛtiḥ* and others we also find *dhīh*: see Sāṃkhyakramadīpikā 16.

In 1, 5, 3 the author of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. proceeds to explain the term *manah*: ... *manasā hy eva paśyati manasā śṛṇoti, kāmaḥ saṃkalpo vicikitsā śraddhā – śraddhā dhṛtir adhṛtir hrīr dhīr bhīr ity etat sarvam mana eva* “it is with the ‘mind’ that one sees and hears; desire, conception of ideas (determining the nature of the objects etc. presented to us), doubt, faith, lack of faith, steadfastness, lack of steadfastness, shame, ‘vision’, fear, all this is ‘mind’”. So much is clear that here “vision”,

¹⁰ Cf. also Śvet. Up. 3, 4.

¹¹ J. Varenne, *La Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, I (Paris, 1960), p. 60: “d’une mémoire fidèle”.

¹² See my *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 180 f., 190 f.

¹³ See R. Garbe, *Die Sāṃkhya-Philosophie*² (Leipzig, 1917), p. 307, n. 2; H. H. Wilson – F. Hall, *The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, I (London, 1864), p. 30.

like shame, fear, the faculty of sight etc. is viewed as a faculty of *manah*. The passage is quoted in Maitr. Up. 6, 30.

Enumerations of “concepts” or “entities” constituting a more comprehensive idea or forming its aspects or manifestations are, in these texts, not rare. Thus the Nārada-parivṛāja Up. 3, 23f. gives an exposition of the ten characteristics of dharma: *daśalakṣaṇakam dharmam anuṣṭhan samāhitah | vedāntān vidhivac chrutvā saṃnyased anṛṇo dvijah || dhṛtiḥ kṣamā damo ’steyaṃ śaucam indriyanigrahaḥ | dhīr vidyā satyam akrodho daśakam dharmalakṣaṇam* “... steadfastness, forbearance, self-restraint, respect for what is not one’s property,¹⁴ purity, restraint of the organ of sense, visionary ‘insight’, ‘knowledge’, sincerity, ‘suppression of anger’ i.e. placidity or serenity, are the ten characteristics of the dharma of the advanced ascetic.”

From a very interesting place in the Maitri Up. (6, 25) which forms part of a description of Brahman as totality and “universal soul” and of yoga as the method of realizing one’s identity with brahman – one “reaches” brahman by meditation on the sound *om*, by which one is enabled to pierce to that shining and immortal principle –, it appears that the soul in its perfect unity with the Highest is viewed as follows: “he who, with senses indrawn as in sleep, with a perfectly pure power of visions as in dream,¹⁵ being in the cavern of the senses yet not under their control, perceives Him who is called *Om*, the leader, brilliant, free from sleep, old age and death and sorrowless, he himself becomes called *Om*, a leader, of the form of light, free from sleep, old age and death and sorrowless” (*nidrevāntarhitendriyaḥ śuddhitamayā dhiyā svapna iva yaḥ paśyatīndriyabile ’vivaśaḥ praṇavākhyam praṇetāraṃ bhārūpaṃ vigatanidraṃ vijaram vimṛtyuṃ viśokam ca so ’pi praṇavākhyāḥ praṇetā bhārūpo vigatanidro vijaro vimṛtyur viśoko bhavatīti*). “The oneness of breath and mind (*prāṇamāna-soḥ*)”, the author adds, “and likewise of the senses, and the abandonment of all conditions of existence, – this is designated as yoga”. It is clear that the term *dhīh*, though unmistakably meant as that psychic faculty which enables us to penetrate into the world of the unseen, may also be translated by the more vague and general “mind”, because being no longer concentrated upon the phenomena of this world it has as *dhīh*, or in its *dhīh* aspect, come into contact with the Supreme.

In a description of the *jīvanmukta*-, i.e. the one who is before death

¹⁴ See my *Four studies in the language of the Veda*, p. 106.

¹⁵ Not: “slumber” (Hume, *o.c.*, p. 439). For the creative power characteristic of the state of dreaming see BĀUp. 4, 3, 9 ff.

liberated from all liability to future births, the Mahā Up. 2, 56 ff. states: *dharmādharmau sukhaṃ duḥkhaṃ tathā maraṇajanmanī | dhiyā yena susaṃtyaktaṃ sa jīvanmukta ucyate || udvegānandarāhitaṃ samayā svacchayā dhiyā | na śocate na codeti sa j. u. || sarvecchāḥ sakalāḥ śaṅkāḥ sarvehāḥ sarvaṇiścayāḥ | dhiyā yena parityaktāḥ sa j. u..* Here *dhīh* practically means “mind, mental state”, but the other psychical faculties have so to say been absorbed in *dhīh*, the visionary faculty being now predominant. The man who through his *dhīh* – which now is even and clear – rises above any notion of duality, deserves the name of “emancipated while still alive”. Cf. also st. 73 *atibāhyaṃ tathā bāhyam antarābhyantaram dhiyaḥ | ... paśyan na paśyes tvaṃ sākṣī saṃpūrṇakevalaḥ*.

In an exposition of the completely calm, peaceful and disinterested man the author of the Mahā Up. observes, *inter alia* (4, 38): *ramate dhīr yathāprāpte sādhvīvāntaḥpurājire ...* “whose ‘mind’ delights in the first that is met with like a virtuous woman in the court of the female apartments”.

Describing the state of samādhi the Jābāladarśana Up. 10, 1 ff. says: *samādhīḥ saṃvidutpattiḥ parajīvaikatām prati || nityaḥ sarvagato hy ātmā kūṭastho doṣavarjitaḥ | ... || tasmād advaitam evāsti na prapañco na saṃsṛtiḥ | ... | nāhaṃ deho na ca prāṇo nendriyāṇi mano nahi || (5) sadā sākṣisvarūpatvāc chiva evāsmi kevalaḥ | iti dhīr yā munīśreṣṭha sa samādhir ihocyate* “samādhi is the revelation of higher knowledge (pure intelligence, ‘consciousness’, intuition) with regard to the oneness with the higher life; the ātman is eternal, omnipresent, unchangeable, free from deficiencies ... || therefore there is the state of identity of the soul and brahman, no manifestation in diversity, no passage through successive states of existence ... I am not the body, not life-breath, not the faculties of sense, not ‘mind’. Because of the condition of being witness I am happy and exclusively my own (not connected with anything else). If such, O best of sages, is the *dhīh*, we speak of *samādhīḥ*”. It is clear that *dhīh* here means “the state of supranormal insight and consciousness, in which the subject is able to fathom the meaning of ‘I am brahman’”. A nuanceless translation “state of mind” would of course be possible too.¹⁶ One might remember here the brief formulation of Mahānār. Up. 62: *tad apaśyat tad abhavat* “he saw that, he became that”.

At the end of a chapter which whilst identifying brahman with Viṣṇu

¹⁶ “Samādhi est cet état contemplatif dans lequel la pensée saisit immédiatement la forme de l’objet, sans l’aide des catégories et de l’imagination; état où l’objet se révèle ‘en lui-même’, dans ce qu’il a d’essentiel, et comme s’il ‘était vide de lui-même’.” (M. Eliade, *Le yoga*, Paris, 1954, p. 90).

deals with the character and aim of yoga,¹⁷ the author of the Tejobindu Up. arrives at the conclusion: *vidvān nityaṃ sukhe tiṣṭhed dhiyā cid rasapūrṇayā* “he who knows will continually be happy, his ‘mind’ being full of religious sentiment” (1, 51).

Thus *dhīh* is used in connection with particular yoga postures, e.g. Yogatattva Up. 115 *ayam eva mahābandha ubhayatraivam abhyaset | mahābandhasthito yogī kṛtvā pūrakam ekadhīḥ*; 118 *bhrūmadhyadṛṣṭir apy eṣā mudrā bhavati khecarī | kaṇṭham ākuñcyā hṛdaye sthāpayed dṛḍhayā dhiyā*.

Compare also: Annapūrṇa Up. 2, 42 *śuddham ātmānam ālīngya nityam antasthayā dhiyā | yaḥ sthitas taṃ ka ātmeha bhogo bādhayituṃ kṣamaḥ* “who keeps continually embracing his own Self which is pure (also unmixed, unqualified) with his *dhīh* which penetrates into it, which body and which enjoyment could harass him here?” – notice the term “embracing” expressing an intimate contact or union; *ibid.* 5, 54 *sarvam etad dhiyā tyaktvā yadi tiṣṭhati niścalaḥ | tadāhaṅkāravilaye tvaṃ eva paramaṃ padam*; *ibid.* 5, 102 *saṃkalpatvaṃ hi bandhasya kāraṇaṃ tat parityaja | mokṣo bhaved asaṃkalpāt tadabhyāsaṃ dhiyā kuru* “give up the conception of ideas (desires, purposes, intentions) which is the cause of mundane bondage; deliverance will ensue from absence of *saṃkalpa*–; apply yourself, with your *dhīh*, to that”.

The author of the Mahā Up. gives (4, 91 f.) the following advice: *asaṃkalpanaśastreṇa chinnaṃ cittam idaṃ yadā | sarvaṃ sarvagataṃ śāntaṃ brahma saṃpadyate tadā || bhava bhāvanayā mukto muktaḥ paramayā dhiyā | dhārayātmānam avyagro grastacittaṃ cittaḥ padam* “when the mind has been severed by the sword of non-desiring, one unites with brahma that is the totality, that is omnipresent and completely peaceful; be freed from contemplation, freed (even) from the highest vision; preserve your self steadily (your self) into which your mind is absorbed and which is the place of pure thought”. Compare also st. 128 *kalpityam avidyeyam anātmāny ātmabhāvanāt | paraṃ pauraṣaṃ āśṛitya yatnāt paramayā dhiyā | bhogecchāṃ dūratas tyaktvā nirvikalpaḥ sukhī bhava*; Mahā Up. 6, 78 *etan niścayam ādāya vilokaya dhiyeddhyā | svayam evātmanātmānam ānandaṃ padam āpsyasi* “having resolved upon that observe with a lighted (clear) faculty of vision; then you will by yourself experience pure happiness, the realization of the pure self”.

In explaining the Sāvitrī the Tripurātāp. Up. 1, 24 holds that the Lord is made the object of concentration by *dhīh*: *dhiyaiva dhāryate bhagavān*

¹⁷ See M. Eliade, *Le Yoga* (Paris, 1954), p. 136 ff.

parameśvaraḥ: in the Yoga doctrine the term *dhī-* is used to indicate the fixation of the mind on one spot, the concentration.

Some other examples of the use of *dhīh* in connection with yoga practices are: Yogaśikha Up. 1, 97 *recayet pūrayed vāyūm āśramam dehagaṃ dhīyā | yathā śramo bhaved dehe tathā sūryeṇa pūrayet* “one should with *dhīh* (i.e. while having visionary or intuitive contact with the transcendental) blow out and draw in the breath which circulates in the body till exhaustion ...”; *ibid.* 5, 34 f. *bhrūmadhyaniḥayo binduḥ śuddhasphaṭikasam nibhaḥ | mahāviśṇoś ca devasya tat sūkṣmaṃ rūpam ucyate; etat pañcāgnirūpaṃ yo bhāvayed buddhimān dhīyā | tena bhuktaṃ ca pītaṃ ca hutam eva na saṃśayaḥ*; Yogakuṇḍalī Up. 1, 62 *prāṇābhyāsaḥ tataḥ kāryo nityaṃ satvasthayaḥ dhīyā* “one should continually concentrate oneself upon the breaths with a resolute ‘mind’”.

The compound *sudhī-* is used in a similar way to qualify the well-concentrated performer of ritual acts and the serious adept of Yoga: Bṛhajjābāla Up. 3, 13 *svāhānte juhuyāt tatra varṇadevāya piṇḍakān | āghārāv ājyabhāgau ca prakṣiped vyāhṛtīḥ sudhīḥ*; Brahmanāyaka Up. 21 ... *tāvan niṣkalatāṃ gataḥ || nabhashtaṃ niṣkalaṃ dhyātva mucyate bhavabandhanāt | anāhatadhvaniyutaṃ haṃsaṃ yo veda hṛdgatam || ... sa haṃsa iti gīyate | recakaṃ pūrakaṃ muktva kumbhakena sthitaḥ sudhīḥ*; Parabrahma Up. 11; Yogakuṇḍ. Up. 1, 11 etc.; Nārada Up. 5, 35; Yogaśikha Up. 1, 93; Kuṇḍikā Up. 14, etc. The adjective remains usual: Mahānirv. Tantra 3, 107 (of the man who concentrates upon the Gāyatrī: *prāṇamet sudhīḥ*).

The Śiva-saṃhitā, one of the chief texts of Haṭhayoga and Shākta Yoga¹⁸ while describing the main postures, says in a similar way (3, 111; 113; 117 f.): “... this is the best of postures which the ‘wise’ (*sudhīḥ*) should practise (*sādhayet*) always so that the vital breath may flow through the back channels”; “by this method the ‘wise’ yogin does breathing exercise so that ... he can control his breath”. Cf. also 3, 48; 4, 38; 4, 84 “the ‘wise seeker’ (*sudhīḥ*) should attempt to draw in, through the channel of his sex organ, the discharge of the female organs from the uterus and bring it into his own body”; 5, 205 “by knowing the principles of Vedānta the living being becomes independent; having made his mind (*manah*) independent the ‘wise’ (*yogin-*) remains without thought (on the phenomenal plane)”. It is no doubt not by chance that the yogin who according to 5, 146 “at the time of death meditates on the ‘centre of command’, and when the life-breath leaves him, dissolves into the Su-

¹⁸ See the English translation by S. Ch. Vasu (Allahabad, 1913), and compare also S. Lindquist, *Die Methoden des Yoga* (Lund, 1932), p. 8 etc.

preme Self”, is qualified as *sudhīḥ*. Cf. e.g. Gheraṇḍa-Saṃhitā¹⁹ 5, 49; 77.

The meaning of the adjective *dhīmat-* is in perfect harmony with that of the noun from which it derives. The *dhīmān* is the “sage”, the man of supranormal insight from the point of view of the serious adept of yoga and the ascetic who strives after the ideal of emancipation. Compare e.g. Nārada-parivṛāja Up. 3, 13 *viraktaḥ pravrajed dhīmān saraktas tu grhe vaset | sarāgo narakam yāti pravrajan hi dvijādhamah*; Annapūrṇa Up. 4, 89 *yah prāṇapavanaspandaś cittaspandaḥ sa eva hi | prāṇaspandajaye yatnaḥ kartavyo dhīmatocchakāḥ* “... the man of higher insight must make an effort to repress the vibration of lifebreath”; Yogaśikha Up. 6, 36 (*brahmarandhram praviśyāntas te yānti paramāṃ gatim ...*) *suṣumnāyām yadā prāṇaḥ sthīro bhavati dhīmatām | suṣumnāyām praveśena candrasūryau layam gatau* “when the breath of the ‘wise ones’ i.e. of the men of visionary or intuitive insight has become motionless in the artery called Suṣumna ...”²⁰; Jābāladarsana Up. 5, 9 *punaḥ piṅgalayāpūrya vahnibijam anusmaret | punar virecayed dhīmān idayaiva śanaiḥ-śanaiḥ*; Pāsupatabrahma Up. 2, 2 *brahmajñānaprabhāsandhyā kālo gacchati dhīmatām*.

A significant place is also Maitri Up. 7, 1 ff. being a series of identifications after the fashion of the early Upaniṣads: the various divinities, metres, hymns, seasons, breaths, heavenly bodies, gods etc. are taught to be transient emanations in the six different directions, returning again into the one Soul (*ātman*) of the world. This world-soul is described by means of numerous epithets: “unthinkable, formless, unfathomable ... pure, omniscient, mighty, and also “wise” (*dhīmān*).

See also Śiva-saṃh. 5, 25, etc., and ViPur. 1, 20, 8 *tuṣṭāva ca punar dhīmān anādim puruṣottamam ekāgramatir avyagro...*

The use of the adjective *dhīra-* in the early Upaniṣads is very instructive: it clearly characterizes the man who has acquired a true insight into the fundamental truth and into the hidden connections between the phenomena and who penetrating into the regions of the transcendent and eternal by that knowledge rises above mundane limitations. Discussing the destiny of the man who is freed from any desire, whose only desire is the *ātman*, the author of BĀU. 4, 4 says (st. 21): *tam eva dhīro vijñāya prajñāṃ kurvīta brāhmaṇaḥ* “let a wise one, a brahman, after discerning him alone, practise (the means to) knowledge”. As it has been said (st. 7) that when all the desires are cast away the mortal attains brahman and (st. 8) the knowers of brahman who after being released go up to the heavenly

¹⁹ *The Gheranda Saṃhitā* translated by Rai Bahadur Śrīśa Chandra Vasu (with text) (Allahabad, 1925).

²⁰ See e.g. A. Daniélou, *Yoga* (London, 1949), p. 125.

world are likewise called *dhīrāḥ*, this adjective clearly denotes those who have overcome the blind darkness of ignorance (st. 10) and who are to become immortal (st. 14).

The translation “wise” is not wrong in cases such as the following: KaU. 2, 2 (where it is opposed to *manda-* “apathetic, lazy, indifferent, dull-witted, stupid”) *śreyo hi dhīro 'bhi preyaso vṛṇīte preyo mandah ...*; 2, 11 where it is an attribute of the man who renounces all the allurements of the world, including the possibility of occupying the highest state in the phenomenal universe, and who rejects false views of such objects as the endless fruit of rites, the safe other shore etc. “Realizing”, st. 12 continues, “through contemplation of what pertains to the ātman that primeval god, who is difficult to be seen, deeply hidden ..., the wise man (*dhīrah*) leaves behind both joy and sorrow”. Compare also st. 22 “recognizing the ātman which is the bodiless among bodies, the stable among the unstable, the great, the all-pervading, the wise man (*dhīrah*) does not grieve”. In 4, 1 the adjective is used in connection with that higher sight which seeks, introspectively, life eternal and enables a man “to cast a glance at” the ātman: “the Self-existent (*svayambhūh*) pierced the openings (of the senses) outward; therefore one looks (*paśyati*) outward, not within oneself. A certain wise man (*dhīrah*), while seeking ‘immortality’, with his eyes turned inward saw (*aikṣat*) the ātman (his self)”. In 4, 2 the opposite is *bālāḥ* “childish, not fullgrown, juvenile, ignorant”. These go after outward pleasure, walking into the snare of death; “but the *dhīrāḥ*, who know ‘immortality’, do not seek the stable among the things which are unstable here”. The *dhīrah* is also rejoiced to know that by which one perceives both dream state and waking state as the great, omnipresent ātman (2, 4). The same statement occurs 6, 6 in connection with the wise man (*dhīrah*) who knows the separate nature of the senses, i.e. the discrimination of the ātman from the sense organism. Dwelling upon the indescribable bliss of recognizing the “world-soul” in one’s own soul, the author observes (5, 12): “the one, controller (of all), the inner self of all things ..., to the wise (*dhīrāḥ*) who perceive him as standing in oneself is eternal bliss ...”. Similarly st. 13.

With these texts ŚvUp. 6, 12 is in perfect harmony: “the one controller of the inactive many ..., the wise (*dhīrāḥ*) who perceive Him as abiding in their selves, to them belongs eternal happiness, not to others”.

The same function – viz. to characterize the man who gives up wrong notions of, and attachment to, the objects of the senses whilst aspiring to immortality – is given to the adjective by the author of the Kena Up.: cf. 2 when they have ceased to believe that it is the ear that hears, the

voice that speaks etc., the *dhīrāḥ*, while departing from this world, become immortal; 13 the word is applied to those who discern (*vicintya*, var.: *vivicya*) the Real in all beings, i.e. who see the same brahman in every creature.

It is, according to MuUp. 1, 1, 6, the *dhīrāḥ* who perceive or regard (*paripaśyanti*) the imperishable (*avyayam*) which is invisible, ungraspable etc., eternal, all-pervading and omnipresent, as the source of beings (*bhūtayonim*). This insight truly must be due to what may be called visionary or intuitive knowledge. By knowledge (*viññānena*) the wise (*dhīrāḥ*) perceive clearly the all-knowing, all-wise, whose is this greatness on the earth and who, being the ātman, resides in heaven, who consists of mind, the blissful shining immortal (2, 2, 7f.). Very clear are also 3, 2, 1 “he knows that supreme abode of brahma ...; they who, being without desire, worship the Person (*puruṣa-*), the wise, pass beyond the seed (of rebirth)” and 3, 2, 5 “having attained Him completely, the seers (*ṛṣayaḥ*) who are satisfied with knowledge, who are perfected souls (*kṛtātmānaḥ*), free from passion ... having completely attained the omnipresent, those wise (*dhīrāḥ*), with concentrated selves, enter into the All itself”.

The mysterious ultimate and fundamental principle, though indicated by impersonal terms such as *tat*, *avyaktam* etc., in reality is Prajāpati, who is life eternal and the ‘absolute’; – thus an important point in the introductory argument of the Mahā Nār. Up.; Prajāpati, the text continues (1, 15), moves in the womb, being born without being engendered, he assumes many forms; the wise understand his origin; those who have the divine knowledge seek the place²¹ of his rays” (*prajāpatiś carati garbhe antaḥ | ajāyamāno bahudhā vijāyate | tasya dhīrāḥ parijānanti yonim | marīcīnām padam icchanti vedhasaḥ*).

Subāla Up. 3 *asad vā idam agra āsīd ajātam abhūtam apratiṣṭhitam aśabdāṁ asparśam arūpam arasam agandham avyayam amahāntam abṛhantam ajam ātmānaṁ matvā dhīro na śocati*; Jābālad. Up. 4, 62 *aśarīraṁ śarīreṣu mahāntaṁ vibhum īśvaram | ānandam akṣaram sāksān matvā dhīro na śocati*; Nārada-pariv. Up. 9, 15 *aśarīraṁ śarīreṣv anavastheṣv avasthitam | mahāntaṁ vibhum ātmānaṁ matvā dhīro na śocati*. The same phrase occurs also elsewhere qualifying the man of superior insight who has gained access to the Highest Truth: see e.g. Annap. Up. 5, 91 *na mriye na ca jīvāmi nāhaṁ sann apy asanmayah | ahaṁ na kiṁcid cid iti matvā dhīro na śocati*. In the same work (4, 37) the word occurs to denote the wise attitude of the successful adept with regard to the

²¹ “Le terme *pada-* (“lieu”) constant dans ce genre de contexte évoque un séjour secret: ‘là où toutes choses ont leur nid commun’”, Varenne, *o.c.*, I, p. 146.

Supreme: (35 f.) ... *aham asmīti niścītya vītaśoko bhaven muniḥ || svaśarīre svayaṃjyotiḥ svarūpaṃ sarvasākṣiṇam | kṣīṇadoṣāḥ prapaśyanti netare māyayāvṛtāḥ || tam eva dhīro vijñāya prajñāṃ kurvīta brāhmaṇaḥ*. Compare also Mahāvākya Up. 8 *naiṣā samādhiḥ, naiṣā yogasiddhiḥ* ... *brahmaikyam tat, ādityavarṇam tamasaś tu pāre, sarvāṇi rūpāṇi vicitya dhīraḥ*; Varāha Up. 2, 30 *brahmavijñānasampannaḥ pratītam akhilaṃ jagat paśyann api sadā naiva paśyati svātmanaḥ prthak || matsvarūpaparijñānāt karmabhir na sa badhyate || yaḥ śarīrendriyādibhyo vihinam sarvasākṣiṇam | paramārthaikavijñānam sukhātmānam svayaṃprabham || svasvarūpatayā sarvaṃ veda svānubhavana yaḥ | sa dhīraḥ sa tu vijñeyaḥ so 'haṃ tat tvam ṛbho* (vocative) *bhava*; ibid. 4, 33 *śivo guruḥ śivo vedaḥ śivo devaḥ śivaḥ prabhuḥ | śivo 'smy ahaṃ śivaḥ sarvaṃ śivād anyan na kiṃcana || tam eva dhīro vijñāya prajñāṃ kurvīta brāhmaṇaḥ | nānudyāyād bahūñ chabdan vāco viglāpanam hi tat*; similarly, Śātyāyanīya Up. 23; ibid. 28 *tyaktvā sarvāśramān dhīro vāsen mokṣāśrame ciraṃ | mokṣāśramāt paribhraṣṭo na gatis tasya vidyate*.

Annappūrṇa Up. 5, 24 is of some special interest because of the combination with *dhī-*. In an attempt to give an idea of the nature of brahman it reads, inter alia: *brahma cid brahma bhuvanaṃ brahma bhūtaparamparā | brahmāhaṃ brahma cic chatrur brahma cin mitrabāndhavāḥ || brahmaiva sarvaṃ ity eva bhāvite brahma vai pumān | sarvatrāvasthitam śāntam cid brahmety anubhūyate || ... evaṃ pūrṇadhiyo dhīrāḥ* (the wise with accomplished or complete “vision”) *samā nīragacetasaḥ | na nandanti na nindanti jīvitaṃ maraṇaṃ tathā*.

That verbs of “seeing” applied to the visionary insight into the great mysteries of world and life were usual in connection with *dhīra-* may for instance be illustrated by Brahma Up. 3, 8 *eko vaśī sarvabhūtāntarātmaikaṃ rūpaṃ bahudhā yaḥ karoti | tam ātmasthaṃ ye 'nupaśyanti dhīrās teṣāṃ sukhaṃ śāśvataṃ netareṣāṃ*; Atharvaś. Up. 5, 17 “the man who constantly meditates on the fourth half-syllable²² which is of the nature of all the divinities, unmanifested, like crystal, attains to the place of perfect health (*padam anāmayam*) ... The sages (*munayaḥ*) praise it without words, because it cannot be caught. It is the way to the Highest Goal (*paramaparam parāyaṇam ca*). Being as small as the end of a hair he is in the midst of the heart (*hrdayasya madhye*), the omnipresent god who is golden and desirable; the wise who see him as abiding in their selves (the same formula as Brahma Up. 3, 8), for those there is peace (*śāntiḥ*), not for the others”.

²² The other syllables of the metre which consists of three syllables and a half have Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Īśāna (Śiva) as gods.

The context is almost always similar: Rudrahṛdaya Up. 32 *yat tad adreśyam agrāhyam agotraṃ rūpavarjitam | acakṣuḥśrotram atyarthaṃ tad apānīpadaṃ tathā || nityaṃ vibhuṃ sarvagataṃ sasūkṣmaṃ ca tad avyayam | tad bhūtayoniṃ paśyanti dhīrā ātmānam ātmani*.

This word is also used to indicate the wise man who is a distinguished teacher and explainer of the truth and insight which he has gained himself: Īśa Up. 10; 13 “thus have we heard from those wise (*dhīrāṇām*) who have explained that to us”.

The term occurs also in connection with worshippers: Gopālapūrvat. Up. 19 and 20 *eko vaśī sarvagaḥ kṛṣṇa īḍya eko 'pi san bahudhā yo vibhāti | tam pīṭhaṃ ye 'nubhajanti dhīrās teṣāṃ siddhiḥ śāśvatī netareṣāṃ || nityo nityānām cetanaś cetanānām eko bahūnām yo vidadhāti kāmān | tam pīṭhagaṃ ye 'nubhajanti dhīrāḥ* etc. We should however realize that the process expressed by the root *bhaj-*, which is usually interpreted as meaning “to worship with loving devotion”, also expresses a sort of spiritual contact and even the sensation of oneness of god and devotee.

Similarly with those who in *religiosis* follow others: Varāha Up. 4, 34 *śuko mukto vāmadevo 'pi muktas tābhyāṃ vinā muktibhājo na santi | śukamārgaṃ ye 'nusranti dhīrāḥ sadyo muktās te bhavantiha loke*. Here again the *dhīraḥ* is next to emancipated from worldly existence.

Among the epithets qualifying Rāma as the supreme Being the Rāmopūrvat. Up. 4, 7 enumerates the following: *prakṛtyā sahitaḥ śyāmaḥ pītavāsā jaṭādharāḥ | vibhujāḥ kuṇḍalī ratnamālī dhīro dhanurdharāḥ*.

The Śiva Saṃhitā provides us, in a way, with a definition of the term *dhīra-* when applied to the adept of Yoga (5, 23) – or rather, with an enumeration of the qualities required of a successful yogin –: “he is of stable intellect (*buddhiḥ*), capable of laya yoga,²³ independent, heroic, of noble disposition, merciful, forbearing, truthful, brave, full-grown, faithful, worshipper of the lotus-like feet of his teacher, intent on the practice of yoga”. Such an adept may be considered qualified to be initiated in Haṭha yoga.

It is not surprising to find the word also in the more vague and general sense of “the wise”: Mahā Up. 5, 87 *vāsanātantubaddho 'yaṃ loko viparivartate ... || dhīro 'py atibahujño 'pi kulajo 'pi mahān api | tṛṣṇayā badhyate jantuḥ siṃhaḥ śṛṅghalayā yathā*.

It will be no part of our task to study the epic and classic occurrences

²³ “Re-integration by mergence”, the process by which the nature-emerge is awakened and made to rise through the six centres of the body to the top of the head where it merges into the Supreme Person; see e.g. Daniélou, *o.c.*, p. 91 ff.

of the adjective. However, the remark may be made that sometimes the interpretation “steadfast” might be replaced by “wise” or “sage”. “As the soul passes in this body”, the Bhagavadgītā teaches (2, 13), “through childhood, youth and age, even so is its taking on of another body. The sage (*dhīraḥ*) is not perplexed by this”.²⁴ Cf. also Mbh. 5, 33, 106 *kāle ca yo vikramate sa dhīraḥ* “who shows valour in time is wise”; 12, 185, 16 *eṣa mārgo ’tha yogānām yena gacchanti tatpadaṃ | jitaḥ samā dhīraḥ*.

Finally, the Amarakośa may be quoted: *mokṣe dhīr jñānam, anyatra vijñānam śilpaśāstrayoh*.

²⁴ W. D. P. Hill, *The Bhagavadgītā* (Oxford, 1928), p. 114 preferred “steadfast”.

X

THE IRANIAN COGNATES

Our investigation must now inquire into those Avestan words which are, or may be regarded as, relatives. Nyberg¹ at the time rightly argued that the distinction made by Bartholomae² between 1. *daēnā*- “religion” and 2. *daēnā*- “inneres Wesen, geistiges Ich, Individualität” is untenable: “Diese ganze Zweiteilung ist falsch ... Sie führt in die Untersuchung Begriffe ein, die der altiranischen Anschauung gänzlich fremd sind”.³ He also saw that *daēnā*, which he⁴ connected with *dāy*- “to see”, “zunächst ‘schauen’ bedeutet”. “Es handelt sich indes nicht um das gewöhnliche Schauen. Das Wort bedeutet ausschliesslich das ‘religiöse Schauen’ und das Organ, durch das der Mensch das Göttliche erlebt, also einen ‘Schausinn’, ein ‘inneres Auge’ ... Dieses ‘Schauen’ ist ein grundlegender Begriff der gathischen Religion. Überhaupt wird auf dem Wege des Schauens die Verbindung mit dem Göttlichen erreicht und werden seine Natur und Absichten offenbart.” In later Zoroastrianism *daēnā* is for practical purposes translatable by “religion”, i.e. both Religion in general and the individual belief each man holds. It would be interesting if it could be proved beyond doubt that this “sense” was only an evolution of a more ‘original’ “faculty of receiving and assimilating visions” or something to that effect.⁵

Those scholars who after Nyberg made an attempt at translating the Gāthās did not however adopt his views. Whereas Duchesne-Guillemin⁶ generally renders the word under discussion by “conscience” (but 51, 17 *daēnayāi vaṇhuyāi* “à la bonne religion”), Humbach,⁷ though preferring “Gesinnung”, sometimes substitutes “Sinn, fromme Gesinnung” and once (51, 13) “Schauseele”. Yet, it must be conceded to Nyberg that, e.g.

¹ H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 114.

² Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg, 1904), 662 ff.

³ For an intermediate point of view see H. Lommel, *Die Yāst’s des Avesta* (Göttingen-Leipzig, 1927), p. 102 f.

⁴ Following Geldner, who did not convince Bartholomae.

⁵ For the suffix compare e.g. GAv., YAv. *sāsnā*- “teaching, doctrine; command, order”. For *daēnā*- in general: A. Pagliaro, in *Studia Indol. Intern.*, 1, p. 1 ff.

⁶ J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroastre* (Paris, 1948).

⁷ H. Humbach, *Die Gathas des Zarathustra* (Heidelberg, 1959).

Y. 43, 5 the idea of a visionary contact between Zarathustra and Ahura Mazda is unmistakable. “((A. M.) zeigt sich dem Meditierenden zugleich auch in seiner Zeugungstätigkeit, mit der er das irdische Leben schafft ...)”⁸; “Als heilvoll erkenne ich dich, o kundiger Lebensherr, wenn ich dich bei der Zeugung der Lebensgrundlage erschau (darəsəm)”. Commenting upon Y. 44, 11 Humbach⁹ is inclined to give *daēnā* the sense of Ved. *dhīh* “Andachtslied”. Following, as to the syntax of the stanza, Bartholomae¹⁰ and Duchesne-Guillemin¹¹ one would prefer to take *dhīh* in the sense of “vision”: *yaēibyō mazdā θwōi vašyetē daēnā* “à ceux auxquels sera annoncée la religion, ô Sage”. Y. 49, 6 *yaθā ī srāvayaēmā tām daēnām yā xšmāvatō ahurā* “how we could preach them (i.e. the plans of Ahura Mazda’s ‘resourcefulness’: *xratuš*) to the faculty of ‘vision’ of one like thee, O Ahura?” In connection with Y. 45, 8 (“I have seen it in my eye”: this must be “the mind’s eye”) Humbach¹² remarks: “Z. erfährt die Gnade, den von ihm zum Opfer geladenen A. M. persönlich erblicken zu dürfen”. It might perhaps be possible to assume the sense of “Schauen” in Y. 51, 21 dealing with the “powerful” (“incremental” if this expression might be coined) man who maintains the connections between God and Zarathustra’s community: “by (on account of) his ‘vision’ (*daēnā*) A. M. will grant truth (*ašəm*) and Power with good Thought (*vohū manahā*)”, if such is the construction of the stanza¹³; 46, 7 *tām mōi dastvām daēnayāi frāvaocā* “annonce ce mystère à ma conscience” (Duchesne, rather: “faculty of vision or special aptitude of receiving and assimilating revelations or religious truth”?): “während des Erdendaseins ... ist die Daēnā dasjenige, was die rechte Lehre aufnimmt”¹⁴; 33, 13 (“Z. bittet den Gott, ihm das wahre Glück zu zeigen und ihm seine Geheimnisse kundzutun”¹⁵): “O powerful Devotion, instruct ‘Vision’ (the faculty to receive visions) with truth!” (“die Daēnā wird von der Frommergebenheit über die Wahrheit belehrt”¹⁶); 34, 13 (“vor allem soll A. M. die Frommen unterweisen, wie der rituelle Umgang durchzuführen ist”¹⁷): “die Bahn, o Lebensherr, die du mir als die des

⁸ Humbach, *o.c.*, I, p. 110, 111.

⁹ Humbach, *o.c.*, II, p. 56 and *Münchener Stud. z. Sprachw.*, 8 (1956), p. 74 f.

¹⁰ Chr. Bartholomae, *Die Gatha’s des Avesta* (Strassburg, 1905), p. 61.

¹¹ Duchesne-Guillemin, *o.c.*, p. 207.

¹² Humbach, *o.c.*, I, p. 125.

¹³ For another interpretation see e.g. M. W. Smith, *Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas of Zarathustra*... (= *Language Diss.*, IV), (Philadelphia, 1929), p. 155.

¹⁴ Lommel, *o.c.*, p. 102.

¹⁵ Humbach, *o.c.*, I, p. 103.

¹⁶ Lommel, *l.c.*

¹⁷ Humbach, *o.c.*, I, p. 108. The *daēnā* of the *saošyants* is worth knowing!

guten Gedankens genannt hast, ..., auf der die Sinne (‘faculties of vision’?) der Kraftspender (i.e. the Saviours) mit Wahrhaftigkeit (*ašācī*) wandeln ...”; 45, 11 (the powerful¹⁸ *daēnā* of the Saviour, the House-lord shall be a friend, a brother, or a father to him who shall oppose, in thought, the *daēvas*); 51, 17. “Die Verkündigungen sollen ins Gedächtnis genommen und durch die Daēnā (faculty of perceiving truths) gewusst werden” (Y. 53, 5), “durch die Daēnā weisz man” (Y. 51, 19).¹⁹

It seems that *daēnā* may thus express also a nuance such as “special way of assimilating, or, a personal attitude with regard to religious ‘visions’, teachings, truths”: cf. Y. 48, 4 “wer sein Denken, o Weiser, (bald) besser, (bald) schlechter macht, der folgt seiner *daēnā* durch sein Handeln und durch sein Wort ... in deinem *xratuš* (see further on) wird er ... an verschiedenen Stellen vermerkt sein”.²⁰ Thus it is also the *daēnā* which will convey man to that future life which he has deserved. Hence also the conviction that it is the *daēnā* which together with their Urvan makes the evil-doers tremble at the bridge of the Separator at the last judgement (Y. 46, 11; cf. 51, 13)?

In chapter II we have seen that Vedic *dhīh* often occurs in connection with *rtam*. As appears from some of the above passages the Avestan relative of *rtā*-, *aša*-, is not always absent from sentences containing *daēnā*. Cf. also 44, 10. In combination with *manō* (Ved. *manah*) *daēnā* occurs in Y. 48, 4. The counterpart of the Vedic phrase with *yuj-* is found Y. 49, 9 *hyaē daēnā vahištē yūjān mīzdē aša yuxtā* ... “denn vor den besten Lohn spannen die Menschen ihre Gesinnungen (visions?) bei der Zusammen-spannung mit der Wahrhaftigkeit ...” (Humbach).

Of special interest are those places which exhibit *daēnā* as well as *xratu*-. The latter term (~ AInd. *kratu*-) has been variously interpreted²¹: “Wille, Absicht, Plan, Ratschluss; Geisteskraft, Einsicht, Verstand; Gedächtniskraft, Weisheit; (relig.) Wissen” (Bartholomae); “insight (Einsicht”, Gershevitch,²² following Bailey²³ who pointed out that according to the Dēnkart “vision in men derives from the possession of the *āšna*

¹⁸ For *spānta*- cf. my remarks in *Oriens*, 2, p. 202.

¹⁹ Lommel, *l.c.*

²⁰ Lommel, *l.c.* Hence, e.g. Y. 51, 13 the *daēnā* of the *dragvant*; Y. 49, 4.

²¹ For a review see E. Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, I, p. 235 ff.; see also the same in *Revue Hist. Rel.*, 113, p. 27.

²² Gershevitch (see note 30), p. 256.

²³ H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems in the Ninth-century books* (Oxford, 1943), p. 98, n. 2. The *jān* gives, in Zatspram 30, 23, the light of fire to the eyes. It is one of “the four causes of action (invisible agents) in man’s body, which are contrasted with the physical characteristics of the visible world. One of the other three is *bōd* which maintains the light.

('innate') *χratu*; this *āsna χratu* is itself the faculty of vision in the *ĵān*, whence the eye is ordered"); "Herrschaft" (Lentz²⁴); "reason" (Bailey²⁵); "wisdom" (Kent²⁶ and Henning²⁷). The semantic relation with Ved. *kratu-* which means something like "the faculty of realizing intentions by practical ingenuity, resourcefulness and inventiveness" and which may for convenience be translated by one of the two latter terms is fairly clear. The term denotes, in the OPers. inscr. DIV b 3 a combination of "will" and "ingenuity"; "wisdom" (compare the Akkad. equivalent), in the Gāthās, in all probability a fundamental quality of Ahura Mazdāh: Y. 31, 7 *hvō χraθwā dāmiš ašēm* "he, by *χ*. ('act-of-will', Smith²⁸), was the creator of justice"; 32, 4; 48, 3 *vañhəuš χraθwā manəñhō* "through the *χ*. of good thought (purpose)"; 48, 4; 49, 6; Yt. 1, 28. By this faculty Ahura Mazdāh teaches Zarathustra the best things (Y. 45, 6). Ahura Mazdāh's *χratuš* may even be more or less equivalent to a religious ordinance for his worshippers (Y. 32, 4; 49, 6). It is the same faculty which enables man to make a choice between good and evil; *duš.χratu-* is the man who decides in favour of the powers of evil. Cf. also Y. 53, 3. Thus it is, or becomes, one of those faculties which in ancient times represented an aspect of practical "wisdom" in the religious sphere (cf. Vid. 18, 6). In the beginning Ahura Mazdāh created through his wisdom material life, *daēnās* and *χratuš* since he established both deeds and doctrines so that the man who wills may give proof of his decisions (Y. 31, 11). For *χratavō*, *daēnā* and other "concepts": Y. 45, 2. For Y. 48, 4 and Y. 49, 6 see the above translation.

It is worth while also to enter into a brief discussion of the relationship which the Zoroastrians believed to exist between *daēnā* and other important "concepts". In Y. 17, 16 Aši (Award), described as Ahura Mazdāh's and Ārmaiti's (Devotion) daughter, is said to have as brothers Mithra, Sraoša (Discipline²⁹), and Rašnu ("the Judge"³⁰), and as sister the "Mazdayasnian Religion". The *daēna māzdayasniš* is also (Yt. 10, 68) the companion of Mithra paving the paths for his chariot. Mithra is (in Visp. 7, 2) accompanied by Arštāt ("Justice"³¹) together with "the

²⁴ W. Lentz, in *Abh. Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit., Mainz, Geist.*, 1954, p. 967.

²⁵ Bailey, *o.c.*, p. 85.

²⁶ R. G. Kent, *Old Persian* (New Haven Conn., 1953), p. 140, 180.

²⁷ W. Henning, "Mitteliranische Manichaica", in *Sitz. Ber. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* II (1933), p. 350.

²⁸ Smith, *o.c.*, p. 76; see also p. 53 (§ 71): "will".

²⁹ See E. Benveniste, in *Revue Hist. Rel.*, 130 (1945), II, p. 13 f.; *Journ. As.*, 1954, p. 304.

³⁰ Cf. I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 223.

³¹ Gershevitch, *o.c.*, p. 286.

Religion", Rašnu, and Pārēndi, who, corresponding to the Vedic Purandhi represents Bounty (she is a frequent companion of Aši, who is together with Mithra a bestower of fortune, riches, and noble progeny, to the house of the faithful). According to Yt. 10, 92³² Mazdāh and the Immortals invested Daēnā with the jurisdiction of living beings, considering Mithra her executive agent and "purifier".³³ In Yt. 16 and elsewhere Daēnā is associated with Čistā,³⁴ who being her *alter ego*,³⁵ may have represented, as the "well-informed" one, a genius guiding, *inter alia*, man to an understanding of the religious truths which came to him.³⁶

If some persuasion is required to make the above interpretation of *daēnā* credible, there can hardly be any doubt with regard to the meaning of the verb *dā-* (*dāy-*). It means, primarily and properly, "to see". Cf. also *daēman-* "eye(sight); glance". Yt. 10, 45 *spasō āñhāire miθrahe .../ ave aipi daiḍyantō / ave aipi hišmarəntō ...* "sit as watchers of Mithra...; they see them, they notice them..."; 17, 11 *kahrpa avavatəm sraya yaḍa diḍayatəm zaošō* "die Gestalt solcher ist von einer Schönheit, dasz es eine Lust ist für den Beschauer" (Lommel³⁷). In Yt. 17, 15 Aši, the Genius of the "Segnung", is requested to look at the person praying (*upa məm upa daiḍya*) and to turn her merciful disposition upon him (*frā məm aiwi. urvaēsayaṇuḥa marždikəm*): here "looking" obviously and naturally is a method of bringing about a contact or mutual relation between a divine power and a human being. In Y. 49, 9 the meaning may even be rendered by "to know": *nōiṭ əreš.vacā sarēm didqs drəgvātā* "nicht kennt der Ehrlichredende Schutzgemeinschaft mit dem Trughaften" (Humbach). In the very difficult stanza Y. 44, 10 *daēnəm* is the object³⁸ of the verb *daiḍyat*. If Humbach is right, the subject is "der durch dich beflügelte Schwung meiner Erkenntnis"; the question is put to Ahura Mazdāh whether this "Erkenntnis" correctly "sees" the *daēnā* ("vision"), which is the best of all that exists and that could together with Aša promote "meine Lebensgüter".

It may be useful to add some Mazdean data borrowed from later sources. In the accounts of the creation Ohrmazd is represented as being,

³² As interpreted by Gershevitch, *o.c.*, p. 119; 236.

³³ See Gershevitch, *o.c.*, p. 43.

³⁴ E. Benveniste (et L. Renou), *Vrtra et Vrdragna* (Paris, 1934), p. 56 ff.

³⁵ Gershevitch, *o.c.*, p. 166 f.

³⁶ According to Benveniste, *o.c.*, p. 62, Čistā is the goddess of the Way, "celle qui guide sur les routes terrestres ou dans les chemins de la croyance".

³⁷ H. Lommel, *Die Yäšt's des Avesta* (Göttingen-Leipzig, 1927), p. 161.

³⁸ "Inhaltsakkusativ" according to Nyberg, *o.c.*, p. 115; not a "Wortspiel", Humbach, *o.c.*, II, p. 56.

in the beginning, on high and dwelling in the Endless Light which is his space and place: he was characterized by omniscience and wisdom (or, omniscience and goodness) "which some call 'Religion' (*dēn* < *daēnā*-)". Ahriman was in the depths and dwelt in the Endless Darkness (Greater Bundahišn 1, 2-4). For the identity of, or relation between, wisdom and the concept denoted by *daēnā/dēn* some passages may be quoted: Dēnkart M. 314, 12 "the Mazdayasnian Religion is itself innate wisdom"; *ibid.* 915, 19 "the decision of the Religion is the Wisdom of Ohrmazd".³⁹ One might also compare such statements as *ibid.* 31, 10 "the good Religion which is the will of Ohrmazd"; 45, 4 "the will of the Creator cannot be known except through the Religion of the Creator": *daēnā* as a means of knowing the divine Will, with which it is identical. A very illustrative place is Dēnkart M. 873, 9 "on Ohrmazd's creating before all creation except the Amahraspands and for the assistance of the Amahraspands the righteous word of the wise Religion of omniscience, the most wide embracing and comprehensive girdle and most subtle body, the seed of seeds and source of dispensations, the lord Ahunvar together with the other words of the Good Religion".⁴⁰ The lord Ahunvar: that is the basic Zoroastrian prayer which is sometimes considered the essence of the Dēn, sometimes the Dēn itself, and co-eternal with Ohrmazd, manifestation of the Spirit of the Power of the Word.

Not unlike the Indian *dhīh*, *daēnā/dēn* is also believed to be a creative principle: in an account found in ch. III, 2 of the Greater Bundahišn Space, "Religion" (or "Wisdom"⁴¹) and Time which have always existed are explicitly called the three "Creators".⁴² They are the helpers of Ohrmazd, the first of the spiritual beings. They bear the name of *dē* (creator) "which is the spirit from which all creation proceeds". "Ohrmazd and the Space, Religion, and Time of Ohrmazd were and are and ever shall be" (Gr. Bund. 1, 2).

In a passage of the Greater Bundahišn, ch. I, § 29 an attempt is made to clarify the ideas of relation between Ohrmazd and Dēn: from material light O. created true speech, and from this the productivity of the Creator was revealed. For he fashioned forth the Endless Form from the Endless Light and he created all creation within the Endless Form ... From the Endless Form the Ahunvar came forth ... through which creation and the end of the world are revealed: this is the

³⁹ R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan* (Oxford, 1955), p. 144; cf. p. 91, 204.

⁴⁰ The translation is Zaehner's, *o.c.*, p. 215.

⁴¹ See Zaehner, *o.c.*, p. 208.

⁴² Cf. also Zaehner, *o.c.*, p. 333, 204.

Religion. For Religion was created simultaneously with the act of creation".⁴³ Ohrmazd himself is manifested through the act of creation, and his wisdom through the Dēn and the Ahunvar prayer which is its quintessence (cf. Dēnk. M. 133, 3). "The relationship between wisdom and 'religion'", Zaehner⁴⁴ argues, "is frequently referred to in the Pahlavi books and especially in the Dēnkart, but views on the exact relationship between the two seem to vary from text to text. Sometimes they are identified, sometimes a distinction is made. In one passage the identification is formal: "The word of the Mazdayasnian Religion is identical with innate wisdom (reason *χrat*): the word of innate wisdom concerning whatsoever was or is or shall be is from the Mazdayasnian Religion. For innate wisdom is identical with the Mazdayasnian Religion". ... In other passages a distinction is made: thus religion is spoken of as the seed of wisdom, or again it is of the same lineage as innate wisdom and is manifested in the matter, form, and activity of wisdom. "It is plain", the same scholar⁴⁵ concludes, "that the ideas of wisdom and the 'Religion' are so inextricably intertwined as to be virtually identical".

This 'Religion' is also reckoned among the deities which are to be invoked by Zarathustra (Vid. 19, 13): *Daēnā*, the *Aməša Spəntas*, the Infinite *Zurvān*, *Vayu*, *Vāta* (the wind) etc.

This Mazdayasnian Religion is the rule for man's will and action. The end of all that is Ohrmazd's, is benefit, even though on earth some harm should accrue to it owing to its vilification by the Adversary. Thus it appears that the Wisdom of Ohrmazd and the projection of his Will are an immutable benefit for the whole of creation.⁴⁶

Addendum. – The above chapter was written in 1960. Afterwards I took note of M. Molé, "Daēnā, le pont Činvat et l'initiation dans le Mazdéisme", *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 79 (1960), p. 155 ff., who while following Humbach in connecting *daēnā* with *dhī-* arrives at the conclusion that the former term always refers to "religion" ("religion proclamée, apprise, vécue, mise en pratique"), emphasizing however the ritual aspect ("sa mise en pratique implique notamment l'accomplissement correct du culte; c'est surtout en cela que l'on demande à être instruit", p. 170) and the *daēnā*'s conditioning "le sort posthume de l'âme". Cf. also p. 163 f. "il s'agit apparemment d'une sorte d'enseignement religieux, sans que nous soyons en état de préciser sa nature"; p. 167 "réalisée par les humains, ... la *daēnā* doit être apprise et reconnue". These views and my above interpretation do not appear to be mutually exclusive.

⁴³ Zaehner, *o.c.*, p. 316.

⁴⁴ Zaehner, *o.c.*, p. 207.

⁴⁵ Zaehner, *o.c.*, p. 208.

⁴⁶ Cf. Zaehner, *o.c.*, p. 389.

XI
LIGHT

The religious significance of light can hardly be over-estimated, first and foremost because the light of heaven is man's salvation.¹ That light is joy, life and welfare² was clear to the poets of the ancient Babylonian Šamaš hymns.³ In the city of God is, according to the Christian Apocalypse Pauli (ch. 21)⁴ a radiant light. Those who are admitted to God's presence or have transgressed the boundaries between the phenomenal world and the unseen are not rarely described as clad or wandering in light. Before appearing before God, Enoch was, in an ancient Jewish description (Slav. Hen. 22, 8 f.) anointed with luminous oil by the archangel Michael.⁵ Among the Iglulik Eskimos the candidate-shaman obtains the "illumination" which consists "en une lumière mystérieuse que le chaman sent soudainement dans son corps, à l'intérieur de sa tête, au coeur même du cerveau, un inexplicable phare, un feu lumineux, qui le rend capable de voir dans le noir, au propre aussi bien qu'au figuré..."⁶ The tree of life is in more than one source stated to be luminous.⁷ According to Ephraem Syrus this tree was the sun of the paradise, its leaves radiating light. God himself is, St. John teaches, light (N.T. 1 Ep. Jo. 1, 5) and according to the Corpus Hermeticum God, the Father, is light and life (1, 21). It is light that reveals things as they are and thus, of all sensible things and phenomena, most nearly approximates the truth. Hence phrases such as, in Psalm 43, 3 "send Thy light and Thy truth", and in Greek, Eur. I.T. 1026 τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ φῶς. In short, "light" is in many languages a more or less metaphorical expression for happiness,

¹ See e.g. G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London, 1938), p. 68.

² For the connection between light and welfare or happiness in Buddhism compare Ang. Nik. 4, 9, 85 (II, 84); Samy. Nik. 3, 3, 1 (I, 93 f.).

³ F. Jeremias, in A. Bertholet-E. Lehmann, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, begr. v. Chantepie de la Saussaye, I⁴ (Tübingen, 1925), p. 551.

⁴ Edited by C. Tischendorf, Leipsic, 1866 (p. 34 ff.).

⁵ P. Riessler, *Altjudisches Schrifttum* (Augsburg, 1928), p. 459 f.

⁶ M. Éliade, *Mythes, rêves et mystères* (Paris, 1957), p. 112.

⁷ H. Bergema, *De boom des levens in Schrift en historie*, Thes. Amsterdam V.U. 1938, p. 280, 481, n. 165.

glory, victory, deliverance, nay, for immortality (see e.g. BārUp. 1, 3, 28). It is not rarely used for that illumination of the mind which may at least temporarily lend a divine character to a human being. According to Plotinus whose philosophical system culminates in the union with God, which is true life and the highest happiness, man may reach this highest goal already in this life. Neither science nor mundane wisdom are in this respect of avail, only God's presence leads those men who by their own power attain to "vision" to the highest understanding. Then they see themselves in the radiation of the supreme light; nay, they have become divine and of the nature of light. They do not know whence this light comes and they should not inquire after its origin, because there is no place from where it appears.

In Zoroastrianism the function of 'light' is of considerable importance. Not only are the sun and the light described as the visible form of Ahura Mazdāh (Gāthā Hapt.) and is fire, the symbol of Truth and the focal point of the god's cult, identical with his Holy Spirit, not only is he, already in the Gāthās (cf. Y. 31, 7), associated with light, the substance of Ohrmazd is explicitly stated to be hot and moist, bright, sweet-smelling, and light (Gr. Bund. 181, 6), whereas that of Ahriman is "cold and dry, heavy, dark, and stinking". "Ohrmazd was on high in omniscience and goodness; for Infinite Time he was ever in the light. That light is the space and place of His; some call it the Endless Light" (Gr. Bund. 2, 12 f.).⁸ The divine personality is, in Sassanian Zoroastrianism, made up of Ohrmazd himself and his Space, Religion and Time, which together constitute the four hypostases of the one God. Space however, in an orthodox context, commonly means the Endless Light, while "Religion" is itself identical with the divine omniscience or wisdom. Mithra too, without being identical with the Sun – although the physical light of this luminary most nearly represents him in the phenomenal universe – is as a guardian of truth and order, also light.⁹ In the Gāthā of the Seven Chapters (Gāthā Hapt.) Aša, Truth or Righteousness, is no longer simply described as the opposite of Lie, as Righteousness as opposed to Unrighteousness, as Order in contradistinction to Disorder; it is a more generalized conception and, being "most fair, bounteous, immortal, made of light", is now more distinctly associated with the idea of light.¹⁰ It is interesting to add that according to Sassanian Zoroastrian-

⁸ See R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan* (Oxford, 1955), p. 312 f.; the same, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (London, 1961), p. 248.

⁹ Zaehner, *Twilight*, p. 249.

¹⁰ See also Zaehner, *Twilight*, p. 64.

ism, Ohrmazd created True Speech from the material light; from True Speech however the productiveness of the creator was revealed (Gr. Bund. 12).

It is therefore not surprising that, also in Buddhist texts, terms for "light" may accompany those for higher insight or knowledge, that they are not infrequently used metaphorically. The conscious recognition of the Clear Light induces an ecstatic condition of consciousness which, being characteristic of 'saints' and successful mystics, may be called illumination. Thus in Saṃy. Nik. 36, 23, 24 (4, 233) it reads: "... there arose in me vision, there arose in me knowledge, insight arose, wisdom arose, light arose" (*cakkhum udapādi, ñāṇam udapādi, paññā udapādi, vijjā udapādi, āloko udapādi*).

Enumerating the four sources of light, viz. the sun, the moon, fire, the light of insight, of enthusiasm (*pīti*-), of trust (*pasāda*-), and of the teaching of a Buddha the Saṃy. Nik. 1, 3, 6 (1, 14) considers the last to be the best.¹¹

According to the author of the Suttanipāta (2, 12; 349) the inspired wise ones (*dhīrā*) are bringers or producers of light (*pajjotakarā*). The first among them is, of course, the noble Gotama (5, 19; 11, 36), the fair uprising dawn of light (*suppabhātam suhuṭṭhidam*, 1, 9; 178). "Vision, light and wide wisdom" are indeed his (3, 6; 539): *jutimā mutimā pahūta-pañño*. "Gloom wraps the shrouded, darkness wraps the blind; but for the wise there is an opening, a very light for those with eyes" (*āloko passatām iva*; *ibid.* 3, 12; 763).¹² "... Such monks are called teachers, caravan-leaders, passion-scatterers, dispellers of gloom (*tamonudā*), bringers of light (*ālokarā*), bringers of lustre (*obhāsakarā*) and radiance (*pajjotakarā*), torch-bearers, enlighteners (*pabhaṅkarā*), such are called Ariyans, such are called seers" (Itivuttaka 4, 5; 108).

Extolling the Buddha in Saṃy. Nik. 8, 8 (I, 193) Vaṅṭṭisa says *inter alia* that the Exalted One is the conqueror of Māra and the deliverer of all bondage, that he is a light-bringer (*pajjotakaro*) who has pierced beyond, who knowing and realizing himself the topmost height shows his adepts that vantage-point of sight. In the same work 10, 7 (I, 210) it reads similarly: "to gods and men all in a muddled maze this is the giver of the light (*pabhaṅkaro*)".

With regard to the difficult word *obhāsa* in Pāli texts (Skt. *avabhāsa*)

¹¹ These lines recur 2, 1, 4.

¹² The translation is E. M. Hare's (*Woven cadences of early Buddhists*, London, 1947, p. 111).

Miss Horner¹³ observed that the translation "aura" can hardly be accepted as right. "Effulgence of light" or the simple "light" will not do either. The idea expressed by the word is connected with the appearance of light produced in meditation by which objects can be seen by the non-physical *deva*-vision operating as it does super- or extra-sensibly, whereas *dassana* is, also in meditation, used of objects otherwise perceptible by the senses. As a rule *dassana* and *obhāsa* "light-radiation or light-manifestation" do not occur simultaneously. – If drowsiness has overpowered a man he should, the Aṅg. Nik. 7, 6, 58 (IV, 84) teaches, take no heed of it; if it does not pass he should ponder in his heart on dhamma etc.; if it still does not pass he should apply his mind to the thought of light and thus with mind unhindered and unhampered make his thought become radiant. – The monk who resorts to some secluded spot should put away all hankering, hatred and ill-will, sloth and torpor, cleanse his mind, be kind and compassionate to all creatures; he should be conscious of light, mindful and self-possessed (Aṅg. Nik. 5, 8, 75; III, 93).

Passing mention may also be made of a well-known feature of Buddha's "glorious body", viz. the rays of light which incessantly emanate from the Buddha's body so as to illuminate a vast space. According to common Indian tradition, a kind of fiery energy radiates from the bodies of great men. It is increased by the habit of meditation and in Buddha's case it is often represented by flames emanating from a halo round his figure.¹⁴ In the tenth or highest stage of his career a bodhisattva, attaining all forms of concentration, sits on a vast lotus which has now appeared, in the concentration known as the knowledge of the omniscient. Rays of light issue appeasing the pains of all creatures.¹⁵

In samādhi, the culmination of dhyāna, the "presence of God" is, indeed, realized. Only when the sphere of sensation, emotion and speech-thought is consciously transcended, man enters the realm of the Immortal, of the really Existent, where the "Light of Lights" is "seen", Brahman is "known", bliss "enjoyed" and "the peace of God which passeth all understanding" "experienced". The idea is that the man who concentrates his mind in profound meditation or intense contemplation so as to identify himself with the object meditated upon enters upon the ineffable joy of seeing an endless, pure and immortal

¹³ I. B. Horner, *The collection of the middle length sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya)*, III (London, 1959), p. XXI f. and 202, n. 1.

¹⁴ See e.g. E. Conze, *Buddhism* (Oxford, 1960), p. 38.

¹⁵ E. J. Thomas, *The history of Buddhist thought* (London, 1933 [1951]), p. 209.

light. Man begins in the darkness of ignorance, the unawakened consciousness, and slowly grows into the light of God-realization. When one has realized brahman and has entered the ocean of nirvāṇa one becomes a river of life. "Each Great Teacher flings open the doors of immortality, having himself known the Deathless; and each, an Exemplar, is himself the Way, the Truth and the Life. Compare also John XIV, 6. After he is enthroned in the realm of light, he too will utter the Word, in his unique way, singing his own new song and not merely churning the words of other Exemplars".¹⁶ He has gained access to the eternal source of "light" which will henceforth illumine his mind. "Brahman, once superconsciously realized, remains as the permanent background and fount of inspiration of the Perfect One for the rest of his days. The light of God shines perpetually on him and through him".¹⁷ Brahman is, indeed, according to MuUp. 2, 2, 10 pure without stain and the light of lights (*jyotiṣāṃ jyotiḥ*); "the formless brahman is real; it is light" (MaiUp. 6, 3; cf. also 6, 17).

The same identification was used to explain the character of the *puruṣa*-, "Man" or the Person as soul and original source of the universe and the personal and animating principle in men. ŚvUp. 3, 12 "the *puruṣa* is a great lord (*prabhuḥ*), the instigator of existence; he has the power of reaching the purest attainment (viz. one of the Yogic acquirements, the ability to increase oneself); he is light (*jyotiḥ*), imperishable". He is of the colour of the sun, beyond darkness (st. 8). In BārUp. 4, 3 it is explained that the light (*jyotiḥ*) which a living being has here is the sun; when the sun has set, he has the moon; when this luminary has also set, he has fire; when the fire has gone out, speech (*vāk*)—"speech, indeed, is his light for with speech, indeed, as the light, one sits, moves about, does one's work and returns"—when speech has stopped, the self is his light (*ātmaivāsyā jyotiḥ bhavati*).¹⁸ It may be remembered that in the same work (1, 5, 12) heaven is considered to be the body of "mind" and the sun its "light-form" (*athaitasya manaso dyauḥ śarīraṃ jyotīrūpam asāv ādityaḥ*).¹⁹ — ChUp. 3, 13, 7 "the light which shines above this heaven ... that is the same as which is here within the person". In Brahmasūtras 1, 1, 24 ff. this light is established to be no physical light, but brahman.

¹⁶ P. D. Mehta, *Early Indian religious thought* (London, 1956), p. 315.

¹⁷ Mehta, *o.c.*, p. 337.

¹⁸ See also J. M. van Gelder, *Der Ātman in der Grossen-Wald-Geheimlehre* ('s-Gravenhage, 1957), p. 88.

¹⁹ Miss van Gelder, *o.c.*, p. 132: "Ein Anfang von Bewusstsein entsteht und wird durch Lichtsymbole dargestellt."

Compare also ChUp. 8, 3, 4; 12, 3. The wise see by spiritual insight the ineffable light and glory of reality which is beyond all phenomenal light (cf. KaUp. 5, 15). BhG. 13, 17 "that, the light of all lights, is said to be beyond darkness; knowledge (*jñānam*), the object of knowledge, to be reached by wisdom; it is seated in the hearts of all". Here also the conviction is expressed that the light dwells in the heart of every being. The eternal Lord who abides in one's self is according to KaUp. 4, 13 "like a light without smoke". Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, the pervader of the world, whose form is the universe, the eternal lord of all, is also called the lord of the heart and its light.²⁰

The idea that brahman "which gives light to the entire world" may in a metaphorical way be considered the universal light, or be called "light", was also upheld by the philosophers of the Vedānta.²¹ Brahman, the light of lights (BārU. 4, 4, 16). Śaṅkara, holding that there is only one reality of the Absolute and the universal consciousness which alone exists without any duality or distinction, taught that this absolute consciousness can be immediately intuited because it is self-luminous (*brahmānubhāvaḥ*). It is, in later times, for instance also the opinion of the great Visnuite philosopher Rāmānuja (± 1100) that the Upanishads without excluding other qualities teach that Brahman is immaculate light,²² pure clearness. The Highest Principle is a light of lights illuminating all phenomenal light (Śrī Bhāṣya 1, 1, 2; BhagBh. 9, 4 ff.; 16 f.). Knowledge, equated with *jyotiḥ* "light", the light of the ātman, illuminates even luminaries (BhagBh. 13, 17). Just as luminous objects spread their light everywhere the spiritual light of the knowing soul which is a part of brahman and abides in the heart of men diffuses itself in all parts of the physical personality. The ātman is like a lamp shining unflickeringly because it is sheltered; it shines with motionless knowledge because all the other activities of the mind have ceased (*ibid.*, 6, 19).

From the above instances, which could be multiplied, it may appear, first, that the use of terms for light (esp. *jyotiḥ*) in a religiously metaphorical sense was also in India far from rare, and in the second place that the Highest Principle, whatever its designation, was frequently defined as that by contact with which man becomes illuminated.

The authors of the Ṛgveda, attributing inspiration to those divinities

²⁰ See e.g. J. F. Edwards, *The Poet Saints of Maharashtra*, n° 10. *Stories of Indian Saints*, II (Poona, 1934), p. 100.

²¹ See e.g. S. Radhakrishnan, *The Brahma Sūtra* (London, 1960), p. 264 f., 297, 317, 459. Cf. also expressions such as *caitanyaṭmaja-jyotiḥ* (Śaṅkara, BārU. 4, 4, 19).

²² A. Hohenberger, *Rāmānuja* (Bonn, 1960), p. 30, 54, 68.

that have the brilliancy of light – 7, 62, 3 *yachantu candrā upamaṃ no arkam* –, were likewise well acquainted with this metaphorical use of *jyotiḥ* and other expressions belonging to the same semantic field. Cf. e.g. 8, 48, 3 *apāma somam amṛtā abhūmāganma jyotir avidāma devān* “we have drunk soma, we have become immortal, we have come to the light, we have found the gods”. It is worth emphasizing that the belief in a light which, being suprahuman in origin and penetrating into the heart of the inspired poets, illumined their mind, was the complement of the conviction that these poets owe their praeternormal knowledge and their religious and poetical inspiration to “visions”, that they “saw” the truth about the deeds and the power of the gods which they formulated in their hymns.

These authors, indeed, not rarely alluded to an internal light which is in the heart of the poet or to which he gains access in his heart. In 3, 26, 8 it reads: *hrdā matiṃ jyotir anu prajānan* “im Herzen den Weg zu dem Gedanken, zum Licht findend” (Geldner), that is the “light” of inspired thought and vision or supranormal insight.

This light is brought into connection with the sacral word of the inspired poet. The expression “bearing light in the mouth” (*bibhrato jyotir āsā*) is in 10, 67, 10 applied to the poets who magnify Bṛhaspati: “das Licht der Erleuchtung, in Form der gottbegeisterten Rede” (Geldner). Compare also 3, 10, 5 *pra hotre pūrvyaṃ vaco 'gnaye bharatā brhat / vipāṃ jyotīṃsi bibhrate na vedhase* “offer the hotar the old firm word, to Agni who like a disposer (? , dispenser?) brings the lights of the ‘tremblings’ of inspiration”. Agni, the god of light and inspiration, provides the poet with the light which enables him to receive visions or, rather, which is the visions. Another interesting place is 2, 23, 15 *brhaspate ati yad aryo arhād dyumad vibhāti kratumaj janeṣu / yad dīdayac chavasa ṛtaprajāta tad asmāsu draviṇaṃ dhehi citram* “O Bṛhaspati, put us in possession of the bright substance which excels in worth that of the outsider; which procures brilliant light, and is resourceful among men, which shines powerfully, O thou that art born of the ṛta (i.e. son or manifestation of the universal law which is at the same time truth)”, “the bright substance” being no doubt “der Schatz der Wahrheit, der den Sänger berühmt macht” (Geldner).

In R.V. 6, 9 Agni Vaiśvānara is glorified as light; not only as the physical light in the universe, but also as the internal light which illuminates seers and poets: st. 4 *idaṃ jyotir amṛtam martyeṣu* “he is the immortal light among the mortal beings”. Agni is the light, st. 5 continues, which has been given its regular place in order to enable man to see

(*dhruvaṃ jyotir nihitaṃ dṛśaye kam*); these words are explained more fully: “(he is) *manaḥ* (the psychical and intellectual faculties) which is the swiftest among all flying beings”. When the insight comes to the poet he exclaims (st. 6) that his eye opens, “this light (*jyotiḥ*) that is placed in his heart (rises)”.

That in 9, 9, 8 Soma is requested “to make the paths straight or ready for every new ‘hymn’ and to cause the light to shine as of old” (*nū navyase navīyase sūktāya sādhyā pathaḥ / pratnavad rocayā rucaḥ*) is not surprising, because he also is a god of inspiration.

Elsewhere however this internal light is explicitly stated to glow spontaneously: 8, 6, 8, where the term *dhītiḥ* is used also, it reads: *guhā satir upa tmanā pra yac chocanta dhītayaḥ / kaṇvā ṛtasya dhārayā* “when the visions which are concealed glow spontaneously, the Kaṇvas (begin to glow) by the stream of ṛta”: “ein weiteres dichterisches Bild für das Kultlied, für die sakrale Strom der Wahrheit”.²³ In 10, 177, 1 the source or origin of this light is however left unmentioned: *marīcīnām padam ichanti vedhasaḥ* “die Meister suchen die Spur der Lichtstrahlen”. It is worth noticing that in st. 2 of the same sūkta the inspired sages are said to guard or watch the bright, “sonnenhafte”²⁴ inspiration at the place of ṛta (*tām dyotamānām svaryam manīṣām ṛtasya pade kavayo ni pānti*). Sāyaṇa’s interpretation: *svaryam*: *svargam ayitrīm svargāya hitāṃ vā* “going or leading to the sun or suitable for the sun” is to be rejected.

The term “light” is for instance also used in order to make the spiritual, priestly and poetical greatness of the celebrated family of the Vasiṣṭhas intelligible: 7, 33, 8 *sūryasyeva vakṣatho jyotir eṣāṃ samudrasyeva mahimā gabhīraḥ* “their light is like the growth of the sun, (their) greatness deep like that of the ocean”. The daughter of the sun, whom we would call the genius of inspired religious poetry was, as Sasarpārī, given to the famous ṛṣi Viśvāmitra (3, 53, 15). In 9, 72, 3 “the dear sound of the Sun’s daughter” is the song or recitation of the priests. The poet of 8, 6, 10 expresses himself unequivocally: “for I received from my father the mental power of truth; I was (re)born like the sun.” The above daughter of the great luminary is (in 9, 1, 6) quite consistently credited with the very important process of the clarification of Soma.

In addition to the above some other passages evincing the belief in the internal light may be referred to here: AV. 10, 2, 31 (= TĀ. 1, 27, 2 f.), explaining the wonderful structure of man states that in “that impregnable stronghold of the gods there is a golden vessel (case:

²³ Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 473.

²⁴ Thus, tentatively, Geldner.

koṣaḥ) which goes to heaven and is covered with light". VS. 34, 3 "the wisdom (*prajñānam*), intellect (*cetaḥ*), and firmness (*dhṛtiḥ*), immortal light (*jyotiḥ*) which creatures have within them, without which men do no single action, that, my mind (*manah*), must be moved by right intention".

In explaining VājS. 13, 22 and 23 "O Agni, help us to light and to people with those lights of thine in the sun that overspread the sky by their beams; O ye gods, bestow light upon us with the lights that are in kine and horses..." the author of ŚatBr. 7, 4, 2, 21 observes that the poet each time prays for "light", that is for "immortality". A similar passage occurs in 9, 4, 2, 13.

This internal light of intuitive or inspired insight or knowledge is also called *ketu-*. In connection with RV. 1, 24, 7 in which Varuṇa is stated to hold the top of the world tree Geldner observes: "die Luftwurzeln, die sich von dem Himmelsbaum herabsenken, sind die Lichtstrahlen, die für den Mensch das Lebenslicht bedeuten": *asme antar nihitāḥ ketavaḥ syuḥ* "the rays may be fixed in us". The words *ni ketavo janānām* (viz. *asadan*) "the lights of men have subsided" in 1, 191, 4 may also admit of this interpretation (*prāṇinām prajñānāni*, Sāyaṇa; *tathā suṣupsūnām janānām prajñānāni coparamanti*, Mādhava). Cf. 5, 66, 4. Describing the wonderful structure of man the author of AV. 10, 2, 12 asks himself who set form, bulk, name, the faculty of moving (*gātu-*), "light" (*ketu-*, "display", Whitney-Lanman) and behaviour in the human being; here also "light" will refer to the faculty of intelligence, vision and insight, in short to his mental faculties.

The relation between supranormal insight and knowledge and sight or light may also be illustrated by the belief that the sun – the father of the gift of visionary speech and recitation (RV. 3, 53, 15) – is the organ of sight of the gods (7, 76, 1; 77, 3; 98, 6). Hence also the conviction that not only the gods themselves (1, 89, 7; 7, 66, 10) but all divine beings are *sūracakṣuḥ* "sun-eyed" (1, 16, 1; the Ṛbhus in 1, 110, 4). The Indians were not alone in this belief. Among the Greeks, as among the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians the sun was an eye, the eye of heaven, of a god, or of the universe, which nothing escapes and no one can deceive.²⁵

The term "light" (*jyotiḥ*) is further used for "victory": RV. 8, 16, 10 *kartāraṃ jyotiḥ samatsu*; for "welfare": 1, 86, 10 *gūhatā guhyam tamo ... / jyotiḥ kartā yad uśmasi*; 1, 117, 21 (cf. 1, 182, 3); for "welfare, well-

²⁵ For references see R. Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing God* (London, 1956), p. 161.

being (as opposed to the darkness of hunger and distress)" (VS. 12, 73). Soma is (RV. 9, 94, 5) implored to "make a broad light" (cf. 9, 35, 1 and VS. 6, 33), and to win sun and light and all forms of happiness (RV. 9, 4, 2), and Aditi's sons are (10, 185, 3) said to grant the mortal being their eternal light that he may live. Hence also 6, 47, 8 *urum no lokam anu neṣi vidvān svarvaj jyotir abhayaṃ svasti* (Indra is addressed), etc. In a commentary on KauśS. 55, 15 the stanza AV. 7, 53, 7 "we have gone out of darkness, ascending the highest firmament, to the sun, god among the gods, highest light" was to be used in the ceremony of initiation of a Vedic student. Those who have gone to heaven have united with the sun's light (AV. 16, 9, 3). Heaven-like indeed is light (VS. 18, 50). Amulets which are to counteract witchcraft and evil influences are addressed as bright and shining, as the bright sky and as light (*jyotiḥ*); see AV. 2, 11, 5. In AV. 8, 3, 21 Agni is requested to place in the reciter (*rebhe*) the eye with which he sees the sorcerers and to scorch down with the light of the gods (*jyotiṣā daivyena*) the fool who injures truth-and-order. For the connection between light and life see e.g. RV. 10, 185, 3 (see above); 7, 32, 26; AV. 8, 1, 8; 2, 2; 18; 3, 67; VS. 14, 17; BārUp. 4, 4, 16; PrUp. 2, 9.²⁶

²⁶ For the significance of light in Indian religions see e.g. also S. K. Belvalkar and R. D. Ranade, *History of Indian Philosophy*, VII (Poona, 1933), p. 118, quoting the Jñāneśvarī, 8, 87 ff.: "Light is one of the chief forms in which God reveals himself"; S. C. Nandimath, *A Handbook of Viśiṣṭaivism* (Dharwar, 1942), p. 108; Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, II (Stuttgart, 1963), Ch. IV, 7 (according to the Viśiṣṭaivas the Highest can be experienced as an inaccessible light); G. Tucci, *The theory and practice of the maṇḍala* (London, 1961), p. 5: "The Absolute Consciousness, matrix of all that becomes, this Conscious Being, the premise of all thought, was very often imagined as light"; P. Hacker, in *Die Welt des Orients*, 1948, p. 243 f.; H. von Glasenapp, *Madhva's Philosophie* (Bonn, 1923), p. 97.

XII
SOME NOTES ON THE FUNCTION OF THE "HEART"

In order to deepen our insight into the technique of receiving visions it is worth while to collect those R̥gvedic passages in which the heart fulfils an important function in the transmission and conversion of the "visions". It is in perfect harmony with speech habits of archaic communities that emotions, sensations, experiences are in many cases not described as affecting a person in general, but that part or component of his physico-psychic personality which is for some reason or other considered their seat, bearer, or source. Such expressions as 1, 43, 1 "what are we to say to Rudra, what is most pleasant to his heart" (cf. also 1, 73, 10; 4, 37, 2 etc.) are therefore no curiosities. The compositions of the poets must be pleasant to the heart of a god or win his heart: 5, 11, 5.

The heart is the organ with which one is able to see what is denied to the physical eye. Thus 10, 123, 6 Soma is addressed as follows: "when they, looking eagerly with their heart (*hṛdā venantaḥ*), saw thee flying up as a bird to the firmament...". Compare also 10, 64, 2 stating that the same organ is the place where the *kratavaḥ* are produced and made effective; 10, 129, 4 where the sages by reflecting in their heart found the close connection between "being" and "non-being", i.e. found the answer to a difficult problem of *weltanschauliches* import. The heart is quite intelligibly and consistently also the place from where the expectations are formulated, which, in a way, are equivalent to the opinions of those who know: 1, 24, 12.¹ It is the same organ with which people are, in AV. 9, 1, 1, said to meet the honey-whip of the Aśvins. The gods on their part "know the mortal man in his heart": 8, 18, 15 *devā hṛtsu jānītha martyam*; although this expression is immediately clear to us, it seems to show that the heart of men was also considered the place where the gods enter into communication with human beings, reading his thought and learning his intentions. Hence also the statement (5, 85, 2) that Varuṇa who placed the generative force *vāja* in the steeds and the milk in the cows, laid the faculty called *kratu-* in the heart of men.

The heart is the organ by means of which one comes into touch with

¹ See also Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 629.

the gods²: RV. 5, 4, 10 *yas tvā hṛdā kīriṇā manyamāno 'martyam martyo jōhavīmi...* "when I, a mortal, remembering thee with the mere³ heart, invoke thee who art an immortal..."; 10, 177, 1 *patamgam aktam asurasya māyayā hṛdā paśyanti manasā vipaścitaḥ* "the inspired ones see the bird which is anointed with the *māyā* of the asura by their heart, their *manas* (the seat of thought, feeling, will)": the bird is the inner light of the visionary illumination and perception. Compare also 8, 20, 18. In 6, 9, 6 "ist dem Dichter die Erkenntnis aufgegangen und findet sein Denken den Weg in die Ferne. Im Geiste erschaut er, wie die Götter... Agni huldigten"⁴: *vicakṣur* (viz. *patati*) *vidam jyotir* (viz. *patati*) *hṛdaya āhitaṃ yat* "my eye is opened, this light dawns (upon me) that is placed in (my) heart". It is the heart which enables a human being to penetrate into deep secrets and mysteries. In 7, 33, 9 ("vermöge ihrer höheren Einsicht haben die Vasiṣṭha's ihre Abstammung erschaut...")⁵: *ta in niṇyaṃ hṛdayasya praketaiḥ...* *abhi sam caranti* "they penetrate into the mystery by the perceptions of their heart".

A very illustrative passage occurs in 1, 105; st. 15 *brahmā kṛṇoti varuṇo gātuvidam tam īmahe | vy ūrṇoti hṛdā matim navyo jāyatām rtam*. Lüders⁶ is no doubt right in considering these words "die so häufige Bitte um Inspiration": "Varuṇa causes manifestations of brahma to appear in material form; we turn to him who opens the ways (to suc-

² It would be interesting to collect parallels from the history of other religions. Some quotations may suffice here. For Muslim mysticists the mystical union is in the first instance the result of God's grace: passionate longing wells up in the heart only through the light of God's love (see e.g. R. C. Zaehner, *Hindu and Muslim mysticism*, London, 1960, p. 92); "l'Union avec Dieu se fait en dehors de l'intelligence, c'est une Union du coeur et de la volonté... Ruysbroeck se laisse aller à dire que "l'homme vivant dans la perfection morale est souvent excité à voir le Christ, son Époux, et à voir ce qu'il est en lui-même" (J. H. Leuba, in *Revue philosophique*, 54, p. 477). According to Paracelsus the soul dwells in the heart which may realize the great man (see C. G. Jung, *Paracelsica*, p. 137 ff.), a belief which was for instance not foreign to the ancient Egyptians, who also considered the heart to be the place in which the divine power gained access to man: "der lenkende Gott (scheint) seinen Weg durch dieses Einfallstor sowohl bei völliger Verwirrung wie bei höchster Einsicht genommen zu haben" (S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, Stuttgart, 1960, p. 67; cf. p. 74). Interestingly enough, the ancient Egyptian doctrine of God's creating the world by his word also included the detail that this creative word "was thought by the heart and ordered by the tongue", i.e. "von der Gottheit im Sitz ihres Lebens und Denkens geprägt und dann als Ausspruch verlautbart worden (ist)" (*ibid.*, p. 173).

³ For *kīri-* (or "inadequate") see Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 39; Renou, *Ér. véd. et pāṇ.*, I, p. 2, n. 1.

⁴ Cf. Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 101.

⁵ Cf. Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 211.

⁶ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 423 f.

cess)⁷; he opens, in the heart, the "thought"; a new manifestation of ṛta must appear".

It is in, or by, the heart that the visions are fashioned into words: 1, 67, 4 *hrdā yat taṣṭān mantrām aśaṃsan* "when they pronounced the sacred texts which were fashioned by the heart". Hence also the thought expressed 1, 60, 3 "to him (Agni) the new hymn of praise may come, which comes into existence from the heart, from us..."; 3, 39, 1 *indram matir hṛda ā vacyamānāchā patiṃ stomataṣṭā jigāti* "the (poetical) thought fashioned into a hymn goes from the heart to Indra..."; 2, 35, 2 *imaṃ sv asmai hṛda ā sutaṣṭam mantram vocema*. These words are, by way of offering, presented to the gods: 6, 16, 47 *ā te agna ṛcā havir hṛdā taṣṭam bharāmasi*; cf. also 8, 76, 8; 10, 91, 14 *hrdā matiṃ janaye cārum agnaye*. In 10, 71, 8 the impulses of the mind are said to have been fashioned with the heart (*hrdā taṣṭeṣu manaso javeṣu*). Cf. 10, 119, 5. The heart is in producing sacred words assisted by the *manaḥ* "the organ of thinking, willing, feeling"⁸: 1, 171, 2 *stoma... hṛdā taṣṭo manasā* "the eulogium fashioned with 'heart' and 'mind' ". There would be no use in examining the co-operation of these two organs (see e.g. ŚatBr. 8, 5, 4, 3) in other respects. In 1, 61, 2 it even reads: *indrāya hṛdā manasā manīṣā... dhiyo marjayanta* "they polish their 'visions' for Indra with heart, 'mind' and 'reflection' ".⁹ The 'co-operation' between the two organs is also apparent from 8, 100, 5 where the *manaḥ* is said to have answered the heart.

The process which the visions undergo in the heart is in the Rgveda explicitly described as a purification or clarification: 4, 58, 6 ("der Redestrom als Ghṛta gedacht", Geldner) *samyak sravanti sarito na dhenā antar hṛdā manasā pūyamānāḥ* "like streams (probably, of ghṛta) the words of religious inspiration flow, in the interior, together, clarified by heart and *manaḥ*". For the comparison see also 1, 190, 7; 9, 95, 3; 10, 89, 4. A similar idea is expressed 7, 85, 1 the poet of which states that he clarifies, on behalf of Indra and Varuṇa, and whilst offering soma to them, a manifestation of poetical inspiration (*punīṣe vām... manīṣām*). "Es liegt das Bild des geklärten Ghṛta (cf. also 3, 2, 1; 8, 12, 14) und des Soma (6, 8, 1) zugrunde".¹⁰ That a process of clarification similar to, or parallel or identical with, that which takes place in connection with

⁷ Cf. *Epithets in the Rgveda*, p. 181.

⁸ For *manaḥ* "(das) mehr und mehr zum Organ gewollter Leistung des Gemüts und Geistes wird" in contradistinction to *hrd-* "heart" to which "unwillkürliche, spontane Funktionen des Seelischen" are attributed see R.N. Dandekar, *Der vedische Mensch* (Heidelberg, 1938), p. 48, 62 f.

⁹ "énumération quasi pléonastique" (Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, I, p. 3)?

¹⁰ Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 256; see also Geldner's note on 4, 58, 5 (I², p. 489).

the soma juice was believed to come about in the heart of the inspired poet is also apparent from 9, 73, 7 ff. *sahasradhāre vitate pavitra ā vācam punanti kavayo manīṣaṇaḥ* "the inspired poets clarify their words in the sieve that has been extended and discharges a thousand streams". As is well known the soma juices which are drunk by the officiants are believed to be in their "hearts": RV. 1, 91, 13; 168, 3; 179, 5 etc. Yet, the clarifier proper, or the divine power which brings about the process of clarification, is the God Soma himself, who bears, in his heart, three strainers and knowingly separates the true poet from the false. The idea is clear: the god who, as the material soma, undergoes in the course of sacrificial ceremonies, a process of clarification, and who, at the same time, is the inspirer of thoughts, is believed to be the power presiding over clarification and to bring about that process with regard to the inspired thoughts which, while being received by the "poet" in his heart, are transformed into liturgical words which in their turn are to accompany oblations of the soma juice and to make these effective. "Wenn der Dichter hier von einer dreifachen, von Soma ins Herz hineingesetzten Seihe spricht, so denkt er dabei sicherlich gleichzeitig an das eigene Herz, wo der die Lieder ja eingebende Soma zugleich als deren Seihe wirkt, indem er sie von Unwahrheit läutert und so ihren wirksamen Wahrheitsgehalt garantiert".¹¹ Soma's strainer is accordingly (st. 9) believed to be on the tip of the poet's tongue and said to contain the "warp of ṛta": *ṛtasya tantur vitataḥ pavitra ā jihvāyā agre varuṇasya māyayā*.¹²

A very important place is 3, 26, 8¹³ *tribhiḥ pavitrair apupod dhy arkaṃ hṛdā matiṃ jyotir anu prajānan | varṣiṣṭhaṃ ratnam akṛta svadhābhīr ād id dyāvāprthivī pary apaśyat* making, again, mention of "das innere Gedankensieb"¹⁴: "because he had, with three strainers, clarified the hymn of praise, tracing with (in) the heart the 'thought', the light, he has made himself, according to his own nature, the highest gem; then he beheld heaven and earth". The general tenor is clear and correctly understood

¹¹ See Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 470 ff.

¹² This stanza does not in itself point to an identification of Soma and Varuṇa (as is Lüders' opinion): the fact mentioned is considered to be due to Varuṇa's *māyā*, i.e. his inconceivable creative activity ("la force par laquelle les dieux, et spécialement Varuṇa, réalisent certaines structures efficaces", Renou, in *Journal de psychologie* 41, p. 295), by which this god performed also other marvellous achievements of great importance. Skill and ingenuity used in fashioning special contrivances may also be attributed to *māyā*: see *Four studies in the language of the Veda*, p. 135.

¹³ Cf. also Dandekar, *o.c.*, p. 61: "Die Lieder gleichen dem Soma, weil sie wie er im Innern des Dichters geläutert werden durch Herz und *manaḥ*".

¹⁴ Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 360.

by Geldner: by finding, with or in the heart, the light of higher insight and contact with the transcendent one becomes an all-seeing ṛṣi.

Elsewhere Agni's flames are the place in which the strainer is "spread out": 9, 67, 23 *yat te pavitrām arciṣy agne vitatam antar ā | brahma tena punīhi naḥ*. Agni indeed is as we have seen a great furtherer of inspiration. That in 9, 83, 1 the strainer (likewise "das innerliche Gedankensieb") is Bṛhaspati's is not surprising. Bṛhaspati is the lord of brahman, who grants the faculty of powerful speech (10, 98, 2; 7), the leader, guide and producer of the ritual songs (1, 190, 1; 2, 23, 1; 19), who is expected to further the sacrificial ceremonies (see e.g. 10, 35, 11). The occurrence of his name is only to emphasize another aspect of the complex of ideas entertained in connection with the clarification of the inspiration. In the next pāda (9, 83, 1 b) *prabhur gātrāṇi pary eṣi viśvataḥ* "powerfully thou (formally Bṛhaspati) flowest on all sides round the whole of the body" the strainer is no doubt the effect of the soma when drunk by the inspired.

Other references to this process of purification are found in 10, 71, 2, where the *dhīrāḥ*, while passing their word (*vācam*) like ground meal through the sieve, are related to have found or produced that word with "thought" (*manasā*). In 3, 1, 5 Agni is stated "to clarify his resourcefulness, by the means of clarification, through the inspired poets": *kratum punānaḥ kavibhiḥ pavitraiḥ*, the idea expressed being this: the poets by the means of clarification of which they have the disposal, i.e. the inspired, sacred, clarified and effective word assist the god in removing any impurity from his kratu. In 4, 5, 7 the wish is expressed that the *dhīti*- which is described as clarifying (*punatī*) by (means of) kratu may reach or gain Agni Vaiśvānara. RV. 3, 26, 8 has already been discussed. Cf. also 3, 8, 5.

From 1, 146, 4 *dhīrāsah padaṇi kavayo nayanti nānā hṛdā rakṣamāṇā ajuryam* we learn that the inspired seers who are characterized by *dhīḥ* watch or conceal or, what is most probable, pay heed to (cf. 10, 37, 5), the god who is not subject to decay with (in) their heart. Then the sun of men, pāda d adds, became manifest to them. This "mystical" relation of the seers and the god of inspiration combines with the mythical account of his being lost and hidden in the waters, where the wise seers find him.

An instructive place in connection with the ideas fostered with regard to the heart occurs in AV. 12, 2, 33 "the god Agni, O Fathers, who has entered into our hearts (i.e. in the hearts of the family of the man who speaks), I enclose in me".

Although not completely clear¹⁵ some stanzas of RV. 4, 58 are also of importance: the *ghṛta* of the liturgical word which the gods produce from the seer (pāda 4 d) flow from the ocean in the heart (*etā arṣanti hṛdyāt samudrāt*). Whereas this stanza leaves no doubt that the ocean is in the heart, the *samudra*- mentioned in st. 11 may be there: *dhāman te viśvam bhuvanam adhi śritam antaḥ samudre hṛdy antar āyuṣi* "auf deinem Wesen ruht die ganze Welt, auf (deinem) Leben im Ozean, im Herzen". According to st. 1 the *ghṛta* has come from the ocean, which may be the celestial ocean.¹⁶ In all probability three ideas have coalesced: the existence of a heavenly ocean which is of vital importance for the inhabitants of the earth, the heavenly origin of sacred speech, the heart as the place where inspiration is received and from which sacred speech originates. Geldner's comment on 10, 5, 1 "der Ozean als der Urquell der dichterischen Erkenntnis; aus diesem schöpft der Dichter seine Offenbarung" may therefore, generally speaking, be right: *ekah samudro dharuṇo rayiṇām asmad dhṛdo bhūrijanmā vi caṣṭe* "the one ocean,¹⁷ the bearer of riches, the producer of many, speaks from our heart". It is hardly questionable that in 10, 177, 1 heart and ocean are identical: "the inspired ones (*vipaścitaḥ*) see the bird (i.e. the light of insight and inspiration) with their heart; the inspired poets see (it) in the ocean" (*samudre antaḥ*). However, in 1, 159, 4 the celestial ocean seems to be meant: *navyam navyam tantum ā tanvate divi samudre antaḥ kavayaḥ sudītayaḥ*.

The liturgical words of the poets are on the other hand repeatedly said to come to the heart of a god and are expected to stay there: 7, 101, 5 *idaṃ vacaḥ parjanyaṃ svarāje hṛdo astv antaram taj juṣaṣat*; 7, 86, 8 *ayaṃ su tubhyaṃ varuṇa... hṛdi stoma upaśritaś cid astu* "this hymn of praise must, O Varuṇa, rest in thy heart"; 4, 41, 1 (Indra and Varuṇa); 4, 43, 1; 10, 91, 13 where the effect of a hymn of praise on the heart of a god is compared to the sentiments of the same organ on seeing a beloved woman. The hymn of praise is hence described as *hṛdisprj-* "touching (the god's) heart": 1, 16, 7 where it is also called *śamtama*- "most beneficent"; 10, 47, 7 "als werbende Boten ziehen meine Loblieder zu Indra, um Gnade bittend, herzerührend, mit dem Gedanken fliegend" (Geldner). "(Das Lied) bildet die Brücke vom Herzen des Dichters zum Herzen des Gottes und stellt die Gemeinschaft zwischen

¹⁵ See Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 269 f. (n. 8) against Geldner, *o.c.*, I², p. 489.

¹⁶ Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 111 ff., 268 ff.

¹⁷ According to Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 100, the ocean is Agni (cf. also p. 386, 614, 629).

ihnen her".¹⁸ The parallelism between the ritual words and the soma is, as rightly observed by Dandekar, emphasized by the fact that the same adjective is used in connection with Soma's heart¹⁹ and serves to qualify the draught: 10, 25, 2; in 3, 42, 8 it must stay in Indra's heart (cf. also 9, 60, 3).

Divine powers were indeed also believed to possess a heart in which processes of vital importance to the production of thoughts and inspirations take place. The poet of 9, 73, 8 dwells on Soma's function as a clarifier of the "poetical thoughts" ("die drei himmlischen Seihen, die die Lieder reinigen, werden nun von dem Dichter... ins Innere von Somas Herzen verlegt", Lüders): *ṛtasya gopā na dabhāya sukratus trīṣa pavitrā hr̥dy antar ā dadhe*²⁰ "the herdsman of ṛta, not to be deceived, the resourceful one – he bears three sieves in his heart".

For a correct understanding of the function of the "heart" in connection with the subject of this publication it is expedient to remember that the terms denoting this organ, in the ancient languages, were not used with any anatomical precision. Words for "heart" or their derivatives were on the one hand frequently used also for the "middle or centre" and even for the "bowels", and on the other hand employed to denote a variety of emotions the seat of which was thought to be "in the heart".

One might for instance notice expressions such as occur RV. 9, 53, 2 where the eulogist expressed the wish that he will with "this (composition) praise with a fearless heart", the repeated communication that the poet bears the soma in his heart (cf. 10, 32, 9); or the injunction given to a demon to scorch the enemies in their hearts (10, 103, 12); one invokes a god with burning heart (AV. 2, 12, 3).²¹ Hence the complicated statement in RV. 1, 168, 3, where the soma, after having been pressed out, is said to stay in the heart: when the soma has been pressed out it sits in the heart of those who drink it (cf. Sāyaṇa). See also 8, 79, 7. In 1, 91, 13 Soma is requested to rejoice or to stay with pleasure in the heart of those speaking, no doubt in order to help them as an able or clever sage (*dakṣaḥ... kaviḥ*, st. 14) or to protect them as a friend (st. 15). A similar thought is explicit in 1, 179, 5 where the soma in the heart which the person speaking has drunk is implored to forgive him his sins: Soma obviously was, like Agni – who is fairly often said to remove sin –, the Maruts, Savitar and others, one of the gods to whom petitions of de-

¹⁸ Dandekar, *o.c.*, p. 61.

¹⁹ If Sāyaṇa's and Geldner's interpretation is right.

²⁰ Cf. also Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 470 f.; Schmidt, *Vedisch vratā*, p. 59.

²¹ See also Dandekar, *o.c.*, p. 59 ff., who furnishes his readers with more examples.

liverance from sin were directed. Most of these deities were also connected with the transmission of "visions". Compare also 8, 48, 12; 10, 32, 9 *ayaṃ ca somo hr̥di yam bibharmi*: if Oldenberg's²² interpretation is right the heart is the eulogist's. The parallelism between the inspired earthly soma-drinkers and the god who being a soma-drinker *par excellence* is not rarely styled a kavi, viz. Indra, is obvious: 3, 42, 8.

It is difficult to believe that there are no historical and fundamental connections between the heart as the recipient of inspirations and the well-known "theory" presented for instance by the BārUp. 4, 3, 7 ("which is the ātman?" : "the person (*puruṣaḥ*) here who consists of knowledge among the senses, the light within the heart"), the Kaṭha Up. (6, 17) and the Śvet. Up. (3, 20) that the pure and "immortal" (*śukram amṛtam*) soul or inner soul (*antarātman*), which is more minute than the minute, greater than the great, is ever seated in the heart of creatures (*janānāṃ hr̥daye*). Compare also Muṇḍ. Up. 3, 1, 7 and Maitry Up. 7, 7: "he indeed is the Self (*ātman-*) within the heart, very subtle, kindled like fire, endowed with all forms...; he is the supreme Lord, the ruler and protector of beings." The ātman or Self is the highest Principle when manifesting itself in man. While discussing the saving knowledge of the one immanent supreme god of the universe a similar thought is in Śvet. Up. 4, 17 worded as follows: "that god, the maker of all things, the great self (*mahātmā*), ever seated in the heart of creatures is framed by heart, thought, mind". They who know him with heart and mind as abiding in the heart become "immortal" (st. 20). Here again the heart is the place in which higher power manifests itself and makes itself known to man. The bird of golden hue, mentioned in Maitry Up. 6, 34 likewise abides in the heart as well as in the sun; the *haṃsa-* ("swan") or diver-bird, of surpassing radiance, which is to be worshipped in the fire. It is a symbol for the eternal, infinite and incomprehensible brahma which while being one is in the fire, in the heart and in the sun (6, 17). By considering the 'being' in the heart as God the wise man (*dhīraḥ*) leaves behind both joy and sorrow (Kaṭha Up. 2, 12). Hence also the belief, expressed Maitry Up. 6, 3 and 4 that there are two forms of brahma, the formed which is unreal (*asatyam*) and the formless or real which is light (*jyotiḥ*) and which, being identical with the sun, has the syllable Om as its soul (*ātman-*). This syllable is hidden in the secret place of the heart. It is the only enlightener of a man. "Therefore", the text continues, "one should worship brahma continually with Om", – just like the inspired sacred words of the R̥gveda which are to praise and strengthen

²² Oldenberg, *R̥gveda. Noten*, II, p. 238.

the divine powers. Cf. also Maitry Up. 7, 11. "There are two brahmans to be meditated upon, sound and non-sound", the same work 6, 22 expounds, and some expounders of the sound as brahman hold that by closing the ears with the thumbs, they hear the sound of the space within the heart. The knowledge of the space in the heart is already in the Upaniṣads used for yogic purposes: by intense concentration the space in the heart may be dispersed so that the light (*jyotiḥ*) of brahman's heat appears (ibid. 6, 27). – The heart is also the place of the union between the person (*puruṣaḥ*) which is in the right eye, called Indha and his wife Virāj, the person in the left eye; their path for moving is that channel which goes upward from the heart (BārUp. 4, 2, 2 f.). "Wenn man beide einschlieszt, sich ins Herz zurückzieht, hört der Unterschied auf, gibt es nur noch ein zusammengestelltes Licht. Der Unterschied zwischen Form und Sehen ist nicht mehr vorhanden. Es ist ein objektloses sehen im Herzen. Es gibt keine Form mehr, der Puruṣa hat sich selber zum Objekte, er ist nur noch Sehen ohne Sehobjekt..."²³

References in evidence of the macrocosmic-microcosmic parallelism and the congruence of the world-space and the space within the heart (see ChUp. 8, 1, 1 ff.); in the space that is within the heart is the 'immortal' and resplendent person (*puruṣaḥ*: Taitt. Up. 1, 6, 1).

Thus the Supreme Reality dwells in the depths of the human heart. This idea is expressed by the well-known formula of the smallest of the small which is at the same time the greatest of the great, of God who while being the fine point without magnitude which is the deep centre of the human heart, is at the same time the universe.²⁴

In order to evaluate the rôle attributed to the heart by later thinkers who in this respect pursue the same line of thought, it may for instance be called to mind that according to the philosopher Bhāskara (who being an adherent of the Vedānta tradition probably flourished in the IXth century) the individual souls which are in reality not different from God, being parts of Him as the sparks are parts of the fire, are seated in the heart, and through the skin of that organ are in touch with the whole body: just as a drop of sandal paste may perfume all the place about it, so does the soul, remaining there, animate the whole body. The ultimate source of this agency is God Himself who makes us perform all actions.²⁵

²³ J. M. van Gelder, *Der Ātman in der Grossen-Wald-Geheimlehre* (s'-Gravenhage, 1957), p. 86. Cf. also BārUp. 4, 5, 12.

²⁴ See also R. C. Zaehner, *Mysticism sacred and profane* (Oxford, 1957), p. 148.

²⁵ See S. Dasgupta, *A history of Indian philosophy*, III (Cambridge, 1940), p. 6 f.

Nor are similar ideas absent in devotional poetry. According to Nāmm'-āṛvār or Śaṭhakopa, one of the Āṛvārs, the ancient Vaiṣṇava saints and poets of Southern India, "the great saints of the past had within their hearts enjoyed an immersion in the ocean of God's bliss, which is the depository of all blissful emotion".²⁶

While postulating a "site" (*vatthu*) for each of the ways in which the organism is "canalized" for access of those external conditions in consequence of which *citta*- (consciousness) is called up, Buddhist psychology distinguished the five special sense-peripheries and that which in the older sources is described as "the material thing on the basis of which apprehension and comprehension take place". Thus, according to the Abhidhammattha-sangaha 3, 12²⁷ "bases" are of six kinds, viz. eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and heart. Whereas the five elements of sense-cognition proceed in dependence on the five sense-organs as their respective bases, the *manodhātu* "elements of mind", i.e. "turning to" (i.e. the state or stage of awareness preceding perception) and reception of the impressions by the organs proceed solely in dependence on the heart.²⁸ So do the elements of mind-consciousness, comprising investigation-cognitions, the main classes of resultant consciousness, aesthetic pleasure etc. Thus what is called "heart-base" may be explained as "mental life". "The *mano-dhātu*", Buddhaghosa observes in his Aṭṭhasālinī, 263, "has the 'mark' of cognizing the five kinds of sense-objects immediately after the five kinds of sense-impressions and the 'property' of receiving the same. Its 'recurring appearance' is truth, its 'proximate cause' is the going-off of the sense-impressions... Whatever door-cognitions²⁹ come together, the basis of *manodhātu* – i.e., the heart – is the *locus* having the function of receiving them". The heart was therefore in these writings of commentators – for practical purposes and in accordance with the popular theory³⁰ – considered to be the "physical basis" or "site" (*vatthu*) of mind. It may be noticed that for the author

²⁶ Dasgupta, *o.c.*, III, p. 71.

²⁷ See Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Compendium of Philosophy* (London, 1956), p. 122 f.; Brahmācari Govinda, *Abhidhammatthasangaha* (München, 1931), p. 127 ff.

²⁸ Cf. e.g. C. P. Ranasinghe, *The Buddha's explanation of the universe* (Colombo, 1957), p. 74 f. For the terminology see also E. J. Thomas, *The history of Buddhist thought* (London, 1951), p. 161; H. V. Guenther, *Philosophy and psychology in the Abhidharma* (Lucknow, 1957), p. 72.

²⁹ I.e., cognitions on occasions of sensations and representations.

³⁰ "This location of intellectual functioning in the heart as its basis or 'site' (*vatthu*) has been carried over by Buddhaghosa and his contemporaries from pre-Buddhist tradition. Nevertheless the psycho-physical association is not made in the canonical books..." (C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist psychology*, London, 1914, p. 70 f.).

of the Aṭṭhasālinī "heart" means only "inwardness" (cf. 3, 274) in contradistinction to the Pāli Abhidhamma which takes more or less a purely physiological view.³¹

This tradition is also continued in Tibet: "such knowledge as the world can give is transitory; it concerns only the external, the phenomenal. Divine Wisdom comes from the *hṛdaya*-, the Secret Heart; it concerns only the internal, the invisible *Sat*, the Real, the Noumenal, the Source, Knowledge is of the Existent, Wisdom of the non-existent".³²

It should however be emphasized that all the theories and speculations of the brahman which in its ātman aspect is held to reside in the heart have in view, not the physiological heart or the heart in the ordinary sense of the term, but the centre of the integral individual or personality of which the corporeal modality does not constitute more than a very limited part.³³ The heart is the centre of life, not only in the physiological, but also in a higher sense with regard to the Universal Spirit in its relations to the individual. It is the seat of consciousness, of *manah* and *buddhiḥ*, the latter being the highest psychical organ and the basis of intelligence, which is illumined by the light of consciousness. That is to say, the heart centre is not, as such, and by nature, the abode of intuition, the source of intuitive thought, the place of contact between man and the divine power. It assumes this character only in those who are conscious of its higher function, according to the yogins through the conscious transformation of its functions.³⁴ The consistency of the ancient Indian ideas with regard to the heart is also apparent from the fact that they are in the main subscribed to by some prominent medical authorities.³⁵

According to Caraka the heart is the only seat of consciousness: 4, 7, 8 *hṛdayaṃ cetanādhiṣṭhānam ekam*; Cakrapāṇi adhering to this point of view prefers the formulation *tatra caitanyasaṃgrahaḥ*. Although they disagree with regard to details, both Caraka and Cakrapāṇi are of the opinion that the self or soul which is the cause of all knowledge and the upholder of the system, also resides in the heart. Hence, the latter authority argues, the well-known fact that if a man is struck in the heart

³¹ See Guenther, *o.c.*, p. 45.

³² W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation* (Oxford, 1954), p. 16.

³³ For particulars see e.g. R. Guénon, *L'homme et son devenir selon le Vedānta* (Paris, 1925), ch. III ("le centre vital de l'être humain, séjour de brahma").

³⁴ See e.g. Lama Anagarika Govinda, *Grundlagen tibetischer Mystik* (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1957), p. 193. Cf. also M. Sircar, *Hindu Mysticism* (London, 1934), p. 240 ff.

³⁵ For a synopsis of the medical theories see e.g. S. Dasgupta, *A history of Indian Philosophy*, II (Cambridge, 1932), p. 340 ff.

he swoons away. The heart, the same author contends, is also the place of the *param ojas*, the supreme vital and creative power.

Of special interest to our subject is the general agreement in which the authorities on poetics find themselves with regard to the point under consideration. That is to say that in their writings too the heart is attributed an important function, viz. with regard to the state of aesthetic receptivity. Bharata, *Nāṭyaśāstra* 7, 7 says that "the state proceeding from the thing which is congenial to the heart is the source of the sentiment and it pervades the body just as fire spreads over dry wood" (*yo 'rtho hṛdayasaṃvādī tasya bhāvo rasodbhavaḥ | śarīraṃ vyāpyate tena śuṣkaṃ kāṣṭham ivāgninā*).

According to Abhinavagupta not everybody has the capacity to "taste" a poem. Those people who possess aesthetic sensibility or are in a state of aesthetic receptivity are said to be "gifted with, or possessed of, heart" or "having the same heart (as the poet)" (*sahṛdaya*-), or "to have the consent of their hearts" (*hṛdayasaṃvādabhājah*). While quoting, in his commentary on the Dhvanyāloka, Bharata, NŚ. 7, 10 the Kashmir scholar defines this idea as follows (p. 38)³⁶: "the ability to identify one's self with the events to be represented demands that the mirror of the mind (*manah*) should be completely clear, by means of repeated acquaintance with, and practice of poetry. Those who have this ability are the 'possessed of heart', i.e. those who have the consent of their own hearts". That the heart must be like a spotless mirror, ready to receive all the "images" which are reflected in it is elsewhere argued by the same scholar: Abhinavabh., p. 37. Some details about this process are given in the Tantrāloka, III, 200: "when (the ears are filled with the sound of) sweet song... the state of non-participation disappears and the heart is invaded by a state of vibration (*spandamānatā*). Such a state is precisely the so-called power of beatitude, thanks to which a man is "gifted with heart" (*sahṛdayaḥ*). According to the Śivaite philosophers of Kashmir "the heart" is consciousness itself and "consciousness" is "vibration, dynamical energy": *spanda*-, i.e. the force which continuously manifests itself and from which springs all that exists. *Spandaḥ* is the first moment of will (*icchā*-), the initial motion of the spirit, which is presupposed by any form of consciousness. It is the energy that goes from word to word, from thought to thought.³⁷ So the terms *hṛdaya*- "heart", *vimarśa*- "thought", *ānanda*- "bliss" and *sphurattā*- etc. "vibra-

³⁶ The English translation is in substance Gnoli's (Gnoli, *The aesthetic experience according to Abhinavagupta*, p. 65, n. 1 a).

³⁷ See Gnoli, *o.c.*, p. 74, n. 1; p. 87, n. 2.

tion" express the same idea. In his Abhinavabharatī the same scholar says (II, p. 339) that poetic sensibility is the ability to enter into identity with the heart of the poet, each individual possessing particular innate tendencies (or a particular "nature"), according to which he will feel himself more attracted to a special genre of literary art. It may be observed that here again aesthetic and religious experience run parallel: sensibility (*sahṛdayatva*-) may also be religious in character.

It may be recalled to mind that also in the Bible the heart is a term for the "faculty of cognition". It is the heart that has "seen" much wisdom and knowledge; cf. also Sir. 17, 18 "(God) placed his eye in their hearts in order to show them the greatness of his works."

Addendum. – Now see also J. Varenne, *Le Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* (Paris, 1960), II, p. 58 ff.: "Le cœur tient une place importante dans notre texte qui, par là, se situe dans la ligne des principales Upaniṣads. ... Le cœur ... est à la fois un organe et une fonction ou, si l'on préfère, un lieu (la caverne secrète) et une activité (l'intuition)..." (p. 62): "La présentation du cœur comme demeure de l'Âme (individuelle et cosmique, ātman et brahman) est, si l'on peut dire, un lieu commun dans ce type de texte. ... Le second aspect du mot *hṛd* ... ne peut manquer d'évoquer certaines pratiques du yoga: celles qui conduisent l'adepte à 'voir' son Âme dans le feu qui illumine le caverne du cœur".

XIII DHYĀNAM

Some words may finally be devoted to the word group *dhyā*- the etymological relation of which to *dhī*- etc. was also clear to those scholars who like Grassmann¹ translated the former by "to think" and the latter by "to see" or who like Mayrhofer² render the former by "to think, contemplate" and the latter by "to perceive, think, reflect, wish". For the sake of those readers who are not familiar with the intricacies of Sanskrit etymology it may be remarked that the root form *dhyā*- which in all probability is limited to Indian – is a perfectly normal variant of the root form *dhī*-.³

The term *dhyāna*- is often translated by "meditation",⁴ sometimes also by "meditative concentration",⁵ "méditation extatique",⁶ "höhere Beschauung",⁷ "deep absorption in meditation".⁸ It has recently been interpreted as a meditative process "della perfetta quiete, della soppressione intera della passione, della restituzione della mente alla sua assoluta, immobile serenità",⁹ and with regard to theistic schools of thought as "una visione interiore di Dio".¹⁰ Other attempts¹¹ at explaining the term are, e.g., "inward absorption", "concentrated meditation leading to visualization", "gaining access to the supramundane sphere of vision which is visualized in pure contemplation",¹² "the faculty of im-

¹ Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 697, 683.

² Mayrhofer, *Kurzgef. etymol. Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, II, p. 115, 45.

³ For particulars see Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der indogerm. Sprachen*, I, p. 831; Mayrhofer, *l.c.*; A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins*, II (Paris, 1956), p. 121 (§ 295 c).

⁴ So e.g. by A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Harvard, 1925), who however also resorts to "intuition" (p. 517).

⁵ H. V. Guenther, *Sgam. po. pa, Jewel ornament of liberation* (London, 1959), p. 10; cf. p. 150 "it holds the mind in its own inner sphere".

⁶ L. Silburn, *Instant et cause* (Paris, 1955), p. 421.

⁷ G. Schülemann, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas* (Leipzig, 1958), p. 26.

⁸ S. K. Saraswati, *A survey of Indian sculpture* (Calcutta, 1957), p. 129.

⁹ G. Tucci, *Storia della filosofia indiana* (Bari, 1957), p. 503.

¹⁰ The same, *o.c.*, p. 304.

¹¹ E. J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist thought* (London, [1933] 1951), p. 44 etc. prefers "state of trance"; cf. also p. 47, n. 1.

¹² A. David-Neel and Lama Yongden, *La connaissance transcendante* (Adyar-Paris, 1958), p. 58, n. 1, are right in rejecting translations such as "extase" or "ravisement" because any emotional element is, at least in Buddhism, absent.

agination by which a man can reach, on the plane of vision, manifestations of the transcendent essence of reality"¹³; "undistracted attention and contemplation of a mental image; visual contemplation and realization of the final identity with an inwardly known image".¹⁴ By *dhyānam* there is according to the *Vāyupurāṇa*¹⁵ "unobstructed illumination": one perceives oneself like the sun or the moon. The phrase *dhyānam praviśya* in Mbh. 12, 343, 48 is the equivalent of *yogam praviśya*, because it can scarcely be another's thought which is entered here. One may also find *dhyānam agamat* (e.g. Mbh. 2, 17, 27). Through *dhyānam* one becomes enabled to penetrate and assimilate the real essence of things and the mysteries of the infinite; it elevates to the transcendent silent realm of the *aśabdā* or "soundless".¹⁶ It is the access to "holiness". Whereas the mind, when incarnate in a human body, is, because of the driving force of the five senses, continuously in thought-formation activity, its discarnate state is a state of quiescence, comparable to its condition in the highest of *dhyāna* when still united to a human body.¹⁷ "Dhyāna is highest contemplation, and takes the place of prayer in Buddhism.... It is the steady endeavour to bring the mind into harmony with all that is. It is a deliberate effort to eliminate egotism and be lost in the truth."¹⁸

The aim of *dhyāna* being to attain a state of visionary concentration involving manifestations of the transcendent essence of reality, it became for the individual (*jīva*-) a means of gaining liberation by a method "through which truth is reached through a dualistic world"¹⁹ and which is founded on the conviction that by meditation on anything such as the Self, one becomes that entity. If it is the divinity that is worshipped, sincere and continued efforts of imagining the divinity according to its meditational forms given in the scriptures effect the transformation of the worshipper into that divinity. The so-called *dhyānamantras* or "mental pictures" of the divine in its various aspects as given in the ancient works of the *ṛṣis* were converted into concrete shapes and forms by means

¹³ H. Zimmer, *The art of Indian Asia*, I (New York, 1939), p. 112, 173, 181, 195.

¹⁴ A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The transformation of nature in art* (New York, [1934] 1956), p. 220.

¹⁵ I refer to S. Dasgupta, *A history of Indian Philosophy*, III (Cambridge, 1940), p. 505.

¹⁶ Falk, *o.c.*, p. 90. This book contains many other references to the subject under consideration, see index, p. 200.

¹⁷ W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Tibetan book of the dead* (Oxford, 1949), p. 90, n. 3.

¹⁸ S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I (London, [1927] 1948), p. 424 f.

¹⁹ J. Woodroffe, "The psychology of Hindu religious ritual", in *Indian Art and Letters*, I (1925), p. 68.

of which the worshipper practised concentration in order to attain union with the divine.²⁰

That, in Sanskrit, *dhyānam* was also in later centuries connected with the idea of seeing may for instance appear from ViPur. 4, 4, 27 *kim etad dravyajātam iti dhyānaparo 'bhūt, apaśyac ca tan mānuṣamāṁsam* "(a great ṛṣi) was engaged in concentration because he wished to know what kind of substance it was; he saw that it was human flesh".

A grammatical relation between *dhī*- and *dhyā*- was, by way of popular etymology, also assumed by those who re-interpreted the form *dhīmahi* "we should like to obtain"²¹ in the *Sāvitrī* stanza (RV. 3, 62, 10) so as to express the idea of "concentrating upon, meditating". The form *dhīmahi*, however, "belongs here only as thus used later, with a false apprehension of its proper meaning".²² That this "false apprehension" could arise was due to the extremely high importance attached to *dhyāna* and to the firm belief that the identification with the object of concentration resulted in "obtaining" that object by way of identification.

As is well known mystics very often have, also when they are adherents of other religions, visions, or if one would prefer another term, hallucinations, in which they see, for instance, Christ or the Virgin. Classifying their experiences, they distinguish, *inter alia*, that of the "intellectual visions", which may for a moment attract our attention. They are a sort of "compréhensions intuitives, révélations de sens symboliques cachés, comme, par exemple, la révélation des mystères de la religion, de la Trinité, de la transcendance de Dieu, etc. Sainte Thérèse voit, par exemple, mais pas avec les yeux du corps, "comment les choses sont en Dieu". Mais la vision intellectuelle est le plus souvent caractérisée par le sentiment d'une présence extérieure des êtres divins; on sent une présence à ses côtés et cela plus clairement que si on la percevait par la vue... Ce sentiment peut durer plusieurs jours, parfois même plus d'un an. Il s'accompagne toujours de joie et de paix."²³ The mystics themselves regard these apparitions as supranormal events, as divine revelations, as "des communications directes avec le ciel et les puissances qui y règnent". Having become "initiates" they are other men, because they have had a crucial revelation of the world and life. As with all deeper religious

²⁰ For particulars see e.g. M. Eliade, *Le yoga* (Paris, 1954), especially p. 84 ff.; the same, *Techniques du yoga* (Paris, 1948); A. Daniélou, *Yoga* (London, 1949).

²¹ See chapter II, p. 97 f.

²² W. D. Whitney, *The roots, verb-forms... of the Sanskrit language* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 83.

²³ G. Berguer, *Traité de psychologie de la religion* (Lausanne, 1946), p. 202, 206.

knowledge and experience the attainment of these visions demands, not only in India, a special vocation, or exceptional will power, intelligence and preparation.²⁴

Proceeding now to discuss some of the oldest occurrences of *dhyā-* we must first draw attention to the close semantic resemblance between the only Ṛgvedic occurrence and *dhī-*. In 4, 36, 2 the Ṛbhus are stated to have constructed a chariot *dhyayā* "with vision", or "with inspiration" (rather than "mit Erfindsamkeit", Geldner): they knew from a vision before they started what the chariot would be like and how they could fashion it. In similar passages extolling the skill of the same gods the poet of 3, 60, 2 uses the term *dhiyā*, the poet of 1, 161, 7 *dhītibhiḥ*.

From the Atharvavedic *anudhyā-*, translated by "Sorge" (Petr. Dict.) or "regret" (tentatively Whitney-Lanman), it appears that *dhyā-* was already early used in a wider sense: 7, 114, 2 *preto yantu vyādhyāḥ prānudhyāḥ pro āśtayaḥ* seems to mean "forth from here let anxieties go, forth malice, and forth imprecations": *anudhyā-* "fixing the attention hostilely on". One might compare AiBr. 3, 6, 1 *yaṁ dviṣyāt taṁ dhyāyet* "he should fix his thoughts on him whom he hates"; similarly GBr. 2, 3, 2 *yaṁ dviṣyāt taṁ manasā dhyāyam vaṣatkuryāt*.

Attention may in passing be drawn to the addition *manasā*; that the process denoted by the root *dhyā-* was considered to be performed by the *manah* appears e.g. also from AiUp. 3, 11 ... *yadi cakṣuṣā dṛṣṭam, yadi śrotreṇa śrutam, yadi tvacā sprṣṭam, yadi manasā dhyātam*... One is reminded of the close connections between *manah* and *dhīḥ*. See also TBr. 1, 1, 4, 1 *anṛtaṁ manasā dhyāyati*; TĀ. 4, 38, 1 *raudreṇa tvāṅ-girasāṁ manasā dhyāyāni*; KauṣUp. 3, 2, where a name is said to be made known by speech, a form by the eye..., a "thought" by the "mind": *manasā dhyānam*; ibid. 3, 4 *mana evāsmiṁ sarvāṇi dhyānāny abhivisṛjyante, manasā sarvāṇi dhyānāny āpnoti*; ibid. 3, 3 *manah sarvāṇi dhyānāni saḥāpyeti*; AiUp. 3, 8; JUBr. 1, 40, 5 (and other places) *tad yad vai manasā dhyāyati tad vācā vadati*. Compare also MaitrUp. 6, 9... *iti dhyānam prayogastham mano vidvadbhiṣṭutam* "such concentration, the mind absorbed in such practice, is praised by the wise".

The verb is however also and already in brāhmaṇas used to express the idea of "being absorbed in thought (in the common sense of the phrase)" (e.g. JBr. 2, 100; 122; JUBr. 2, 1, 19; ibid. 2, 6, 1 ff. may be considered a borderline case: *sa yadi brūyād ekam ma āgāyati prāṇa udgūtha iti vidvān ekam manasā dhyāyet*. The general sense "to think"

²⁴ See also M. Eliade, *Birth and rebirth. The religious meanings of initiation in human culture* (New York, 1958), p. 1, 38 etc.

may be the correct translation in cases such as ŚBr. 4, 6, 7, 5 *no hi manasā dhyāyataḥ kaś canājānāti* "for no one knows (understands) those who think in their mind"; KauṣUp. 3, 3 (of a man dying) *na śṛṇoti na paśyati na vācā vadati na dhyāyati*. The compound *ni-dhyā-* "to take notice" (AiBr. 3, 2, 7).

"To contemplate" seems to be a felicitous translation in cases such as AiBr. 1, 30, 28 *yāvadbhyo hābhayam ichati yāvadbhyo hābhayam dhyāyati* "for so many as he desires and contemplates freedom from fear". "To concentrate one's attention on": AiBr. 3, 31, 7 *sarvā diśo dhyāyec chaṁsiṣyan* "he should... on all the quarters when about to recite": the result is that he exerts a supranormal influence upon the quarters by placing sap in them. Cf. ibid. 8. Similarly ŚBr. 11, 2, 7, 32²⁵ *etā ha vā enaṁ devatā yājayanti... etā eva devatā manasā dhyāyed etā haivainaṁ devatā yājayanti* "these then are the divinities that officiate for him..., let him direct with his mind his attention to them, then they indeed officiate for him". Also in an inimical context: ŚBr. 3, 9, 4, 17 *atha prahariṣyan, yaṁ dviṣyāt taṁ manasā dhyāyed amuṣmāhaṁ pra harāmi na tubhyam iti* "being about to beat (the soma with the stone), let him concentrate his attention with his mind on him whom he hates: 'herewith I strike N. N., not you!': "on voit poindre ici le sens de 'concentration mentale' qui s'attache à dhyāna dans le Yoga et le bouddhisme"²⁶; ŚBr. 12, 9, 1, 13 *yad vai manasā dhyāyati tad vācā vadati* admits of the translation "whatever one thinks with (in) his mind of that he speaks with his speech".

The idea of concentrated attention is also present in ŚāṅkhŚrS. 5, 9, 19 *vīrakāmāyai vīraṁ dhyāyāt* "for a woman who is desirous of having a son he should at the words '... having good sons...' concentrate his attention on a son". Similarly 5, 14, 12; ĀśvGS. 2, 3, 6. This attention may be attended by the wish to possess its object, to get hold of it: ŚBr. 11, 7, 1, 2 "the sacrificer's fires long for flesh; they set their minds on the sacrificer and harbour designs on him" (*yajamānam eva dhyāyanti yajamānaṁ saṁkalpayanti*).

This concentration may be creative in nature: GBr. 1, 1, 9 *yad vā ahaṁ kiṁ ca manasā dhyāsyāmi tathaiva tad bhaviṣyati*.

Of special interest is the use attested by ŚBr. 1, 5, 2, 19 which, it is true, may be called creative but contains a 'magic' element: concentration of thought conjures an event up: "should the sacrificer be desirous of rain... he may say to the adhvaryu 'concentrate your thoughts in your

²⁵ Cf. also H. Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft. Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte* (Göttingen, 1919), p. 70, n. 1.

²⁶ A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins*, I (Paris, 1949), p. 92 (§ 254 a).

mind on the east wind and the lightning' (*purovātaṃ ca vidyutaṃ ca manasā dhyāya*)... (then) indeed it will rain". Cf. also AiUp. 3, 8 *sa yad dhainan manasāgrahaiṣyad dhyātvā haivānnam atrapsyat* "if indeed he has taken hold of it by the mind, even by concentrating his thought one would have had the satisfaction of food". Whereas in the preceding examples the effect takes place in the atmosphere, i.e. in man's surroundings, the act of mental concentration may also result in a sort of emanation: PBr. 7, 6, 1 "Prajāpati meditated silently in his mind (*sa tūṣṇīm manasā dhyāyat*), what was in his mind that became the *bṛhat* (*sāman*-)". Another effect is, again, achieved in PBr. 6, 7, 8 "at the sacrifice of one whom he hates he should... concentrate his attention on the voice (*vācam manasā dhyāyet*); he thereby possesses himself of his enemy's faculty of speech". If one chants a *gāyatra* without response, PBr. 7, 1, 4 f. says, one has no firm support; it is therefore to be "thought mentally" (*manasā dhyeyaḥ*); "one thus chants a *gāyatra* with a response and gains a firm support": another interesting example of the power of concentration. Other places of interest are: KauṣBr. 27, 6 *kāmān dhyāyante yatkāmā bhavanty ayaṃ naḥ kāmāḥ samṛdhyatām iti sa u haibhyaḥ kāmāḥ samṛdhyate*; TBr. 2, 2, 6, 4 *bhrātr̥vyadevatyā rātriḥ, ahnā rātriṃ dhyāyet. bhrātr̥vyasyaiva tal lokaṃ vṛṅkte*.

In Sanatkumāra's instruction of Nārada regarding the progressive worship of brahma, ChāndUp. 7, 1 ff., *dhyānam* "contemplation (i.e. the complete concentration of mind on one subject) is declared to be more than *cittam* "thought", but less than *viññānam* "understanding"; whereas thought means that one forms conceptions, has in mind, and utters speech in names, and by understanding one understands the Veda and all other objects of knowledge, the reward of contemplation is the attainment of "greatness" (*mahattvam*; this may include also prosperity, satisfaction, etc. but essentially comes to "superiority to common conditions"²⁷: 7, 6, 1). Cf. also 7, 26, 1. Curiously enough, the BārUp., in a chapter dealing with the various conditions of the self, teaches that "the self, i.e. the person who consists of knowledge among the senses, the light within the heart, remaining the same, wanders along the two worlds, appearing to concentrate his attention (*dhyāyatīva*), seeming to move about (*lelāyatīva*)": one can hardly escape the conclusion that this concentration, like the movement, is a means of maintaining relations with both worlds (4, 3, 7).

By concentrating upon the Lord, who is immortal and imperishable,

²⁷ See my paper "The meaning of Skt. *mahas-* and its relatives", in *Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda*, 8, p. 234 ff., esp. 258.

the Śvetāśvatara Up. 1, 10 argues, by union with Him and by realizing oneself in His being more and more, there finally is complete deliverance from forming part of the phenomenal world²⁸ (*tasyābhidhyānād yojanāt tattvabhāvād bhūyaś cānte viśvamāyā nivṛttiḥ*). Here the attitude called *abhidhyāna* – a term which in other texts is replaced by the simple *dhyāna* – obviously is the means of a transfiguration because it is conducive – through the introspective contemplative union with its object – to identification with the essence of the Lord.²⁹

For "meditation" in a more technical (yogic) sense passages such as MuṇḍUp. 2, 2, 6 may also be quoted: "where (or, in whom) the arteries of the body are brought together like the spokes in the hub of a wheel, within that this (self) moves about becoming manifold; meditate on *aum* as the self³⁰ (*aum ity evaṃ dhyāyathātmānam*); may you be successful in crossing over to the farther shore beyond darkness". Meditation on the essence of one's own personality leads to deliverance from the imperfections of earthly existence (cf. also ChUp. 7, 26, 2). See also MaitrUp. 6, 24 *dhyānam antaḥ pare tattve lakṣyeṣu ca nidhīyate* "concentration is directed on the highest principle within and on the outer objects", and places such as Manu 3, 224 *pitṛn dhyāyan* "concentrating on the Manes". In ŚvUp. 1, 14 concentration is compared to the process of producing fire by friction, the body being the lower and the syllable *Om* the upper friction stick; concentration (*dhyānam*) is the friction by which one may see God.

This "meditation"³¹ is productive, leads to a result that is eagerly wished for: MaitrUp. 6, 38 *kāmam abhidhyāyamānas tatas caturjālam brahmakośam bhindat* "meditating on desire he cuts through the four-fold sheath of brahman"³² and ibidem *śarīraprādeśāṅguṣṭhamātram aṇor apy aṇvyam dhyātvātaḥ paramatām gacchati* "having concentrated upon him who is of the measure of a thumb or of a span within the body, more subtle than the subtle, then one goes to the supreme condition". In Manu 5, 47 the man who does not injure any creature is said to attain without effort that on which he concentrates his mind.

²⁸ See my publication on *māyā* in *Four studies in the language of the Veda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 166.

²⁹ For particulars see also M. Falk, *Nāmarūpa and dharmarūpa* (Calcutta, 1943), p. 48 ff.

³⁰ See also J. M. van Gelder, *Der Ātman in der Grossen-Wald-Geheimlehre* ('s-Gravenhage, 1957), p. 11 ff.

³¹ For *dhyāna* in the later Upaniṣads see P. Deussen, *Die Philosophie der Upaniṣad*'s⁴ (Leipzig, 1920), p. 349 ff.

³² Cf. TaittUp. 2, 1-4.

"When a man concentrates upon the objects of the senses", the Bhagavad-gītā teaches (2, 62), "there springs up attachment to them".

In MaitrUp. 6, 18 *dhyānam* appears among a number of other terms which acquired a special technical sense in Yoga. The sixfold yoga is said to consist of *prāṇāyāmaḥ pratyāhāro dhyānaṁ dhāraṇā tarkaḥ samādhiḥ* "control of breath, withdrawal of the senses (from their objects), visionary concentration, continued concentration,³³ contemplative inquiry and absorption".

According to the ViṣṇuPur. *dhyānam* is "an uninterrupted succession of perceiving consciousness single-in-intent with regard to that object (upon which one had concentrated during the previous stage of the yoga process viz. *dhāraṇā*³⁴) without desire for anything else" (6, 7, 89 *tad-rūpapratyayaikāgryasamṛtatiś cānyaniḥsprhā | tad dhyānam...*).³⁵

An authoritative definition of *dhyānam* – one of the eight elements or divisions of the yoga course (2, 29) – is found in Patañjali's Yogasūtra 3, 2 (Vth cent. A.D.): *tatra pratyayaikatānatā dhyānam*, i.e. "dhyāna is the constant concentration of the perceiving consciousness upon that place (i.e. on the object meant in the preceding sūtra)".³⁶ Vyāsa furnishes us with the following comment: *tasmin deśe dhyeyāmbanasya pratyayaikatānatā sadṛśaḥ pravāhaḥ pratyayāntareṇāparāmṛṣṭo dhyānam* "dhyāna is monoideism with regard to that object of perceiving consciousness which is the object of concentration just at that place, i.e. a uniform stream which is not marred by other conscious perception". This dhyāna is the means of escaping the fluctuations of the hindrances to yoga (such as ignorance, desire: 2, 11). It is worth noticing that the term *dhyāna-* is not rarely used instead of *samādhi-* of which it is the "Vor-

³³ These translations are tentative, first because of the inadequacy of modern terms and in the second place because we should guard against attributing 'classical meanings' to occurrences in preclassical texts. In classical Yoga *dhāraṇā* trains the yogin to concentrate attention by retaining a single thought or image in his mind to the exclusion of all else; dhyāna being the next step, enables him to grasp the essential nature of that object, one of its purposes being to make him aware of his object in such a manner as to overleap the gap between himself and the object of concentration.

³⁴ See e.g. J. Gonda, *Inleiding tot het Indische denken* (Antwerpen-Nijmegen, 1948), p. 153.

³⁵ Text after S. Lindquist, *Die Methoden des Yoga* (Lund, 1932), p. 106. In the Calcutta edition (1882) *tad[rū]papratyayāyikaṁ santatiś* etc.

³⁶ S. Lindquist, *Methoden*, p. 106, translates "dhyāna ist die beständige Konzentration des Vorstellungsstromes dortselbst". For *pratyaya-* see H. Jacobi, "Über das ursprüngliche Yogasystem", *Sitz. Ber. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., ph.-h. Kl.*, 26, (1929), p. 10, n. 2 "pratyaya- ist eigentlich soviel wie wahrnehmende Erkenntnis und bezeichnet die *vṛtti-* hinsichtlich ihres Inhaltes. *Vṛtti-* ist die psychische Funktion subjektiv, *pratyaya-* objektiv."

stufe".³⁷ *Samādhi* is attained when the dhyāna shines forth being completely pervaded by its object and so to say emptied of itself (i.e. "frei vom Wesen der psychischen Funktion", Jacobi): *tad evārthamātranirbhāsaṁ svarūpaśūnyam iva samādhiḥ* (3, 3). Again a verb of "shining" and the representation of the supreme insight as a flash of light! The sight of the truth face to face which transcends all verbal interference could only be compared to the faculty of seeing and its medium. Thus in Yoga dhyāna means the even flow of thoughts round about the object of attention, the firm and constant contemplation of that object without any break or disturbance. This has the effect of giving the yogin a clear and distinct representation of the object, first by aspects but after continued practice the mind becomes able to grasp the object integrally. Thus dhyāna reveals the reality of the contemplated object to the yogin's mind, becoming perfect when self-reference is lost so that only the object to be contemplated shines forth. Being enabled to grasp the essential nature of the object, one becomes aware of that object in such a manner as to bridge the gap between meditating subject and the object of meditation.³⁸

It may be expedient to add some authoritative opinions of philosophers, in the first place that of the theist and Visnuite Rāmānuja (± 1100). Rāmānuja's view is of special interest. "Knowledge" (*vedanam*) is not a single act but a process which is to be repeated. It is not different from *dhyānam*³⁹ or *upāsanaṁ* "adoration, worship".⁴⁰ The means of attaining God is worship by bhakti, the object of which is God. This bhakti, Rāmānuja argues, is meditation or reverent concentration and as such it is the effect of devout representation. Sometimes, the authoritative texts call this bhakti "knowledge" (*vid-*, cf. e.g. ŚvUp. 3, 8), sometimes *dhyāna-*. The texts also prove, Rāmānuja asserts, that bhakti is produced by representation (*smṛti-*, or *dhyāna-* being equivalent with

³⁷ See also Lindquist, *o.c.*, p. 118, n.

³⁸ See e.g. S. N. Dasgupta, *Yoga philosophy* (Calcutta, 1930), p. 335 ff.; R. Rösel, *Die psychologischen Grundlagen der Yogapraxis* (Stuttgart, 1928), p. 64 ff.; S. Chatterjee and Dh. Datta, *An introduction to Indian philosophy* (Calcutta, 1950), p. 132, 311; H. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India* (New York, 1951), p. 435; H. Bhattacharya, "Yoga psychology", in *The cultural heritage of India*, ed. by the same, III (Calcutta, 1953), p. 61; 81; P. D. Mehta, *Early Indian religious thought* (London, 1956), p. 500; M. Eliade, *Birth and rebirth* (New York, 1958).

³⁹ This term is translated by A. Hohenberger, *Rāmānuja* (Bonn, 1960), p. 101, by "Andacht, Versenkung oder Meditation". See also P. N. Srinivasachari, *The philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita* (Adyar, 1946), p. 363.

⁴⁰ Cf. A. Lacombe, *L'absolu selon le Védānta* (Paris, 1937), p. 363 ff.

smṛti-).⁴¹ “The real value of the practice of ceaseless dhyāna lies in the recognition of the shortcomings of human endeavour and the reliance on divine grace as the only means to mukti (deliverance).”⁴² The nature of dhyāna is illustrated by a simile: “Dhyāna ist beharrliches Gedenken in Gestalt einer Abfolge von Gedenk-Akten, die so kontinuierlich abfließt, wie ein Gusz Öles”.⁴³ It is “a direct and immediate, distinct and precise vision which can be gigantically extended by daily practice” (ŚrīBhāṣya 4, 26). Dhyāna is not mere recollection, but continued recollection and concentration of the mind on a single object, a continuous process of mental concentration on the nature and form of brahman. Rāmānuja moreover repeatedly emphasizes that those places in the scriptures, which speak of seeing or knowing the Self (Ātman), (e.g. BārUp. 2, 4, 5 *evam ca saty ātmā vāre draṣṭavyaḥ*; MuṇḍUp. 2, 2, 8 *drṣṭe parāvare*), teach that the meditation is of the nature of vision (e.g. ŚrīBhāṣya 1, 1, 29).

According to those Vedantins who followed Bhāskara (IXth cent.) bhakti was to be conceived, not as any love or affection for God, but as dhyāna or deep meditation (Bhāskarabhāṣya 3, 2, 24): a clear piece of evidence of the high value attached to dhyāna as a means of coming into touch with the highest reality. Jīva Gosvāmi (XVIth cent.) argued that dhyāna is nothing but the worship of God in a definite form, because it is difficult to indulge in any dhyāna or worship of God without associating it with a form on which the mind may be fixed.

Śivaism as represented by the Purāṇas likewise holds dhyāna to be an unparalleled means of coming into contact with the Highest (Śivamāhap. 7, 2, 39, 28). There is nothing greater than that and it is those who apply themselves to dhyāna who are dear to Śiva, not those who only perform rites. In these circles dhyāna is the constant flow of an intellectual state (*buddhi*-) of the form of Śiva. To the modern Śaiva ritual as performed in South India the following definition of *tiyāṇam*, i.e. the Sanskrit *dhyānam*, may be applicable: “the meditation consists in picturing mentally before one’s eye the iconographic representation of the deity”.⁴⁴

A few words may be added on dhyāna⁴⁵ in Buddhism which could

⁴¹ Rāmānuja does not admit that self-concentration is a source of knowledge: J. A. B. van Buitenen, *Rāmānuja on the Bhagavadgītā*, Thesis Utrecht 1953, p. 99.

⁴² Srinivasachari, *o.c.*, p. 369.

⁴³ R. Otto, *Siddhānta des Rāmānuja* (Tübingen, 1923), p. 21.

⁴⁴ C. G. Diehl, *Instrument and purpose, Studies on rites and ritual in South India* (Lund, 1956), p. 75. — One may compare chapter I, p. 59 ff.

⁴⁵ A definition of the Pāli *jhāna*- (Skt. *dhyāna*-) was, for instance, given in the *Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā* (the commentary on the *Apadāna* text) called *Visuddhajanavilāsinī* 43 (35) (edited by C. E. Godakumbura, London, 1954, p. 196): *jhānan ti paccanikajjhāpanato ārammaṇalakkhaṇāpanijjhānato ca cittaviveko ti vuccati, tattha aṭṭhasamā-*

be the subject of a large volume. It is worth while to mention that Buddhist dhyāna which never means vaguely “meditation” but here also is the technical term for a special religious experience,⁴⁶ reached in a certain order of mental state, has four stages: the first, of joy and gladness arising from a life of solitude, insight, reflection, contemplation and inquiry, and freed from sensuality; the second, of elation and a deep peace of mind, without any conscious reflection; the third, of the total absence of all passions and prejudices; and the fourth, of self-possession and complete tranquillity, without any care and joy, the state in which one becomes aware of pure lucidity of mind.⁴⁷ Dhyāna is moreover frequently attributed to seers and not only said to be attended by higher knowledge but also by supranormal conditions and abilities.⁴⁸ In Mahāyāna Buddhism it is a method of going to heaven.⁴⁹

The belief in the creative power of dhyāna assumed extreme forms in Mahāyāna Buddhism: the self-created, primordial Ādi-Buddha produced, by the power of his concentration, not only the world but also the five so-called⁵⁰ dhyāni-buddhas or “transcendent” buddhas⁵¹ who, being passive of character, are believed to spend the time in deep meditation.⁵² From these emanated five bodhisattvas who are mainly responsible for controlling and guiding the dynamic aspect of the cosmic forces, and are therefore in this respect comparable to the ancient gods. They moreover exercise their influence through human agents, men of the most exalted nature, the so-called mānuṣi-buddhas.

That the adherents of Indian mystical doctrines were conscious of the

pattiyo nīvaraṇādiḥpaccanikajjhāpanato kaṣiṇādiārammaṇāpanijjhānato ca jhānan ti vuccati, vipassanāmaggaḥpālāni sattaṇāṇādiḥpaccanikajjhāpanato lakkaṇāpanijjhāpanato ca jhānan ti vuccati, i.e. “jhāna is called a mental detachment from burning up anything adverse and concentration on that which is of the character of a basis of operations (object)...”.

⁴⁶ For criticism on the translation “musing” proposed by Mrs. Rhys Davids see J. J. Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, I (London, 1949), p. 127, n. 1.

⁴⁷ See e.g. F. Heiler, *Die buddhistische Versenkung* (München, 1922); for a brief survey and some references also F. Edgerton, *Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit grammar and dictionary*, II (New Haven, 1953), p. 287. See e.g. *Mahāvastu* I, p. 228; II, p. 96; III, p. 190.

⁴⁸ For a eulogy of meditational life see e.g. *Milindapañho*, p. 139 f. Tr., transl. by T. W. Rhys Davids (Oxford, 1890), p. 197 f.

⁴⁹ E.g. Ratnamālāvadāna, p. 331, st. 7 (ed. Kanga Takahata, Tokyo, 1954): *śīlena svargam āpnoti dhyānena ca viśeṣataḥ*.

⁵⁰ See E. Conze, *Buddhism* (Oxford, 1960), p. 189.

⁵¹ P. Mus, *Barabudur* (1935), p. 577 ff.

⁵² Cf. e.g. Sh. Bh. Dasgupta, *An introduction to Tāntric Buddhism* (Calcutta, 1950), esp. p. 94 ff.

"creative" character of dhyāna may appear for instance from a description of the visions with which Tibetan Buddhists are confronted. According to the Tibetan tradition individuals – so long as they are such – are incapable of experiencing a state of superconsciousness. One gains access to it by the thought-process of visualization. It is however observed that the visions for instance in the form of deities upon which one meditates, which manifest themselves to the spiritual eye, are merely the signs attending perseverance in meditation. They have no intrinsic worth or value in themselves.⁵³ "The devatās are but symbols representing the various things which occur on the Path, such as the helpful impulses and the stages attained by their means". They are neither elements of a primitive popular belief, nor products of theological speculation; they are, on the contrary, "in der Schaubildentfaltung der Meditation (*dhyāna*-) geschaffene, sichtbare Reflexen innerer Vorgänge und Geisteszustände, die durch lebenslange Schulung in den Methoden geistiger Versenkung erworben wurden".⁵⁴

Like the other schools of Indian thought the Jainas attach supreme importance to dhyāna as a means of achieving spiritual realization. Defining it likewise as the concentration of thought on a particular object they hold that in concentration the mind is regulated and canalized, without however becoming motionless. In the case of those who have achieved "omniscience" the problem of reaching concentration does not present itself.⁵⁵

From the preceding chapters of this volume it will be clear that in what we may regard as a sort of cycle of vision received by the sages, conversion into hymns or formulas and recitation of these products of inspiration and the poets' endeavour to influence the gods for the benefit of men, the man who receives the visions plays a very important part. It is he who operates the powerful *dhiyaḥ* or whatever name may be given to the entities which pass through the cycle. It is only the inspired "poet" who is able to exert, by means of his "compositions", influence on the divinities. Similarly it is only the man who in continuous and methodical practice succeeds in concentrating, in dhyāna, upon the unseen who comes into "visionary" touch with the realm of the super-

⁵³ See *Tibet's great Yogī Milarepa, a biography*, edited by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Oxford, 1951), p. 141 with n. 2.

⁵⁴ Lama Anagarika Govinda, *Grundlagen tibetischer Mystik* (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1957), p. 131.

⁵⁵ For particulars see N. Tatia, *Studies in Jaina philosophy* (Benares, 1951), p. 282; M. L. Mehta, *Jaina Psychology* (Amritsar, 1955), p. 165 ff.

human. Now the idea that only the man who is "sacred" or "divine" himself may successfully attempt to worship the divinity, though always present, has been extremely emphasized in Tantrism.⁵⁶ The identity of the hidden nature of the worshipper himself with the godhead worshipped – who is a reflex in space of the sole reality, brahman, which is also the essence of the devotee – is the first principle of tantristic devotion. Knowing this the worshipper may approach the divinity in worship, through repetition of formulas, through "one-pointed meditation on its inner vision".⁵⁷

That the idea of "inspiration" was even at a later date and in local cults connected with dhyāna may appear from a rite performed by the Sahajiyās, the Bengal followers of the ideal of divine love, who, basing their doctrine on the ritual co-operation of female partners, perform a so-called dhyāna in the following way: one should kiss and touch the woman who should be seated on one's left side, so that one's mind becomes inspired; thereupon one should recite definite formulas.⁵⁸

The special character and high value of dhyāna as opposed to other activities of the mind was never lost sight of. In modern times it has for instance been Rāmakṛṣṇa who came to the conclusion that "la connaissance qui découle du raisonnement ou de la discrimination (*vicāra*-) est toute différente de celle qui vient de la méditation (*dhyāna*-)", adding however: "la Connaissance qui nous est donnée par Sa Révélation est encore autre chose; c'est la Vérité elle-même".⁵⁹

⁵⁶ For Tantrism see e.g. my *Inleiding tot het Indische denken* (Antwerpen-Nijmegen, 1948), ch. XVII; H. von Glasenapp, *Die Religionen Indiens* (Stuttgart, 1943), p. 171 ff.

⁵⁷ Cf. also H. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India* (New York, 1951), p. 581.

⁵⁸ M. M. Bose, *The post-Caitanya Sahajīā cult of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1930), p. 68 f.

⁵⁹ J. Herbert, *L'enseignement de Ramakrishna* (Paris, 1949), p. 400 f.

XIV
SOME NOTES ON BUDDHIST IDEAS ON "VISION"

The Buddhists, lay as well as theorists, are likewise convinced that when seers and advanced ascetics concentrate their minds knowledge comes to them (Mahāvastu III, 144). Like the other Indians they are of the opinion that those who have entered into contact with the unseen and the transcendental possess a special intuitive and visionary knowledge which is in all respects superior to the knowledge and comprehension of ordinary men. The founder of Buddhism, Gautama, was considered "omniscient" in virtue of his being *buddha*-, i.e. of his having attained *bodhi*- "enlightenment or 'intuitive knowledge' of the supreme truth of salvation". Hence "omniscience" belongs to the essential attributes of all who have gained buddhahood. Pettazzoni¹ is no doubt right in assuming that in these conceptions of Hinayanism, as also in the similar ideas of Jainism regarding the wisdom of the Jina, we have a reflection, on a much higher plane, of the so-called magic type of "omniscience", the attainment of which, even among peoples of a low cultural standard, depends upon the practice of asceticism and other experiences.

A buddha, although neither a god, nor a semi-divine being, nor a man (Aṅguttara-Nikāya II, 38), is indeed by his knowledge of the truth superior to all other beings. There are two classes of Buddhas, viz. those who though attaining to complete enlightenment do not preach the way of deliverance to the world (Pacceka-buddhas), and those who are endowed with the ten powers – the perfect comprehension in the ten fields of knowledge – who make it their mission to proclaim the saving truth to all beings (complete Buddhas or *sammāsambuddhas*). These Buddhas² are, moreover, gifted with the eighteen dhammas or characteristics and the four so-called *vesārajjāni* "perfect-selfconfidence", consisting in the highest knowledge, the so-called *khīṇāsava* state (i.e. the state of being freed from the mental obsessions), recognition of the obstacles, and recognition and preaching of the way to salvation. The birth of a Buddha is the cause of the greatest joy, and opportunities to see him are eagerly sought: the well-known Indian usage of, and belief in,

¹ R. Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing god* (London, 1956), p. 126.

² See e.g. *Milindapañha*, p. 105 Tr.

darśana, the salutary effect of seeing a man of extraordinary prestige, rank or spiritual power. A Buddha is not only adored as the highest and holiest of men (e.g. Saṃyutta-Nikāya I, 47), but also as supremely wise, as a teacher of gods and men and as the conqueror of all the powers of darkness (ibid. I, 50; 132 etc.). An interesting epithet in this connection is *ādiccabandhu* "kinsman of the sun" (applied to him in Saṃy. Nik. I, 186). As is well known his teaching leads to enlightenment and self-conquest, to peace, security and final deliverance from mundane existence.

Some passages from the Jātakas may be quoted in illustration. Vol. I, 213 f. "there are those who, through their having realized the perfections in past ages, have attained under the tree of Wisdom to be all-enlightened (*abhisambuddha* "one who has come to the realization of the highest wisdom"); who, having won deliverance by goodness, tranquillity and wisdom, possess also discernment and knowledge (*ñāṇadassanam*) of such deliverance; who are filled with truth, compassion, mercy, and patience; whose love embraces all creatures alike; whom men call omniscient (*sabbaññu*-) Buddhas"; IV, 212 "it is no marvel, brethren, if I in my omniscience (*sabbaññutam patto*) alarm the brethren by my teaching, and show how transient are life's elements". The Omniscient One is able to perform highly uncommon deeds: VI, 220. He knows how best to deal with all creatures: VI, 314. He was able to see, at night, with his supernatural vision what the brethren who lived in Jetavana did. Cf. also II, 392; Dīgha-Nikāya III, 52 (25, 19); 111 (28, 17). The same quality is also attributed to a pure and spotless master-brahman who is considered the highest personage in the world of men and devas and into whose ken comes all possible knowledge of things past, present and to be (I, 335); to Bodhisattvas (IV, 341); to Buddhas in general (IV, 328; V, 58; 494). It is valued higher than the position of Indra or of Brahma (III, 132).

What is of special interest is that words spoken or verses recited by a person entitled to the qualification "omniscient" are regarded as something very precious and exceptional: Jāt. V, 484 "these verses (*gāthā*) are not merely the words of a disciple (*sāvaka*-) or a saint (*isi*-) nor the word of a poet (*kavi*-), but were spoken by the Omniscient One (*sabbaññu*-)". The power of omniscience is, in these circles also, emphasized by resorting to similes or metaphorical expressions: thus the Jātakas speak of the "tusks of omniscience" which are a hundred-thousand times dearer than ordinary tusks and which can comprehend all things (I, 321; V, 29).

There is, however, in the *Milindapañha* a passage devoted to the question whether and, if so, how far, the Buddha was omniscient (p. 102 ff. Tr.). The standpoint of the author is that he was, but the (in)sight of

knowledge (*ñāṇadassanam*) was not always and continually (consciously) present with him. The omniscience (*sabbaññutañāṇam*) of the Buddha was dependent on "inclination" of the mind (*āvajjana*); "when he had turned the mind he knew whatever he wanted to know", the term *āvajjana* implying the idea of "winning to oneself, attracting". The objection that then the Buddha cannot have been omniscient, if his all-embracing knowledge was gained through seeking (investigation), is refuted by an explanation of the theory of the seven classes of mind. Those who are complete Buddhas constitute the highest class; they are omniscient; as already observed, they bear in themselves "the ten powers" – which, as is well known, generally speaking consist mainly of their perfect comprehension in the ten fields of knowledge³ –; they are endowed with the eighteen characteristics of a Buddha, whose mastery knows no limit. Their thinking powers are brought quickly into play and act with ease, because of their being purified in every respect. It is stated that the "omniscience" or "all-embracing knowledge" of the Blessed Ones is more rapid and more easy in its action than the stretching of an arm or the opening or shutting of the eyes.

Gopinath Kaviraj⁴ drew attention to a curious parallelism between the Buddhist views and Patañjali's Yoga system with regard to the double aspect of what the Buddhists call *prajñā*. A distinction is made by them between *prajñā* "wisdom" as a means (*hetubhūta*), i. e. the realization of the Noble Eightfold Path and the *prajñā* as the fruit (*phalabhūta*), to which the Path leads, i. e. Nirvāṇa. The former is the result of continued practice of *śruta*- ("holy word"), *cintā*- "meditation (on the religious truth)" and *bhāvanā*-⁵ (development and realization by means of concentrated thought or meditation). These three may be considered to be the Buddhist counterparts of *śravaṇa*- (a correct understanding of the true purport of the Upaniṣads), *manana*- (strengthening one's conviction as stated in the Upaniṣads by arguments in favour of the purport of the Upaniṣads) and *nididhyāsana*- (meditation, including all the Yoga processes of concentration in order to realize the truth as one) of the

³ See F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, II (New Haven, 1953), p. 397 f.

⁴ Gopinath Kaviraj, *o.c.*, p. 124.

⁵ Cf. Bodhicaryāvatārapañcīkā, p. 349 f. See L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme* (Bruxelles, 1897), p. 297 ff. See also P. Oltramare, *L'histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, II (Paris, 1923), p. 111 f.: "En dépit de ses tendances individualistes, la théosophie attache à la transmission de la doctrine une importance tout aussi grande que les religions officielles. Des voyants découvrent par intuition et révèlent la vérité; celle-ci passe ensuite de maître à maître, pieusement recueillie et conservée par les disciples."

Vedānta⁶ and of *āgama*- (hearing), *anumāna*- (consideration) and *dhyā-nābhyāsa*- (absorption) of the Yoga school, which teaches⁷ that by these one attains to *prajñā*... *yogam uttamam*.

According to the theorists, e.g. the Commentator on the Majjhima-Nikāya II, 345, there are two kinds of wisdom, that of concentration and that of vision.

As is well known, the successful yogin comes into possession of wonderful and supra-normal psychic powers, the application of which should however be avoided because the serious yogin should be fixed only on liberation.⁸ These powers, called *siddhi*- (Pāli *iddhi*-) "perfections",⁹ are inherent in a definite stage of advancement in the yogic career. "Les iddhi constituent en quelque sorte les nouvelles catégories d'expériences du 'corps mystique' que le moine est en train de se faire"¹⁰: a buddhist like a brahman yogin should, so to say, "die" as an ordinary human being and "be reborn" in a new state of life, a life of freedom, which involves a discontinuation of the limitations proper to ordinary human existence. "La possession des iddhi n'équivaut pas à la délivrance, mais ces 'pouvoirs merveilleux' prouvent en tout cas que le moine est en train de se 'déconditionner', qu'il a suspendu les lois de la Nature...". Although Patañjali in enumerating the *siddhayaḥ* mentions all legendary powers known from Indian mythology, folklore and metaphysics, the commentator Bhoja (on YS. 3, 44) limits them to eight, among which are levitation, mastery of elements and products of elements, the capacity of determining things according to nature etc.¹¹

With the Buddhists the iddhis form part of the so-called *abhijñāḥ* (Pāli *abhiññā*-).¹² These belong to an arhat, or adept who being already free from the wheel of existence, already arrived, in his lifetime, at Nirvāṇa. According to the stereotyped list in Dīgha Nikāya III, 281 these *abhiññās* "higher psychic powers" (more literally, "higher or supernatural knowledge; intuition") or forms of transcendental knowledge are six in number: *iddhi*; *dibbasota* (clairaudience), *paracittavijānana* (thought-reading), *pubbenivāsānussati* (recollecting one's previous births), *sattānaṃ*

⁶ See e.g. S. Dasgupta, *A history of Indian Philosophy*, I (Cambridge, 1951), p. 490.

⁷ Vācaspatimiśra on Patañjali, *Yoga-Sūtra* I, 48.

⁸ See e.g. M. Eliade, *Yoga* (1936), p. 129 f. etc.; the same, *Le Yoga, immortalité et liberté* (Paris, 1954), p. 97 ff., 183 ff. etc.

⁹ See Patañjali, 3, 16 ff.; (transl.) J. H. Woods, *The Yoga-system of Patañjali* (Cambridge, Mass.), p. 230 ff.

¹⁰ Eliade, *Le yoga*, p. 183.

¹¹ S. Lindquist, *Die Methoden des Yoga* (Lund, 1932), p. 182 ff.

¹² Lindquist, *Siddhi und Abhiññā* (Uppsala, 1935).

cutūpapāta (knowing other people's rebirths), *āsavakkhayakarañāna* (certainty of emancipation already attained). Instead of number 5 the Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha and other sources make mention of the *dibbacakkhu* (clairvoyance with regard to past and future of a living creature). The *paracittavijānana* is however also partly based on the application of the method of *dibbacakkhu*.¹³

It may in this connection be recollected that the term *abhiññā* appears in two contextual senses. First, certain conditions (the Path, or the Path and best knowledge and full emancipation etc.) are said to conduce, inter alia, to serenity, to the special psychic powers called *abhiññā*, to special wisdom, and to Nibbāna (Nirvāṇa). In the second place, *abhiññā* as described in the preceding paragraph. It may also be noticed that by *abhiññā* the Buddha attains knowledge of the doctrine taught by former Buddhas (Mahāv. I, 165).

As to the "divine vision" this occurs also in popular tales. In Jāt. II, 172 it reads: "they looked about them with divine vision (*dibbacakkhunā*), and observing the body of a chariot fit for an emperor to use, they took it..."; in II, 412 an ascetic, who had divine vision (*dibbacakkhunā*), perceives by means of it what a friend of his was a-doing.

Now the possession of omniscience is compared to that of an extraordinary faculty of sight. Thus Jāt. IV, 407 it reads: "the eye of omniscience (*sabbaññūtaññakkhim*) is dearer than the eye a hundred-fold". And also, for instance Saṃy. Nik. 13, 1 *ariyasāvassa diṭṭhi-sampamassa* "for the Ariyan disciple who has won vision", an expression followed by *puggalassa abhisametāvino* "for the person who has understanding". In a passage of the Saṃy. Nik. "Gotama the Great Seer of the Sākyas" says (12, 1, 10): *samudayo, samudayo ti kho me, bhikkhave, pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi, ñāṇam udapādi, paññā udapādi, vijjā udapādi, āloko udapādi* "coming to be! coming to be! at the thought there arose in me, brethren, in things not taught before vision (lit. eye; 'knowledge with the sense of vision', comm.), there arose in me knowledge, insight arose, wisdom ('as meaning penetration', comm.) arose, light ('as meaning radiance or luminance', comm.) arose".

The man who has attained to vision, belongs like the man who has been liberated by faith, the man who has been emancipated by understanding and others, to the seven kinds of noble persons (Buddhaghoṣa, Visuddhimagga, 659).

The wisdom of the Highest or Supreme Path, by which all the *kilesa*'s

¹³ For particulars see Lindquist, *Siddhi und Abhiññā*, p. 75 ff.

("impurities; obstacles") have been destroyed and the Four Noble Truths completely realized, is the same mental element of "knowledge" (*pañña*) developed into the Perfected View (*sammā-diṭṭhi*) of the highest order, and is the last stage of the purity of insight.¹⁴

"After conquering Māra's host by his steadfastness and tranquillity", Aśvaghoṣa tells us in the XIVth canto of the Buddhacarita, "Buddha put himself into trance (*dadhyau*) in order to obtain exact knowledge (*vijijñāsuḥ*) of the ultimate reality (*paramārtham*)" (st. 1). In the first watch (of the night) he called to mind the succession of his previous births (st. 2 ff.) with the result that the conviction grew in him that the saṃsāra was lacking in substance. In the second watch however "he gained the supreme divine eyesight" (*divyaṃ labhe paraṃ cakṣuḥ*), "being himself the most eminent among all who possess sight" (*sarvacakṣuṣmatām varāḥ*). "Then with that completely purified divine eyesight (*divyena paṇīuddhena cakṣuṣā*) he beheld the entire world (*nikhilaṃ lokam*), as it were in a spotless mirror". "Emphasis is here upon the word *nikhilaṃ* which implies freedom from all limitations, temporal as well as spatial, and indicates that the vision was simultaneous".¹⁵ The Buddha indeed sees the passing away and rebirth of all creatures, their staying in hell or heaven. Thus, the Tibetan version continues (st. 48), with the divine eyesight he examined the five spheres of life and found nothing substantial in existence, adding some particulars about what the Enlightened One saw, in the same manner, in the third watch (cf. st. 56) when he meditated on the real nature of the world.

For the use of the common verbs and nouns of seeing in connection with the specific activity of the wise we may for instance quote Majjh. Nik. 35 (I, 235) "... a monk in regard to whatever is material shape, past, future, present, subjective or objective, gross or subtle, low or excellent, distant or near, having seen all material shape as it really is by means of perfect intuitive wisdom (*sammappaññāya disvā*) as: 'This is not mine, this am I not...', becomes freed with no (further) attachment"; ibid. 36 (I, 241) "the recluses or brahmins who do not dwell aloof from pleasures of the senses which are bodily..., - if they have not properly got rid of the sense-pleasures or if these have not been properly allayed, whether they experience feelings which are acute, painful, sharp, severe, they could not become those for knowledge, for vision, for the incomparable self-awakening..." (*ñāṇāya dassanāya anuttarāya sambodhāya*).

¹⁴ See Shwe Zan Aung, *Introd. Essay to Compendium of Philosophy* (Translation of Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha by Mrs. Rhys Davids, London, 1956), p. 69.

¹⁵ Gopinath Kaviraj, in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Inst.*, 5 (Poona, 1924), p. 126.

The expression *ñāṇadassana* "knowledge and insight" (Majjh. Nik. 12 (I, 68) etc.) was explained by the comm. on Majjh. Nik. II, 21 as "the deva-like sight and vision (*vippassanā*) and the Way and the fruit and knowledge due to reflecting on, and omniscience".¹⁶ In the same text, 14 (I, 92) we encounter the following communication: *nigaṇṭho, āvuso, nātaputto sabbaññu sabbadassāvī aparisesaṃ ñāṇadassanaṃ paṭijānāti: carato ca me tiṭṭhato ca suttassa ca jāgarassa ca satataṃ samitaṃ ñāṇadassanaṃ paccupaṭṭhitaṃ ti* "your reverence, N. the Jain is all-knowing, all-seeing; he claims all-embracing knowledge-and-vision..., saying: 'whether I am walking or standing still or asleep or awake, knowledge-and-vision is permanently and continuously before me'". The same words and phrases are, in 71 (I, 482) used in connection with the Buddha Gotama.¹⁷ This knowledge-and-vision is the porch to deliverance from earthly existence: "k. and v. arose in me: unshakable is freedom for me, this is my last birth, there is not now again-becoming" (ibid. 25 (I, 167)) *ñāṇaṃ ca pana me dassanaṃ udapādi: akuppā me vimutti, ayam antimā jāti, natthi dāni punabbhavo ti*.¹⁸

From other places we learn how the composite process indicated by these terms may come about: ibid. 25 (I, 170) "then devatās having approached me spoke thus: 'Lord, A. passed away seven days ago'. So knowledge-and-vision arose in me that A. had passed away seven days ago. Then it occurred to me: 'A. has suffered a great loss...'". And elsewhere (ibid. 128 (III, 162)) "when there was developed in me the concentration that has initial and discursive thought, the conc. that is without initial thought and has only discursive thought, the conc. that is also without discursive thought, and when there was developed the conc. that has rapture and that without rapture, and the conc. which is accompanied by delight and that which is accompanied by equanimity, then the knowledge-and-vision arose in me: unshakable is freedom of mind for me, this is my last birth...".

Teaching based on knowledge-and-vision is well-founded and convincing; it has "a causal basis": "when the recluse Gotama says: 'I know, I see' – it is because he does know, does see. The recluse G. teaches dhamma from super-knowledge (*abhiññāya*)". Thus the same work 77 (II, 9).

The man who has left the world and exchanged the domestic for the

¹⁶ See also I. B. Horner, *The Middle Length Sayings*, I (London, 1954), p. 91.

¹⁷ See also 76 (519) and compare 76 (523).

¹⁸ Cf. also *ibid.*, 29 (I, 196). For states higher and more excellent than knowledge and vision see *ibid.*, 30 (I, 203 f.).

homeless life is, the Saṃyutta-Nikāya 3, 3, 4 (I, 99) says, possessed of five qualities: morals, proficiency in concentration, insight, emancipation, and the knowledge and vision belonging to the insight of the adept (*imāni pañcaṅgāni pahīnāni honti... asekkena sīlakkhandena... samādhikkhandhena... paññākkhandhena... vimuttikkhandhena... vimuttiñāṇadassanakkhandhena samannāgato hoti*).

The Aṅguttara-Nikāya 8, 64 (IV, 301) teaches "if I were both to perceive auras and to see forms, knowledge and vision (*ñāṇadassanaṃ*) within me would thus be better purified", the commentary explaining: *ñāṇasankhātāṃ dassanaṃ*.

One of those Buddhist terms which is often translated by "vision" is *vipassanā*: "inward vision, insight, intuition, introspection".¹⁹ Majjh. Nik. 6 (I, 33): "If a monk should wish to be revered and respected he should fulfil his moral habits, be intent on mental tranquillity within, his meditation should be uninterrupted, he should be endowed with vision (*vipassanāya samannāgato*) and be a cultivator of empty places". Similarly 32 (I, 213). The compound *vipassanāñāṇa* is used to denote the "ability or method of attaining insight" (e.g. Buddhaghosa, *Visuddhimagga* 629). "Insight (*vipassanā*) should be understood as the three contemplations of impermanence, pain, and not-self; not contemplation of impermanence alone". "No insight comes about without momentary concentration".²⁰ The stages of the normal progress from ignorance to arhantship are: I, the abandoning of the ten unprofitable courses of action; II, concentration, i.e. A, the abandoning of the seven hindrances to concentration; B, the eight attainments of concentration; III, understanding: A, insight (the eighteen principal insights beginning with the seven contemplations; B, the four paths" (*Visuddhimagga* 51²¹). Elsewhere the same text enumerates these eighteen insights (694): "in the case of the eighteen principal insights the abandoning by substitution of opposites is 1) the abandoning of the perception of impermanence, through the means of the contemplation of impermanence; 2) of the perception of pleasure...; 3) of the perception of self...; 4) of delight...; 5) of greed...; 6) of originating...; 7) of grasping...; 8) of the perception of compactness...; 9) of accumulation...; 10) of the perception of lastingness...; 11) of the sign...; 12) of desire...; 13) of misinterpreting...; 14) of insisting due to grasp-

¹⁹ T. W. Rhys Davids-W. Stede, *The Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary* (Chipstead, 1925), s.v.

²⁰ Commentary (*Atthakathā*) on *Visuddhimagga*, 2; 51.

²¹ See also *The Path of purification (Visuddhimagga)* by Bh. Buddhaghosa, transl. from the Pāli by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli (Colombo, 1956), p. 51, n. 38.

ing at a core, through the means of insight into states that is higher understanding; 15) of misinterpreting due to confusion, through the means of correct knowledge and vision; 16) of misinterpreting due to reliance (on formations); 17) of non-reflection...; 18) of misinterpreting due to bondage, through the means of the contemplation of turning away".

In the Discourse of the Auspicious which forms part of the Majjhima-Nikāya (131; III, 187 ff.) the Lord taught his disciples that the past should not be followed after, nor the future desired. "But whoever has vision now here, now there of a present thing [i.e. realizing that it is impermanent and so on], knowing that it is immovable, unshakable [by attachment and so on], let him cultivate it" (*paccupannaṃ ca yo dhammaṃ tattha tattha vipassati | asaṃhīraṃ asaṅkappaṃ taṃ vidvā m-anubrūhaye*).

The seer who sees all (*sabbaṃ passati cakkhumā*) is the one "for whom all karma is destroyed, the one who stands unconquered everywhere, who is wholly free and fetterless" (Saṃy. Nik. 5, 8). He is free from every craving and incessantly fixed on peace: so passes the man who sees away" (*cakkhumā parinibbuto* ibid. 6, 2, 5). The "man who sees" teaches the Norm to men (*dhammaṃ deseti cakkhumā*, Saṃy. Nik. 10, 7); he is the giver of the light (*pabhaṅkaro*: ibid.). He is therefore also called the seer of the norm (*dhammadaṣo*, 8, 3). Saṃy. Nik. 7, 1, 8 (I, 166) *pubbeni-vāsaṃ yo vedī, saggaṇḍāyaṃ ca passati* "whose knowledge has pierced many former lives, who sees the heavens and the state of loss and woe after death".

That the faculty of supranormal sight requires the presence of a medium which may be given the name of 'light' is almost self-evident. The use of words for light in this connection is easy of explanation. An interesting passage may be quoted from the Majjh. Nik. (128 (III, 161)) "so I living diligent, ardent, self-resolute, both perceived a limited light-manifestation (i. e. a l.-m. in regard to a limited object of meditation-exercise) and saw a limited (number of) material shapes; and for a whole night and a whole day I perceived a boundless light-manifestation and saw a boundless (number of) material shapes... Concerning this, it occurred to me: 'At the time when concentration (*samādhi*) is limited my vision (*cakkhu*) is limited, so with limited vision I both perceive a limited light-manifestation (*parittaṃ ceva obhāsaṃ sañjānāmi*) and see a limited (number of) material shapes (*parittāni ca rūpāni passāmi*). But at the time when my concentration is not limited my vision is boundless, so with boundless vision for a whole night and a whole day... I both perceive a boundless light-manifestation and see a boundless (number of)

material shapes." Passages such as the following are, in this connection, perfectly clear: *jutimā mutimā pahūtapañño* "bright, understanding and rich in wisdom" or "vision and light are thine, thine wisdom wide" (Sutta-Nipāta 539); cf. also 508 *kathaṃ upapajjati brahmalokaṃ jutimā* "how, Lord of light, can man pass hence to Brahmā's realms?"

The Buddha or Tathāgata may even be said to have become vision (*cakkhubhūta*). Thus Aṅg. Nik. 10, 115 (5, 226) "he has become vision (then eye), he has become knowledge, become dhamma, become Brahma..."; cf. Vinaya Piṭaka, Suttavibhaṅga 4, 9, 2 (3, 104) "there live disciples who have become vision".²²

The Pāli term *cakkhumant-*, lit. "being gifted with sight, possessed of eyes", is used of those who have clear sight, intuition or wisdom, and especially of the Buddha himself "the seer, the all-wise": Sutta-Nipāta 31 *saraṇaṃ taṃ upema cakkhuma* "we come for refuge to thee, O seer"; 541 Buddha is addressed as *cakkhumā, addhā muni, sambuddho* "seer, all-enlightened sage". From these frequent epithets and appellations it appears that the old ideas of supranormal ability conveyed by terms such as *muni, isi* (ṛṣi, "sage": 1025), *isisattama* ("best of ṛṣis": 356); *devīsi* ("godlike sage": 1116) and words for "eye" were now applied to the Buddha. It is the All-seeing one who, alone, sweeps away all darkness (Sutta-Nip. 956); all cognizance and might is his (992); he, the Buddha and Cakkhumā, has, on earth, proclaimed the truth of the Doctrine (993). The term *cakkhumā* applies however also to other beings. In Sutta-Nip. 706 the Lord for instance exhorts a disciple to shed all desires, "regulate your life with clear sight (*cakkhumā paṭipajjeyya*), then you would traverse this hell on earth".

Compare also Sutta-Nip. 161 *buddho dhammesu cakkhumā* "the Wake has vision into things"²³; and, in illustration of the allied subjects, also: ibid. 231 *sahā v'assa dassanasampadāya tayas su dhammā jahitā bhavanti: sakkāyadiṭṭhi vicikicchitaṃ ca silabbataṃ vāpi yad atthi kiñci* "in winning vision comes the riddance of the belief that the self is the body; doubt that rule and rite suffice; the freedom from hells..."; ibid. 530 *anuvicca papañca-nāmarūpaṃ ajjhataṃ bahiddhā ca roga-mūlam* "who sees as hindrance name-and-form, within, without, as root of ill... is called 'visioned'" (or, rather, "he has 'come to know'"²⁴);

²² See I. B. Horner, *The Book of Discipline*, I (London, 1949), p. 182.

²³ E. M. Hare, *Woven cadences of Early Buddhists* (London, 1947), p. 26.

²⁴ Lord Chalmers, *Buddha's Teachings being the Sutta-Nipāta* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), p. 129.

Samyutta-Nikāya 1, 4, 9 (I, 39) *sutam eva pure āsi, dhammo cakkhu-matānubuddho / sāhaṃ dāni sakkhi jānāmi, munino desayato sugatassa* "till now had I but heard about the Norm, revealed by the Man of Vision clear. Today I know, eye-witness of the Sage, the Blessed One teaching (that Norm to men)".²⁵

In the writings of the Buddhist the eye is often mentioned not only as an organ of sense, but also as an important channel of mental acquiring. Sight is the first and most important of the senses, the most valuable thing, heading the list in the numerations of the bodily faculties of perception. As a channel of mental acquisition it is the faculty of perception and apperception, insight, knowledge. It may be connected with *ñāṇa*- (Skt. *jñāna*-) "knowledge, insight, recognition", referring to the apperception of the Truth: "intuition and recognition" which means "perfect understanding". The verbal phrase *jānāti passati* "to know and to see" likewise means "to understand clearly". The noun *ñāṇa* occurs in couple-compounds together with terms of sight: *ñāṇaṃ dassanaṃ* (Skt. *darśanam* "faculty of apperception, insight") is an expression for "full insight" and one of the characteristics of arhantship: Samyutta-Nikāya II, 171 "there arose in me insight (*ñāṇaṃ ca pana me dassanaṃ udapādi*), the emancipation of my heart became unshakeable, this is my last birth...".

Besides, the Buddhists distinguish various aspects of praeter-normal visionary or intuitive sight, for instance the eye as the instrument of extrasensory perception, the "clairvoyant eye". This "eye" is the gift of favoured beings whose senses are developed to an extraordinary degree and who through right cognition have acquired the two visionary faculties known to some authorities as (Pāli) *dibbacakkhu*- (Skt. *devacakṣuḥ*) and *buddhacakkhu*-. Although there is considerable difference in definitions and confusion in the exact terminology used in Buddhist literature, the texts agree in assuming the existence of a higher faculty than the physical senses. This higher "sight" provides an explication of facts otherwise inexplicable. Without going into redundancies and all the different views to be found in our sources and drawing attention only to some points of interest in connection with our subject mention may be made of the *pañcacakku* or "five superior qualities of vision" which, being partly physical, partly mental or spiritual in character are possessed by a Buddha. They are described in the Cullaniḍḍesa 235, Mahāvastu I,

²⁵ The translation is Mrs. Rhys Davids' (*The book of Kindred Sayings*, I, London, 1950, p. 41).

158, 1 ff.²⁶ Leaving aside the *maṃsa-cakkhu* or physical eye which, though needing light, is said to be exceptionally powerful²⁷ – "because there is nothing in the Buddhas that can be measured by the standard of the world, but everything appertaining to the great seers is transcendental" – they are the *devacakṣuḥ*, *prajñācakṣuḥ* (Pāli *paññacakkhu*), *dhammacakṣuḥ* (Pāli *samantacakkhu*), *buddhacakṣuḥ*. They do not need physical light.²⁸

The dharma eye consists in the intellectual possession of the "ten powers" (the power of knowing what is and what is not a causal occasion, of knowing whither every course of conduct tends, etc.). In Pāli literature the term *dhammacakkhu*- seems to be interchangeable with *vipassanā* "inward vision, intuition", to which we will have to revert. It denotes the dawning of the spiritual sense in man on conversion, occurring frequently in the standing formula at the end of a conversation with the Buddha which leads to the interlocutor's "eye-opening" or to his perceiving of the changeability of the phenomenal world. Cf. e.g. Dīghanik. I, p. 86... *imasmiṃ yeva āsave virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhammacakkhuṃ uppajjissathāti*. That is to say: "this 'eye' is characterized as a faculty of true knowledge, undisturbed by *raja(h)* ('staining dust, impurity') and free from obscurity (*vītamala*-)." In the commentary on the same text, I, 237 the term is explained as follows: *dhammesu vā cakkhuṃ dhammamayaṃ vā cakkhuṃ*. When it is fully developed the convert is established in the fruit of *sotāpatti*- (i.e. "his entering upon the noble eightfold path"), i.e. "the fruit of conversion". The expression *dhammacakkhu* is used of the attainment of that right knowledge which leads to Arhantship, viz. the perception of the impermanency of all

²⁶ For the other text-places see T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *The Pāli Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, III (Chipstead, 1922), p. 90; F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* (New Haven, 1953), p. 221.

²⁷ For particulars the reader may for instance be referred to J. J. Jones' translation of the Mahāvastu, I (London, 1949), p. 125 ff.

²⁸ It may be of interest to quote also a passage from the commentary of the Buddhavaṃsa, called Madhurattavilāsinī and written by Bhadantācariya Buddhaddatta Mahāthera (edited by I. B. Horner, Oxford, 1946): p. 33 *cakkhumā ti ettha cakkhatī ti cakkhusamavisamaṃ vibhāvayatī ti attha taṃ pana cakkhu duvidhaṃ: ñāṇacakkhu maṇ-sacakkhū ti. tattha ñāṇacakkhu pañcavidhaṃ: buddhacakkhu dhammacakkhu samanta-cakkhu dibbacakkhu paññacakkhū ti. tesu buddhacakkhu nāma āsayānusayañāṇaṃ c'eva indriyaparopariyattīñāṇaṃ ca yaṃ 'buddhacakkhunā lokam voloketī ti āgataṃ; dhammacakkhu nāma heṭṭhimā tayo maggā tīṇi ca phalāni yaṃ 'virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhammacakkhuṃ udapādi ti āgataṃ; samantacakkhu nāma sabbaññutāñāṇaṃ yaṃ tathūpamadhammamayaṃ sumedha pāsādam āruyha samantacakkhū ti āgataṃ; dib-bacakkhu nāma ālokavaḍḍhanena uppannābhīññā cittaṇa sampayuttañāṇaṃ yaṃ dib-bena cakkhunā visuddhenā ti āgataṃ; paññacakkhu nāma cakkhuṃ udapādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi ti c'ettha pubbe nivāsādīñāṇaṃ paññacakkhū ti āgataṃ maṃsacakkhu nāma...*

things and all beings. Hence it has indeed rightly been compared to what is in other religions called conversion. Cf. e.g. Milindap. 1, 31 *atha kho tassā... virajāṃ vītamalaṃ dhammacakkhuṃ udapādi* "there arose in her heart the Insight into the Truth, clear and stainless", and the object of this insight is the fundamental Buddhist truth that "whatsoever has beginning has the inherent quality of passing away".

The deva eye of the Buddhas – which is frequently mentioned – is, according to the definition furnished by the Mahāvastu, the same as that which the devas, yakṣas, rākṣasas etc. possess, only superior, larger, and more expansive. This eye is concerned with mental forms. Remarkably enough the corresponding *dibbacakkhu* of the Pāli sources is described as the eye of a seer, all-pervading and seeing all that proceeds in hidden worlds. It is sometimes also asserted that *dibbacakkhu* enables an individual to see visible objects, although these may not be ordinarily perceived by the normal faculty of vision.²⁹ No distinction is, here again, made in this respect between the supranormal faculties of human seers and the divine qualities and faculties of the denizens of heaven. In the Abhidhammāvatāra this "eye" is defined as the "knowledge" arising when, in the fourth stage of *jhāna*, it is identified with the object (st. 1100 *atthasādhakacittaṃ taṃ catutthajjhānikaṃ mataṃ | taṃ cittasaṃyutaṃ ñāṇaṃ divvacakkhūni vuccati*). Some particulars may be added: by means of his deva-eye the bodhisattva sees fair beings and foul beings passing away and coming to birth (Mahāv. I, 228); he sees how they reach a state in accordance with their karma, and this seeing implies an insight and a knowledge (ibid. II, 283).³⁰ The famous seer Asita, being possessed of great 'magic' and power could by means of his deva-eye survey the whole of Jambudvīpa in order to locate the birth of the Buddha (ibid. II, 30 f.). No place is indeed beyond its range of vision (II, 359). The deva-eye enables its possessor to perceive what other beings are thinking (III, 103).

The "eye of wisdom" (*prajñācakṣuḥ*) is described as identical with that possessed by individuals arranged in eight classes according to their power of sight from the convert up to the arhat; it is, however, clearer (Mahāv. I, 159). It is the "eye" of perfect understanding, belonging to him who knows all that can be known. The *prajñā* or "wisdom"³¹

²⁹ Gopinath Kaviraj, in *Annals Bhandarkar Inst.* 5, p. 123.

³⁰ See also Shwe Zan Aung, *Introd. Essay to Compendium of Philosophy* (Translation of Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha by Mrs. Rhys Davids, London, 1956), p. 63.

³¹ *Prajñā* may be described as the working of the 'Self' in man. Cf. also Udāna, 4, 1 (p. 36): "A monk is possessed of wisdom or insight (*paññā*), endowed with the in-

occurring, in Buddhist texts, with many of the associations which are known from Patañjali's Yoga, is said to develop when the mind is purified by *samādhi* (complete concentration): cf. Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañcīkā, p. 348 *yathāvasthitapratītyasamutpannavastutattvapariṇāyaka-lakṣaṇā prajñā* and *samathapariśodhitacittasaṃtāne prajñāyāḥ prādurbhāvāt suprasodhitakṣetre śasyaṇiṣpattivat*. This view is in harmony with the conviction that the Ultimate Truth (*paramārthasatya*), the realization of which is an essential condition for attaining the highest goal, reveals itself only by *prajñā*, knowledge of things as they are in themselves. This *prajñā* consisting however of a series of successive stages, it is not to be supposed that the *prajñācakṣuḥ* represents *prajñā* integrally.

Of special interest is a passage of the Saṃyutta-Nikāya, 41, 1, where a man's eye of wisdom is declared to be conversant with the profound teaching of the Enlightened One: ... *yassa te gambhīre buddhavacane paññācakṣu kamati*, the verb *kamati* being explained as *vahati*, *pavattati* "travels, proceeds, carries on". The medium by which the person takes Buddha's words is "the eye of wisdom".

The Buddha eye, before which all other powers pale, finally is what may be called complete intuition. It comprises the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha, viz. infallible knowledge and insight of the past, of the future, and of the present; all his acts of body, speech and thought are based on knowledge and concerned with knowledge; there is no falling off in resolution, in energy, in mindfulness, in concentration, in insight, in freedom; there is no faltering, no impetuosity; his mindfulness never fails; his mind is never disturbed. There is no thoughtless indifference; there is no preoccupation with the multiplicity of phenomena.

The character of these special "eyes" is sometimes illustrated by a simile or comparison. Thus, Aṅguttara-Nikāya 92 (I, 242) it reads: "just so, monks, in the autumn season when the sky is clear and the clouds have fled, the sun leaping up into the firmament drives away all darkness from the heavens and shines and burns and flashes forth, – even so in the Ariyan disciple arises the flawless, taintless *dhammacakkhu*, and along with this arising three fetters are abandoned..."³²

Another favourite designation of the man who is characterized by supreme insight and wisdom is, also in Buddhist circles, *dhīra*-. Thus it

sight which goes on to discern the rise and fall (i.e. birth-and-death, beginning-and-end: *udayattha*), with the noble (Aryan) penetration which goes on to penetrate perfect ending of Ill".

³² Translation by F. L. Woodward, *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, I (London, 1960), p. 221.

reads Itivuttaka 1, 3, 3 (17): "He who is wise and diligent wins twofold advantage, viz. what is good in this life and what is good in the future life, because he grasps that in which his advantage lies, the inspired man (*dhīro*) wins the name of wise". The translation "inspired" was also adopted by Woodward.³³ Similarly Udāna 8, 5 (82) "when he had eaten Cunda's food... the inspired one (*dhīro*, here referring to Buddha Gautama who is often addressed by this epithet) felt a dire sickness, to end in death. The translation "muser" proposed by Hare³⁴ creates misunderstanding: Sutta-Nip. 45 "if one finds a friend with whom to fare, rapt in the well-abiding" (*sādhuvihāri-dhīraṃ*): "a *dhyānin*, rendered 'rapt' herein". Ibid. 250 the term has even been translated by "saint"³⁵: *saṅgātigo sabbadukkhappahīno na lippati diṭṭhasuteso dhīro* "the saint who leaves all ties and has vanquished all ills, is stained by nought he either sees or hears". The *dhīrā* illumine (349); they abstain from all wrong, prevail over the pains of hell and are energetically devoted to concentration (530): they do not grieve for death and decay (581). The *dhīro* is also *sappañño* "wise" (591); *jhānapasuto* "intent upon *dhyāna*-" (709); he is proof against the things of sense (778) and free from groundless opinions (913); he is released (913) and crosses the flood (1052).

A Pāli passage illustrating the use of *dhīra*- in Buddhist circles is also Samy.Nik. 45, 4: "whoso has faith (*saddhā*) and wisdom (*paññā*), these two states (*dhammā*) for ever yoked together lead him on: conscience (*hirī*) the pole, and mind (*mano*) the yoke thereof, and heedfulness (*sati*) his watchful charioteer. The car is furnished forth with righteousness (*sīla*), rapture (*jhāna*) its axle, energy (*vīriyo*) its wheels, and calm (*upekkhā*), yokefellow of the balanced mind (*samādhi*), desirelessness (*anicchā*) the drapery thereof, goodwill or freedom from malice (*avyāpādo*) and harmlessness (*avihiṃsā*) his weapons are, together with detachment of mind (*viveko*). Endurance (*titikkhā*) is his leathern coat of mail, and to attain the peace (*yogakkhemāya*) this car rolls on. It is built by self, by one's own self becometh this best of cars, unconquerable (in battle). Seated therein the sages (*dhīrā*) leave the world, and verily they win the victory."³⁶

The term *dhīra*- occurs, however, also to denote "the expert, the wise man", e.g. Sutta-Nip. 211 "the experts (*dhīrā*) acclaim as 'sage' (*munim*)

³³ F. L. Woodward, *The Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon*, II (London, 1948), p. 127.

³⁴ Hare, *Woven Cadences*, p. 7, n. 2.

³⁵ Chalmers, *o.c.*, p. 63.

³⁶ The translation is F. L. Woodward's, *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, V (London, 1956), p. 5.

an all-wise conqueror..."; see also 838; cf. also ibid. 775 *appaṃ h' idaṃ jīvitam āhu dhīrā* "this life is brief, say the sages".³⁷

It cannot be part of our task to run over the accounts of the Mahayanist texts in regard to the omniscience of the transcendental and divine Buddha, the less so as some useful notes on this point were recently collected by Pettazzoni.³⁸ What should however not be left unmentioned is that however much this omniscience may have been sublimated in esoteric interpretations and speculative elaborations of the various schools, it has an expression in art based on the elementary art of seeing. In Mahayanist Buddhist art the third eye in the middle of the forehead is, like the plurality of heads, looking different ways, a regular symbol of the unlimited power of vision.³⁹ The import of this fact is not lessened by its being due to Hindu, especially Śivaite influences: this symbolism is applied to the highest figures of the Mahayanist religion, including those which give personal shape to the first principle of being, prior to emanation, and even so omniscient.

³⁷ Here Chalmers has: "seers", in 719 "steadfast" (?). In Pāli also *dhīra*- may also represent Skt. *dhīra*- (*dhārayati*). The commentators give both etymologies: *dhiyā* (= *paññāya*) *samannāgata*-, *dhītisampanna*- and, in addition to these, *dhikkita* *pāpa*- "detesting evil".

³⁸ Pettazzoni, *o.c.*, p. 126 ff.

³⁹ See also W. Kirfel, *Die dreiköpfige Gottheit* (Bonn, 1948), p. 38 ff.

XV
PRATIBHĀ

A term of no mean interest in this connection is *pratibhā*. Occurring in a variety of post-Vedic texts this word is, in the Nirukta (14, 4), given the sense of "image" and in *niṣpratibha-* (Hariv.) "devoid of splendour" has preserved the sense of "light" or "splendour". It etymologically belongs to *prati-bhā* "to shine upon; come into sight, present oneself to" but also "to appear to the mind, to flash upon the thought, occur to, become clear or manifest" (Nir. 4, 6 *pratibabhou* "it was revealed", of the Ṛgvedic sūkta 1, 105 which was revealed to Trita when he was thrown into the pit: *tritāṃ kūpe 'vāhitam etat sūktaṃ pratibabhou*). It usually denotes "a sudden thought, 'ein aufleuchtender Gedanke' (Petr. Dict.), a quick understanding or insight", then also "presence of mind, wit, genius", "boldness, audacity", "fancy, imagination". The substantive *pratibhāna-*, moreover, means "obviousness, intelligence, presence of mind, quick-wittedness, brilliance". In Buddhist texts the association with "readiness in speech" is perhaps more marked, hence "presence of mind, brilliance, inspiration", especially as manifested in speech: Suv. 13, 2 *tasya pratibhānam utpannam* "he became inspired to speak his thoughts".¹ It is clear that here again the various translations given and needed refer only to aspects of the idea conveyed by the term under discussion.

In its ordinary non-technical use the term also refers to "the sudden knowledge of a future thing, an inexplicable intuition as to what may occur in the future". It also includes – even in ordinary life – "the power of understanding all kinds of sounds without effort, all that may be communicated by any animal in the world, and the power of having heavenly visions".² A place interesting because of the combination with *dhī-* is Kathās. 5, 96 *pratibhātaś ca paśyanti sarvaṃ prajñāvatāṃ dhiyaḥ* "the insight of the wise sees everything by 'intuition'".

The term *pratibhā-* is however also used in technical discussions of philosophers and of those theorizing on yoga and aesthetics. It may be

¹ Cf. F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven, 1953), p. 366.

² S. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, I³ (Cambridge, 1951), p. 342 f.; V (Cambridge, 1955), p. 127, following Jayanta's Nyāyamañjarī, and also E. W. Hopkins, in *J.A.O.S.*, 22 (1901), p. 342 f. According to comm. (e.g. Vyākhyā on Bhaṭṭik. 11, 9) p. = *matih*.

discussed here at some length because it is in a way the counterpart of the Vedic *dhī-* in later times and because, moreover, the philosophical grammarians who, like other theorists, used the term were of the opinion that their branch of knowledge was rooted in the Vedic hymns themselves. It is worth while to enumerate some Indian definitions. According to authorities belonging to the Nyāya tradition of thought³ the term may be explained as "a special mode of forming and retaining conceptions of the 'quivering' or 'sudden appearance or manifestation' description" (*sphūrtyākhyo buddhiviśeṣaḥ*), or *pratibhā* is regarded as "intuitive consciousness abounding in always new eye-openings (or, awakenings)" (*prajñā nava-navonmeṣaśālīnī pratibhā matā*), and some authorities call it "brightness" (*dīptih*). It is 'revelation', transcendental knowledge suddenly realized.

Pratibhā is that function of the mind which, while developing without any special cause, is able to lead on to real knowledge, to an insight into the transcendental truth and reality. It is intuition from within, the divine spark which suddenly illumines darkness into light. It is that which gives the realization of identity.

The yoga discipline, that is the purification of body, mind, and soul is to prepare the individual for the beatific vision.⁴ There is an interesting passage in Patañjali's Yogasūtras, viz. 3, 33. After mentioning the *siddha-darśanam*, i.e. vision of the *siddhāḥ* (i.e. of those who have attained their goal, are perfect and "beatified", endowed with "praeternatural" faculties) the text states that as a result of *prātibha-* the yogin can discern All (the totality): *prātibhād vā sarvam*. The Bhāṣya furnishes us with the following commentary: "The so-called intuition⁵ is the deliverer (*tārakam*). This is the preliminary form of the (intuitive) knowledge derived from discrimination, just as the light at dawn (precedes) the sun. In this other way the yogin knows All (the totality: *sarvam*) at the rise of the intuitive knowledge (*prātibhasya jñānasya*). In his subcommentary Vācaspatiśra adds: "*Pratibhā*, that is comprehension ... For in the case of one who practises a constraint which leads to deep meditation ("elevation"), there results, when he attains perfection therein, an (intuitive) knowledge due

³ M. Bhīmācārya Jhalakīkar, *Nyāyakośa or Dictionary of technical terms of Indian philosophy* (Poona, 1928), p. 538. – See also B. Bhattacharyya, in *Ind. Hist. Qu.*, 9, 44. According to Maṇḍanamīśra (± 850, Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā) Vidhiviveka, *pratibhā* is the intuition or instinct (*prajñā*) conducive to the knowledge of the relation of cause and effect between various things. See also R. Shamshastri, in *Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, 11, p. 353.

⁴ See also S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian philosophy*, II (London, 1923 [1948]), p. 372.

⁵ J. H. Woods, *The Yoga-system of Patañjali* (Cambridge, Mass., 1914), p. 261 translates: "vividness". Cf. e.g. also S. K. Saksena, *Nature of Consciousness in Hindu Philosophy* (Benares, 1944), p. 109 etc.

to that comprehension which is the characteristic sign of the dawning of the deep meditation ("elevation"). In this way the yogin discerns All. And this (intuitive knowledge), since it serves to bring the elevation near, delivers from the saṃsāra and so it is a 'deliverer'. "This divining power of intuition", a modern interpreter⁶ remarks, "is the power which lies above and behind the so-called rational mind; the rational mind formulates a question and lays it before the intuition, which gives a real answer, often immediately distorted by the rational mind, yet always embodying a kernel of truth ... But this higher power ... may act directly, as full illumination, 'the vision and the faculty divine'".

In 3, 36 the author of the Yogasūtras and the commentaries continue to explain that when, in virtue of the perpetual sacrifice of the personal man, the spiritual man is realized, there awakes in him those powers the physical counterparts of which we know in the empirical world: there arises an intuitive knowledge of the subtle or concealed or remote, whether past or future; one has access to supernal sounds, consciousness of supernal colours, flavour etc. Vācaspatimiśra adds that the central organ (*manah*) and the organs of hearing, feeling, sight, taste and smell are in each single case in direct causal relation with the supernal sounds etc. and with the intuitive knowledge called *pratibhā*.

In Patañjali's Yoga system of thought *pratibhā* is therefore the supreme faculty of "omniscience" which is evolved through a continued practice of concentration on the self as appearing in the form of the phenomenal ego. "It is said that as practice continues, and before the glory of the final illumination yet breaks forth, there dawns ..., in the fashion of the effulgence of the morning sun before the actual rise of the orb above the horizon, an unspeakable splendour in which the entire universe stands fully revealed. It is a vision in eternity ... simultaneous, truthful, all-comprehending, and serene. It is, so to speak, the vision of the many as reflected in the mirror of the one, and although there is still predominance of multiplicity it is at this stage so thoroughly infused with the unity that it is in a sense identical with it."⁷ The authorities on yoga explain that when one goes beyond the first two stadia of ecstasy and concentrates one's *citta*- ("mind comprising the sense faculties"⁸) on one's phenomenal ego, i.e. the subject of relative consciousness (*asmitā*) as illumined by the light of the Spirit, one becomes self-conscious, that is to say, one attains to a

⁶ Ch. Johnston, *The Yoga sūtras of Patañjali* (London, 1949), p. 123 f.

⁷ Gopinath Kaviraj, "The doctrine of *pratibhā* in Indian Philosophy", in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 5 (1923-4), p. 1 ff. and 113 ff.

⁸ For the characteristics of *citta* according to the Yoga school of thought compare S. Dasgupta, *A history of Indian Philosophy*, I (Cambridge, 1951), p. 261 ff.

state of subjective intuition. It should however be remembered that this "self-consciousness", though being its last term, still belongs to our phenomenal existence. Consisting in a realization of the relative unity of subject and object it is equivalent to the *so'hamjñāna* of the Vedānta. It constitutes the highest mystic acquisition of the yogin, next only to his self-realization. "It is the pointed apex of a broad-based pyramid-like edifice, beyond which is Eternity."⁹ How it is possible that this concentration leads to "omniscience" is explained by the author of the commentary (Yoga-bhāṣya) on 3, 49: "the guṇas (aspects of material reality) which are the essence of all things which have both the determinations and the objects-of-determinations as their essence, present themselves as being the essence of the object-for-sight in its totality to their owner, the soul" (*sarvātmāno guṇā vyavasāyavyavaseyātmakāḥ svāminam kṣetrajñam pratyakṣaśāḍṣyātmavasthithāḥ*): that is to say, the objective phenomena and their knowledge become simultaneously present to one's cosmic consciousness. This self-consciousness, which is All-consciousness, is *pratibhā*. In its "light" all things are simultaneously and in all their aspects revealed.

Yogins are believed to have the power of perceiving immediately (*pratyakṣa*-) the most distant things beyond ordinary human senses, a power which they can acquire and bring to a state of greater perfection by gradually increasing their concentration. Since by the effects of this essentially miraculous power one may taste heavenly delights and an endless variety of exquisite pleasures as well as have a full command of all that one may wish to possess, it is clear that the '*pratibhā*' could also be an obstacle in the progressive path of yoga, because it distracts the adept from attaining the highest goal. This unwished for consequence is faced up to in Mbh. 240 (239), 24, where it is expressly enjoined that it is not an acquisition worth coveting: *pratibhām upasargāṃś cāpy upasamgrhya yogataḥ | tāṃś tattvavid anādrtya ātmany eva nivartayet* "when one has experienced '*pratibhā*' and '(praeternormal) obstacles' by means of yoga, the man who knows the true nature of things must pay no attention to them and suppress them in himself" (compare Nīlakaṇṭha: *pratibhām sakalāśāstrārthabhānam* ("intuitive knowledge of the contents of all the authoritative texts") *upasargāḥ divyāṅganāsaṃgādayaḥ tāṃś ca upasamgrhya yogabalena labdhvā anādrtya ca ātmani buddhāv eva nivartayet saṃharet buddhikalpitaivāt teṣāṃ tatraiva saṃhārasya yuktatvāt*.

In the Śivapurāṇa, Vāy. Saṃh. 29, 78, where the term is explained as denoting the faultless illumination of things subtle, hidden, remote, past

⁹ Gopinath Kaviraj, *o.c.*, p. 9 f.

and future, it is also said to be one of the super-normal obstacles (*divyā upasargāḥ*) in the path to self-realization; nevertheless, the phenomenon is an indication of the proximity of this realization (*siddhasūcaka-*). “In view of the multiplicity in the object of this vision it is held to be an impediment to *kaivalyam* (the state of absolute emancipation, the perfect isolation or independence obtained by it) and to the highest wisdom which leads through the cessation of all mental life to that supreme state.”¹⁰

In studying the history of words which are important from the point of view of the history of Indian culture one always meets with the regrettable fact that with the exception of a limited number of texts no complete indices of words exist. It is therefore not possible to give an essentially complete account of the uses made, for instance in the purāṇas, of the term under examination. In the Mahābhārata however it occurs several times, to attract the attention of Hopkins¹¹ and Gopinath Kaviraj.¹² It is among the many technical terms of Yoga which are contained in the later epic. The perfected yogin, who, by means of the methods of fixing the mind (*dhāraṇāḥ*), has overcome the elements, selfishness and intellect, attains to *pratibhā* (“complete and faultless illumination”, Hopkins), in which state he surpasses the guṇas (i.e. materiality) and is able to perform “miracles”. In discussing the method of overcoming the impediments to yoga the author of Mbh. 12, 274, 7 opposes *pratibhā* (in the sense of *anyasamdhāna-* (Nīlakaṇṭha) to *nidrā* (“sleep”) in the sense of *ananasamdhāna-* “absence of close and searching inspection or investigating”. In 12, 316, 14 the term is coupled with – and opposed to – *apavarga-* “emancipation from bodily existence”, to which it was considered an impediment. In 12, 239, 24 – where Nīlakaṇṭha explains it as *sakalaśāstrārthabhānam* – the great epic even expressly teaches that it is not an acquisition worth desiring, no doubt because it may occasion distractions. The *pratibhā* is indeed the yogin’s objective till he surpasses mastery, i.e. the ability to create things like Prajāpati, the power to conceal oneself, to drink up all water etc., that is to say to bring the five elements into one’s power. When he has subdued also egoism and intellect (*buddhiḥ*) which is the “soul” of these six, then the *vyaktam*, i.e. what has been developed and manifested and is therefore perceptible by the senses, becomes *avyaktam* “unmanifested, transcendental” to him and there appears in him the “complete faultless illumination” (*nirdoṣapra-*

¹⁰ Gopinath Kaviraj, *o.c.*, p. 7.

¹¹ E. Washburn Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India* (New York-London, 1902), p. 107, n. 1, 181; see also the same, in *J.A.O.S.*, 22, p. 355.

¹² Gopinath Kaviraj, *o.c.*, p. 128 ff.

tibhā kṛtsnā: Mbh. 12, 236, 26, the expression being explained by Nīlakaṇṭha as *saṁśayaviparyayaśūnyam jñānam*). Elsewhere however it occurs in the sense of “flash of intuition, breaking forth of an idea” (*sphūrti-* “sudden appearance or display”, Nīlakaṇṭha), e.g. 12, 260, 1.

Beside the philosophical sense given in Buddhist texts to the term under consideration it may express a “literary” idea. Its more popular meaning (translatable by some English phrase like “faculty of improvisation”, or “fluency in literary expression”) is illustrated in the Saṁ.Nik. I, 187 Vaṅṭsa, the irrepressibly fluent ex-occultist, is smitten with remorse for having, because of his rhetorical gifts (*paṭibhāna-*), despised friendly brethren, and breaks forth once more to express his repentance ... When the afflatus was upon him in the Buddha’s presence, he would ask leave to improvise with the words: “it is manifest (revealed) to me, Exalted one!” The response is: “let it be manifest to thee (have inspiration) Vaṅṭsa!”¹³ It is clear that *paṭibhāna-* stands for the poetical gift, the faculty of producing, by way of “improvisation”, verses and of expressing thoughts in well-structured speech.

A similar passage occurs Aṅg.Nik. III, 239 where Piṅgiyāni, a brahman of Vesāli, is related to have been present with a large company of people gathered to pay honour to the Buddha. The sight of the Master, sitting in their midst and outshining them all, inspired him: “*paṭibhāti maṃ Bhagavā*”. When the Buddha answers him: “be then inspired!”, he bursts into an improvisation in his honour. In another chapter (II, 230) the same work enumerates the four types of poets: poets by reflection (*cintakavi-*), poets by traditional learning (*sutakavi-*), a “didactic” poet (*atthakavi-*), a poet by inspiration (*paṭibhānakavi-*).

For a non-technical use of *paṭibhāna-* one might also refer to Vinaya-Piṭ., Suttavibh. 26, 1 (4, 60) where the venerable Udāyin is related to have sewed a robe for a nun and, while dyeing it well, to have made on it, by his own wit or ingenuity (*paṭibhānacitta-*), a bold design.¹⁴ Hence also the phrase *paṭibhantu taṃ* “let it occur to you, call to mind” (Saṃy.Nik. V, 81), *paṭibhāti maṃ* “it occurs to me”; cf. also in Sanskrit Mbh. 1, 3, 32 *sarve ca te vedāḥ pratibhāsyanti sarvāṇi ca dharmasāstrāṇi*. This expression is also used in connection with the Buddhist Doctrine, e.g. Mahāvagga 5, 13, 9 “may the Dhamma so become clear to you that you may speak” (*paṭibhātu taṃ bhikkhu dhammo bhāsituṃ*). Here also the context is of

¹³ Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Points of Controversy or Subjects of Discourse* (*Kathāvatthu*) (London, 1960), p. 379, n. 1.

¹⁴ For particulars see I. B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline II* (London, 1957), p. 285, n. 5.

interest, because the disciple addressed assented and “he intoned all the verses in the Book of the Eights”¹⁵; Suvarṇabh. 13, 2 *tasya pratibhānam utpannam* “he became inspired to speak his thoughts”.

With regard to the expression *paṭibhāna*- Mrs. Rhys Davids¹⁶ translating the relevant passage (Saṃy.Nik. 8, 3) as follows: “on another occasion, at the same place, the venerable Vaṅḡsa was despising amiable brethren because of his skill in improvisation”, supplies the note: “*paṭibhāna*:- in popular usage, as here, that swift facility in adapting knowledge and expressing it, which is so marked by V.’s chief talent” “*Paṭibhānam* is the rapid suggestion of an idea in a case of doubt or difficulty, an illumination; so that *paṭibhānako*, the man of ready wit, may be compared with *upāyakusalo*, the man fertile in resource.”¹⁷ Another translation is “flash of ideas”.¹⁸ It may also answer to “illumination, intelligence; readiness or confidence of speech, promptitude etc.”,¹⁹ to “readiness in speech, self-confidence, brilliance, esp. as manifested in speech, quick-wittedness and inspiration”.²⁰

In the Buddhist doctrine of logical analysis four branches of the same are distinguished: the analysis (*paṭisambhidā*-) of meanings “in extension” (*attha*-), the analysis of reasons, conditions, or causal relations (*dharmma*-), the analysis of definitions (*nirutti*-), and the so-called *paṭibhāna-paṭisambhidā* “the analysis of intellect to which things knowable by the foregoing processes are presented”, or “analytic insight into the three preceding processes”.²¹ *Paṭibhāna*- is defined in the Abhidhānappadīpikāsūri as follows: *paṭimukhā bhavanti, upaṭṭhahanti ñeyyā etenāti paṭibhānam* “*paṭibhāna*- means that by which things knowable (i.e. which come under the three preceding branches of logical analysis) become represented, are present”. The representative or ideating processes are not themselves *paṭisambhidā*, but are themselves (as knowables) analysed in *paṭisambhidā-ñānam* “analytic insight”.²² The term was translated by Conze²³ by

¹⁵ T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, II (= *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 17) (Oxford, 1882), p. 36.

¹⁶ By Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Book of Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 237.

¹⁷ Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, III (= *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 20) (Oxford, 1885), p. 13, n. 2.

¹⁸ E. Obermiller, *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* (s-Gravenhage, 1960), p. 147.

¹⁹ T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *The Pāli Text Society's Pāli-Engl. Dict.* (Chipstead), s.v.

²⁰ Edgerton, *Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit dictionary*, p. 366.

²¹ For a survey of the Buddhist view on ‘omniscience’ etc. see L. Silburn, *Instant et cause* (Paris, 1955), p. 392 ff.

²² Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Points of Controversy*, p. 378 f.

²³ E. Conze, *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (Roma, 1954), p. 27.

“ready speech (or inspiration)” in Abhisamayālaṅkāra 1, 68 where it is on the strength of its inexhaustibility compared to a river. Here it is – together with infinite and successful resolves, knowledge of the speech of the gods etc., and several other high accomplishments characteristic of a buddha – one of the dharmas to be fulfilled on the ninth stage of the way towards the re-union with the Absolute. Thus it reads in connection with the bodhisattvas e.g. Mahāv. I, 134, 7 *jñānaparamā asaṃkliṣṭa-pratibhānās ca* “and possessing perfect knowledge they are men of undimmed understanding”; I, 282, 17 it is one of the ten powers (*vaśitā*-) of the bodhisattvas which were declared by the Buddha, the kinsman of the sun, the others being power over his own life, power over rebirth, over time and place, etc.

A glance may also be cast at the views of the Jainist philosophers. Their idea of omniscience includes clairvoyance, thought-reading and other lower faculties. It is gained by those *jīvāḥ* (the living) who become emancipated. After great efforts they attain to it (or rather, become able to withdraw the veil preventing them from experiencing it), because they are, like the universe and their knowledge of the universe, likewise eternal.²⁴ No inaccessibility of an object to sense perception is a barrier to its being known supernormally. Intuition which is always free from the limitations of time and space is twofold: relative – i.e. able to cognize only the physical –, and absolute (and hence also simultaneous) – when its object is both the physical and the superphysical. The latter type of intuition is called *kevalajñāna*- or *kevaladarśana*-. Being characteristic of an *arhat*-, i.e. one of the Jain “blessed” or “prophets” it is practically speaking the *pratibhā* of the other schools of thought.

As pointed out by Gopinath Kaviraj²⁵ the term under discussion does not often appear in Vedānta texts. Sureśvara – who was a disciple of Śaṅkara –, in his Vārttika on the Taitt. Up. 9 (st. 160) makes the interesting remark that *pratibhā* is *ārṣa*-, i.e. characteristic of the ancient ṛṣis. He adds that it manifests itself only to that seeking soul who by constant repetition of mantras and prolonged meditation is able to enter into conscious communion with the Supreme Being. Such an “intuition” dawned for instance upon Trīṣaṅku, to whom the mantra *ahaṃ vṛkṣasya*

²⁴ “Enfin l’âme, lorsqu’elle est délivrée de la matière, dégagée de tout karman, développe sans entraves sa faculté de connaître. Elle possède alors le *kevala-jñāna*, c’est-à-dire la connaissance à la fois absolue et infinie, l’omniscience” (A. Guérinot, *La religion djaina*, Paris, 1926, p. 121, cf. p. 125). These *kevalis* or emancipated possess a complete and perfect “knowledge of all things”; see also H. von Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus* (Berlin, 1925), p. 142 f.

²⁵ Gopinath Kaviraj, *o.c.*, p. 116.

rerivā (TĀ. 7, 10, 1) was revealed. In consequence of this manifestation of *pratibhā* Trīśaṅku became a ṛṣi. But a human being can only in an accidental way and as a result of a relation to the Divine share in omniscience which is divine in nature, for God, the *saguṇa*-brahman, alone is omniscient and omnipotent. His knowledge, like that of the yogin, is "immediate" (*pratyakṣa*).

A modern author, while expounding the Advaita Vedānta philosophy,²⁶ argues that philosophic vision must be of the character of illumination, wherefore it is bound to be spiritual in nature. It has, he continues, been *pratibhā* that has made men philosophers and scientists. *Pratibhā* is not acquired, it is unborn (*anādi*-). "Its source is the ultimate reality (Īśvara) itself. Even as this reality is the source of life as such, it is the source of illumination. Illumination is therefore the gift and grace of God". The grace of God is the efflorescence of the divine in man, expressing itself in the urge for contact with the Unseen and culminating in *pratibhā*. It is this *pratibhā* or spiritual illumination that makes us see unity in diversity. With the realization of unity diversity disappears and bondage is replaced by liberation.

Thus Indian tradition speaks of men who have received divine illumination, *pratibhāśālīnaḥ*, who have through the maturing of their latent possibilities, *saṃskārāḥ*, radiated illumination and understanding in a world of darkness, *māyā*. They radiate their special genius, *pratibhā*, for the benefit of mankind. They are the men who through a flash of illumination intuit the grand truth, the great unity within diversity. They are the blessed ones who through being men of illumination radiate light and happiness.

From the preceding pages it will be sufficiently clear that many schools of Indian thought developed doctrines of the flash of fresh and immediate revelation that is *pratibhā*, in order to explain the possibility of gaining access to the unexplained and the unexplicable beyond the phenomenal world and of obtaining transcendental knowledge by immediate vision without resorting to the laborious and often inadequate exercise of the intellect.

We now come to discuss the use and the meaning of the term *pratibhā*—"the flash across the mind"—in Indian poetics. In doing so we will soon be aware that the authors on *alaṃkāra*, though viewing this point from a somewhat different angle and with aims different from those of the philosophers and authorities on yoga, deal essentially with the same concept. The great thinkers themselves were conscious of the "parallel-

²⁶ Sri Jaya Chamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, *Dattātreyā* (London, 1957), p. 241, 13.

ism" or rather of the twofold aspect of *pratibhā*: "there are two ways of the goddess of speech, the authoritative books and the work of the poets; of these the beginning is (direct) knowledge and untaught knowledge, the end the generation of *pratibhā*" (*dve vartmanī girāṃ devyāḥ śāstraṃ ca kavikarma ca | prajñopajñāṃ taylor ādyaṃ pratibhodbhavam antikam*).²⁷ The theories of Indian poetics, especially those which attempt to explain the realization of *rasa*- or "sentiment" evoked in the listener or reader are indeed closely associated with distinct philosophical schools.²⁸

Whereas the earlier works of Indian poetics were primarily intended for the instruction of the aspiring poet, the later theorists expounding the doctrine of *rasa*- and *dhvani*- (the inexpressible in language which is only suggested by words and sentiments)²⁹ i.e. the process by which the listener or reader re-creates for himself and re-lives the poet's original experience, were particularly occupied with the experience of those for whom "poetry" (or rather, literary art) was created. These later theorists, moreover, though perceiving that the consideration of the "ornaments" and of the literary and stylistic qualities of the structure of a product of literary art are not enough to solve the problem of poetic expression and recognizing that the "ornaments" or "qualities" depend on the character of the particular utterance, still concerned themselves, it is true, in their analyses with the intellective rather than the intuitive aspect of poetic expression, but elaborated, on the other hand, the thesis that emotions, and not merely ideas, play an important part in literary art, and that these emotions are in themselves inexpressible; they are an aspect of the unexpressed which these authors regarded as the essence of literary art. In both periods however valuable, though not exhaustive, observations were made on what may be called the rôle of "imagination" in literary art (*kāvya*).

Bhāmaha, the author of the most ancient treatise on poetics extant (VIIth century A.D.?) furnishes us with the remark (*Kāvyaṃkāra* 1, 5) "even stupid-minded men are able to learn the scientific rules-and-precepts from the teacher's instruction; literary art however comes spontaneously

²⁷ This stanza which may have been borrowed from Bhaṭṭa Tauta occurs in Vidyā-dharacakravartin's commentary on Maṃmaṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa*; it has been rightly prefixed as a motto by T. N. Sreekantaia to an important article "Imagination" in *Indian Poetics* (published in *The Indian Hist. Quarterly*, 13, Calcutta, 1937), p. 59 ff., of which I made in writing the following pages a thankful use.

²⁸ M. Hiriyanna, "Indian aesthetics", in *Proceedings 1st All-India Orient. Conf. Poona 1919* (1922), II, p. 229 ff.

²⁹ For a short exposition see e.g. A. B. Keith, *A history of Sanskrit literature* (Oxford, 1920), p. 386 ff. See also V. Raghavan, *Studies on some concepts of the alaṃkāra śāstra* (Adyar, 1942).

into being (in the mind of) a man who has *pratibhā* i.e. poetic vision (*gurūpadeśād adhyetum śāstram jaḍadhiyo 'py alam | kāvyam tu jāyate jātu kasyacit pratibhāvataḥ*). It is worth noticing that the term used for “stupid-minded”, literally meaning “of paralyzed power of vision”, should contain *dhi-*.

Daṇḍin (VIIth century), whose *Kāvyaḍarśa* which, while presenting us with a fully developed and elaborate doctrine, is an important exponent of the early schools of poetics, teaches that “an inborn ‘genius’ or, rather, ‘imagination’, learning completely free from defects, and no slight application are the one cause of excellence in literary art” (1, 103 *naiṣargikī ca pratibhā śrutam ca bahunirmalam | amandaś cābhiyogo 'syāḥ kāraṇam kāvyasampadaḥ*). “A word well used”, the same authority remarks in another part of his work, “is declared by the wise to be a wish-milking cow” (1, 6 *gaur gauḥ kāmādughā samyak prayuktā smaryate budhaiḥ*). The ancient commentator Taruṇavācaspati adds the following note to 1, 103: *pūrvajanmakṛtavidyāyāsotpannajñānajanitasamśkāratāgatā yā buddhiḥ sā naiṣargikī pratibhā* “l’inspiration naturelle, c’est une intelligence qui est raffinée grâce à l’effet des connaissances qu’elle a acquises en travaillant pour s’instruire dans des existences antérieures”. “C’est là une explication toute naturelle pour un Hindou; la transmigraton est pour lui une donnée d’intuition, qui suffit pour expliquer tous les mystères de l’inné”.³⁰

In describing the so-called auxiliaries of poetry – “the world (i.e. the action or operation of the world of animate and inanimate beings), science (of poetry) and ‘miscellanies’” – Vāmana (VIIIth century)³¹ drew, under the heading mentioned last, also attention to the factor of imagination. “In imagination lies the very seed of poetry” (1, 3, 16 *kavitvabījaṁ pratibhānam*), that is to say “the ‘seed of poetry’ is an ante-natal capacity of the mind, without which no poetry is possible; or even if possible, it is only ridiculous” (*kavitvasya bījaṁ kavitvabījaṁ janmāntarāgatasamśkāra-viśeṣaḥ kaścit; yasmād bījaṁ vinā kāvyam na niṣpadyate, niṣpannam vāvahāsyāyatanaṁ syāt*). Another factor, to be distinguished from “imagination”, “attention” (*avadhānam*), is (1, 3, 17) defined as consisting of the concentration of the mind on one object (*cittaikāgryam*), that is to say: “only when the mind is drawn in, away from all external things, it can grasp the innermost essence of things”. “This concentration”, the author adds, “depends on time and place; the latter must be solitary, away from crowds, and the former is the last quarter of the night, for at the time of

³⁰ Silburn, *l.c.*

³¹ See e.g. P. V. Kane, *History of Sanskrit poetics* (Bombay, 1951), p. 131 ff.

the early dawn the mind is calm and peaceful, free from the objects of the senses”. We are reminded of the rôle played by the matutinal deities in the manifestations of the Vedic *dhiyaḥ*!

“Poetic genius”, Mammaṭa (XIth century) argues, “constitutes, together with knowledge, produced by a study of the world, of sciences and of poems, and the practice of the teachings of those versed in writing poetry, the source of poetry” (*Kāvyaapr.* 1, 3 *śaktir nipuṇatā lokaśāstrakāvyaḍyavekṣaṇāt | kāvyajñāśikṣayābhyāsa iti hetus tadudbhavaḥ*). This stanza is followed by the explication: “poetic genius may be called the germ of poetry; this is a peculiar faculty, without which there could either be no poetical work or, if there were, it would be ridiculous” (*śaktiḥ kavitvabījarūpaḥ samśkāra-viśeṣaḥ yaṁ vinā kāvyam na prasaret prasṛtam vā upahasaniyam syāt*).

The important collection of concise versified statements on poetry from the point of view of the dhvani doctrine (*Dhvanikārikāḥ*)³² which must have existed already in the IXth century makes mention of the term under examination in st. 6: *sarasvatī svādu tad arthavastu niḥsyandamānā mahatām kavīnām | alokasāmānyam abhivyanakti parisphurantaṁ pratibhā-viśeṣam* “Sarasvatī (the goddess of Speech and learning) while making that charming subject-matter trickle down³³ for the great poets reveals their special inspiration (“Conceptionen”, Jacobi) bursting forth foreign to the reality of this world”. The poet’s inspiration or imagination is therefore divine in origin and transcendent in nature.

In the XIIth century the famous and prolific polyhistor Hemacandra even resorted with regard to the source of literary art to a very succinct formulation (*Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, 1, p. 5 Km.): *pratibhāsyā hetuḥ* “its cause is ‘imagination’”, this term being explained as follows: *pratibhā navanavollekhaśālīnī prajñā* “imagination is a special knowledge-and-ability amply characterized by the intuitive description of always new things”. And in 1226 Narendraprabha Sūri expressed the opinion (*Alaṁkāramahodadhī* 1, 6) that *pratibhā* is the sole cause of literary art (*kāraṇam pratibhāivāsyā*), *pratibhā* being defined as *navanavollekha-preñ-khitaḥ prajñā-viśeṣaḥ* “a special sort of knowledge-and-ability set in trembling motion intuitively describing always new things”.

Pratibhā is according to Vāgbhaṭa (XIIth century, *Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra* 1, 4) to be defined as follows: *prasannapadanavyārthayuktyudbodhavidhā-*

³² H. Jacobi, “Ānandavardhana’s Dhvanyāloka”, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 56 and 57 (Leipzig, 1903), p. 1 ff.

³³ “Eigentlich: wie die Milch ihrer Brüste träufelt”, Jacobi, *o.c.*, p. 27, n. 1.

yiñi | sphurantī satkaver buddhiḥ pratibhā sarvatomukhī “it is the power of forming conceptions of the true poet which has the command of clear expressions, new meanings, suitable-and-artful-devices, instructions (stimulations), which is brilliant and open to all directions”.

That the term *pratibhā*- (or *pratibhāna*-) – which in this context may also answer to “imagination” – was considered the specific power or faculty of the poet appears from a variety of text-places. Likewise that it was regarded as a force or phenomenon which burst forth, appeared or manifested itself suddenly (cf. e.g. Kuntaka, Vāk. 1, 34, *pratibhāprathamodbhedasamaye*). Thus Kuntaka in his *Vakroktijīvita* (±1000 A.D.³⁴) whilst arguing that, though the poet’s imagination is no matter of indifference, the outward form of his products is of prime importance,³⁵ does not fail to observe (p. 58) that *pratibhā*- and power of the poet are synonymous (*pratibhāyāḥ kaviśakteḥ*), just like Rudraṭa (Kāvya. 1, 15 f.): *asau śaktiḥ || pratibhety aparair uditā*. The former authority while joining those who regard *pratibhā* as the supreme factor in the creation of literary art (p. 13 *pratibhāprauḍhir eva prādhānyenāvatiṣṭhate*) is of the opinion that it should be (p. 49) *prāktanādyatanasamskāraparipākaprauḍha*-. It is, he further argues – and in this point Ruyyaka is of the same opinion – *kavikaūśala*- “the special skilfulness of the poet” which is the ultimate source of poetry. This *kavikaūśalam* is also known as *kavivyāpāram* “the organic expressive activity of poetic intuition, the special function or profession of the poet”, who is abhorrent of matter-of-fact speech and selects those words and expressions of ideas which are peculiar to poetry.³⁶ This *vākyavakratā* may be infinitely varied because it depends on the fertile imagination of the poet (*kavipratibhānam*).

Kuntaka indeed was one of the few authors who had an eye for the imaginative power of the poet and regarded it as the source of that characteristic charm which is proper to all real poetry. Drawing a distinction between the speech-figures which attracted so much of the attention of his colleagues, on the one hand, and the so-called poetic figures on the other, he argued that though they may correspond in a formal scheme of poetry, the latter exhibits specific differences which consist of

³⁴ Second edition by S. K. De (Calcutta, 1928).

³⁵ To this author belongs the credit of defining *sāhityam* ‘poetry’ – the term implying that ‘word’ and ‘sense’ are inseparable and that there exists a certain charming commensurateness between content and expression – as a poetic quality imparted by the imagination of the poet: see S. K. De, *Some problems of Sanskrit poetics* (Calcutta, 1959), p. 4.

³⁶ For Kuntaka’s theory of poetry, see De’s edition, *Introduction*, o.c., p. XXIV ff.

a peculiar or deviating turn of expression (*vakratvam*³⁷), resulting in a characteristic “colour”, elegance, or strikingness (*vaicitryam* or *vicchittiḥ*³⁸) and depending on the imaginative activity of the poet (*kavipratibhānirvartitvatam*). Poetry therefore is peculiar, embellished speech, the particular character of which depends on the poetic imagination. It is the conception of the poet which brings into existence the peculiar charm of the poem.

Another authority, Ruyyaka (XIIth century), while referring in his *Alamkārasarvasva*, to Kuntaka’s theory – “nun hat der Autor des *Vakroktijīvita* die gar mannigfache *Vakrokti* (dichterische Ausdrucksweise), welche in der auf geistreichen Wendungen beruhenden Diktion besteht, als das Leben der Poesie bezeichnet, insofern es das Wichtigste in ihr ist ...”³⁹ – states that his predecessor had understood that the creative power of the poet is the most essential factor, “d.h. die durch die produktive Einbildungskraft (*pratibhā*-) des Dichters bestimmte (*ullikhita*-) Aktion”.⁴⁰

Authors have, although not correctly, in translating the above passages, also resorted to our term “genius”: compare also Abhinavagupta, *Dhvanyā*. p. 137: *śaktiḥ pratibhānam varṇanīyavastuviṣayanūtanolekhasālitvam* “‘power’ or ‘imagination’ (‘genius’) is the being endowed with (the faculty of) producing a new delineation of that which falls within the scope of the subject-matter to be described”. Rājaśekhara (± 900) however distinguished between *śaktiḥ* and *pratibhā*, considering the former (“genius”) to be the sole cause of literary art, which develops from *pratibhā* (“intuition, imagination”) and *vyutpattiḥ* (“development, experience”, including also instruction and comprehensive learning)⁴¹ which effects them; cf. *Kāvyaṁim*. ch. 4, p. 11 G.O.S. *sā* (viz. *śaktiḥ*) *kevalam kāvyē hetuḥ ... viprasṛtiś ca sā pratibhāvyutpattibhyām, śakti-karṭrke hi pratibhāvyutpattikarmaṇī* etc.

Other theorists had also used the well-known expression *samādhi*- “intense application or fixation of the mind so as to identify the con-

³⁷ Kuntaka also explains that this *vakratvam*, for which another name is *vaicitryam* or strikingness, is the charm of the expression of the *vidagdhaḥ*, the literary man of taste ...; “and it is his pleasure which is the supreme test of poetry, as something which is not *laukikam* (“belonging to this world or ordinary life”)” (De, *Some problems*, p. 38).

³⁸ For *vicchitti*- see Hari Chand, *Kālidāsa et l’art poétique de l’Inde* (Paris, 1917), p. 64 (who remarks: “si la *vicchittiḥ* fait la poésie, c’est la *pratibhā* qui fait le poète. La *pratibhā* est un don naturel qui participe du génie, de l’inspiration et de l’imagination”).

³⁹ The translation is Jacobi’s (in *Z.D.M.G.*, 62, p. 296).

⁴⁰ Jacobi, o.c., p. 296, n. 3.

⁴¹ Renou, *La Kāvyaṁimāṁsā de Rājaśekhara* (Paris, 1946), p. 58, n. 18: “le terme enveloppe les notions de connaissance ou d’information ..., et de goût ou de jugement”.

templator with the object contemplated” to make clear what it is that causes the origin of a “poem”. Thus Vāmana (VIIIth century), in his *Kāvyaṭīkā* 3, 2, 7, defines *samādhiḥ* as *arthadr̥ṣṭiḥ* “the ‘sight’ of the ‘things’ (denoted by the words of the language)”; it is so called, because the intuition needs concentration of mind. *Pratibhānam*, however, the same author holds, is the very seed of the poetic skill or gift (*kavitvabījaṃ pratibhānam*): it is, as already stated, an ante-natal capacity of the mind, without which no poetry is possible.

In connection with the above term *samādhi-* it may be remembered that Rudraṭa – who probably belonged to the IXth century – defined *śaktiḥ* or *pratibhā* – which in his opinion (*Kāvyaṭīkā* 1, 16) are identical – as follows (1, 15): *manasi sadā susamādhini visphuraṇam aneka-dhābhidheyasya | akliṣṭāni padāni ca vibhānti yasyām asau śaktiḥ* “the term *śakti-* (real poetic genius) applies to the repeated flashing, in a mind that is always well concentrated, of ideas to be expressed and the appearance of ‘unworn’ words”. It is worth noticing that the verb *vi-bhā-* “to appear” is for instance used of dawn, of buds, of objects which suddenly catch the eye etc. Some authors on the other hand make a distinction between *śaktiḥ* and *kavitvam* “poetic skill”: the *Agnipurāṇa* 327, 3 asserts that “to attain to the position of a poet is very rare (even among the learned) and (real) poetic inspiration is rarer still among the (so-called) poets”: *kavitvam durlabham tatra śaktis tatra sudurlabhā*.

To Mahimabhaṭṭa⁴² (XIth century) we owe an interesting passage on the operation of the poet’s imagination and on the individual way in which it enables him to view the world (*Vyaktiviveka*, p. 108). The objects are revealed by the words which flow from the artist’s *pratibhā*. When he sits in concentration considering word and sense which are in harmony with his dominant poetic mood (*rasānugūṇaśabdārthacintāstimitacetasaḥ*), there suddenly wells up in him an insight which is in touch with the essence of things; that is *pratibhā*. It may be identified with the third eye of Śiva by which the god sees all things past, present and future. “The poet’s imagination seizes the individual qualities of things ... and represents in fit words such a vision of reality.”⁴³

The question was also debated as to how far *pratibhā* alone can produce poetry, and if not, what is the rôle played by *vyutpattiḥ* and *abhyāsaḥ* (practice). As we have seen, Mammaṭa advocates the view that all three together form the cause of literary art: *ibid.* 1, 3 *śaktir nipuṇatā lokaśās-*

⁴² See e.g. M. Krishnamachariar, *History of classical Sanskrit literature* (Madras, 1907), p. 752 f.

⁴³ Sreekantaiya, *o.c.*, p. 69.

trakāvyaadyavekṣaṇāt | kāvyajñāśikṣayābhyāsa iti hetus tadudbhava “poetic genius, skilfulness, arising from a study of the world (i.e. all kinds of objects, animate as well as inanimate), of science (i.e. sciences such as prosody, grammar, fine arts, warfare, history and so on) and of poems, and the practice of the teachings of those versed in composing works of literary art, these together constitute the source of poetry”. Others held the opposite view, for instance Hemacandra (*Kāvyaṇuś.* p. 5 f. Km.), according to whom *vyutpattiḥ* and *abhyāsaḥ* are *pratibhāyā eva saṃskārakau* “serve to make the *pratibhā* perfect and finished” and *pratihopakāriṇau* “subservient to *pratibhā*”; Narendraprabha Sūri (1, 6 *pratibhā* ... *vyutpattiyabhyāsavāsītā*); Ānandavardhana who is convinced that a piece of literary work “trickles down” according to the individual imagination without regard to instruction originating with others (*Dhvanyāl.*, p. 241 *parakīyaśikṣānapekṣanijapratibhānugūṇaniṣyandabhūtaḥ kāvyārthaḥ*) and especially Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja (XVIIth century), arguing that *pratibhā* – which he defined as *kāvyaaghaṭanānukūlaśabdārthopasthitiḥ* “the spontaneous, immediate and unpremeditated presentation of appropriate thought and diction which give the utterances of the poet the distinctive stamp of aesthetic pre-eminence” – is the sole cause (*Rasagaṇādhara*, p. 8 *tasya ca kāraṇam kavigatā kevalā pratibhā*). Whereas the poverty of poetic power (*śaktiḥ*) is at once evident, shortcomings in regard to *vyutpattiḥ* may easily remain unnoticed when the power of *pratibhā* is obvious (*Ānand. Dhvanyāl.*, p. 137). It may therefore be safely contended, Ānandavardhana observes (*Dhvanyāl.*, p. 240), that a poet who lacks “imagination” lacks everything. *Vyutpattiḥ* and *abhyāsaḥ* contribute but indirectly to the creation of a piece of literary art by refining and regulating the working of the *pratibhā*. They are not the cause from which works of literary art issue, but subservient to inspiration or “imagination”; without the latter they impress us as futile and fruitless (cf. Hemacandra, *Kāvyaṇuś.* p. 7 ff.). “It is”, Vāgbhaṭa (XIIth century) says (*Vāgbhaṭāṭīkā* 1, 3), “inspiration that makes the poet, development that invigorates-and-adorns it, practice that leads to productiveness; as to this the first poets agree” (*pratibhā kāraṇam tasya vyutpattis tu vibhūṣaṇam | bhr̥ṣotpattikṛd abhyāsa ity ādyakaviṣaṅkathā*). It may be added that an author like Jagannātha did not enter into the problem as to whether the poet’s *pratibhā* is a super-normal capacity or a heightened form of ordinary intuition.

From the above observations it appears that the authorities on poetics, though devoting their attention mainly to other objects – the *alaṃkāras* or “poetical devices” or the *rasas* and the *dhvani* theories –, were aware

of the importance of the factor which may be called imagination, intuition or inspiration. In more than one respect their notes on this point – which though often short and incidental are correct and in harmony with the objective facts – could easily be applied to the *dhīh* of the Vedic poets. The difference made between the Veda “in which the word, in the form of a master’s command, predominates” (Mammaṭa, *Kāvyaapr.* 1, 2) and “poetry” “the chief aim of which is the attainment of pure unmixed pleasure” is on the one hand exaggerated and on the other, at least as far as the creation of both genres of literary art is concerned, not essential. The same authority indeed adds the remark that “such poetry is the work of poets, clever in depicting things in a manner passing the comprehension of ordinary men; it moreover offers counsel to other poets and cultured men most persuasively ...”.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, there is room for the remark that the ancient Indian authorities, though affirming the importance and the necessity of *pratibhā* and though making a number of correct remarks and drawing good distinctions, failed to discuss its character and function exhaustively. In their theories and speculations the poetic inspiration or imagination did not assume any important rôle and even its very essence and “mechanism” were imperfectly understood and investigated into. It can however be no part of our task to show how the discussion on the so-called objects of poetry and of our topics was unfavourably affected by their shortcomings in this particular respect.

Now, *pratibhā* is not only a kind of *dr̥ṣṭiḥ* or “vision”, “a way of looking at the universe”. It has another aspect: it is also *sr̥ṣṭiḥ* “creation”. It enables the gifted man to conceive ever-new thoughts and images and to express them in well-chosen and adequate words. The poet is not rarely compared to the Creator himself. This particular point is sometimes considered so important that it is thrown into full relief. Thus Mammaṭa prefaces his Theory of Poetics by the following stanza (*Kāvyaapr.* 1, 1): “The speech of the poet is triumphant comprehending a creation which is without the restraints of the laws of Destiny, full of pleasure alone, independent of other helps, brilliant with a nine-fold rasa” (*nīyatikṛtaniyamarahitāṃ hlādaikamayīm ananyaparatantrām | navarasarucirāṃ nirmītim ādadhatī bhāratī kaver jayati*). The commentary adds some explanation: “Brahmā’s creation is, on the contrary, subject to the laws of nature, is not only full of pleasure, but also of pain and delusion, is dependent upon material and co-operative causes ..., has

⁴⁴ The translation is Ganganatha Jha’s, *Kāvyaaprakāśa of Mammaṭa* (Allahabad, 1925), p. 2.

only six rasas (tastes) ... Hence the poet’s speech is victorious, an expression which implies reverence to it”. Another privilege of literary art is its coming into existence without any material cause whatever: compare Ānandavardhana, *Dhvanyāl.*, Loc., p. 1 *apūrvam yad vastu prathayati vinā kāraṇakalām* “it unfolds (or, reveals) things which did not exist before without the least (material) cause”. The poet is therefore supposed to produce his work from his own inspiration or imagination which spontaneously comes to him. However, the Indian theorists too were aware of the undeniable fact that nevertheless a poem is not to be created out of nothing. Ānandavardhana, for instance, admits that the inspired producer of literary art makes use of pre-existing themes and subject-matter (*ibid.*, p. 222) *apāre kāvyasaṃsāre kavir eva prajāpatiḥ | yathāsmairocate viśvaṃ tathedaṃ parivartate || bhāvān acetanān api cetanavac cetanān acetanavat | vyavahārayati yatheṣṭaṃ sukaviḥ kāvye svatantratrayā* “the ‘poet’ is Prajāpati (the Creator himself) in the boundless saṃsāra of literary art; as it pleases him all things are transformed; according to his inclination a good ‘poet’ deals, in virtue of his independence, in a ‘poem’ with unconscious substances as if they were conscious creatures and with conscious beings as if they were unconscious.” The creative function of a *kaviḥ* is, for instance, also emphasized by Nīlakaṇṭhadikṣita who in his *Sabhāraṇjanasataka*, 26 observes: *nāmarūpātmakaṃ viśvaṃ dr̥śyate yad idaṃ dvidhā | tatrādyasya kavir vedhā dvitīyasya prajāpatiḥ* “all that is visible in this world is twofold characterized by name and form; of the former the ‘poet’ is the creator, of the latter Prajāpati”. – It may be remembered that the poet Bhavabhūti (VIIIth cent., Uttar. 2, 5) while regarding the Rāmāyaṇa as a *vivarta*- or altered condition of the *śabda-brahman*-, makes Vālmīki, the poet of that epic, address as follows: “O sage (*r̥ṣe*), you are enlightened (so as to be initiated into the highest reality (*brahmaṇi*) the essence of which is Speech (*vāgātmani*)). Recite the story of Rāma. Your eye of vision (*prātibhāṃ cakṣuḥ*) which is characteristic of a ṛṣi (*ārṣam*) is of irresistible light (*avyāhatajyotiḥ*). You are the first poet (*kaviḥ*)”.

This point was discussed at some length by Kuntaka in whose view literary art is a mode of expression depending on the peculiar turn given to it by the skill of the poet, which essentially consists in his inspiration or “imagination”. He argues that the artist does not create non-existing objects, but impregnates his objects when they “vibrate” (i.e. arise spontaneously) by mere existence with some extra quality which is such as to make them ascend to (i.e. as to endow them with) some special charm which delights the hearts of those people who are of kindred heart, i.e.

of the connoisseurs (*sahṛdayāḥ*).⁴⁵ To these objects some special colour or effect is lent which, being supramundane, gives them extra beauty and by which the objects to be described appear, in the greatness of their "vibrating", as if they were delineated only at that moment because it possesses the attraction of a new outward beauty and tends to conceal the real (original) condition (of the objects), their own form being illumined by the light of the poet's inspiration. That is why the poet is entitled to the appellation of creator: *apāre kāvyasaṃsāre kavir eva prajāpatiḥ / yathāsmāi rocate viśvaṃ tathedaṃ parivartate* (3, 11). In Shivaist metaphysics the concept of *pratibhā* is therefore identified with that of consciousness as *visargaḥ*, i.e. as creative emission or emanation: Abhinavagupta, *Tantrāloka* 5, p. 432 *visargānandadharayā siktam tad eva sad viśvaṃ śaśvad navaṇavāyate*.

Even when an artist invents a theme he does not create it *e nihilo*. What he does is to fuse together the various features of the objects and ideas which, owing to the inherent relation between one and another, arise spontaneously at the moment of his inspiration. As a result of this integration we experience the perception of something new, but in reality it is only its "additional quality" that has been the original work of the kavi, who welds disparate, incoherent and often insufficient elements into a harmonious whole.⁴⁶

It would be superfluous to point out the relations between these views on poetical creation and the ideas expressed by the Vedic term *dhīḥ*. Let it suffice to emphasize that the theorists of later times made more or less successful attempts at penetrating the mysteries of inspiration and poetical creation, at examining the creative moment in which the poet gives life and breath to his work, at formulating what they had found in a more or less systematic way and at making it part of the theories which they founded. What was intuitively understood and vaguely or implicitly indicated by the Vedic poets had now become explicit, thought out, and to a certain extent intellectually understood.

The Vedic poets knew very well that a "vision" needed elaboration,

⁴⁵ Sentiment can rise up only in somebody who has, in previous existences, had experience which gave him aesthetic susceptibilities and made him a feeling heart that is in sympathy with the emotion of the poet himself. Then it arises in him as a perfectly unique emotional experience, comparable only to the bliss of cognition of the absolute and therefore to be considered a transcendental joy. The connoisseur plays an important part in poetic theories because the authorities assert that the capability of realizing the charm of literary art presupposes a considerable degree of culture and aesthetic instinct in the reader or listener, who must – to mention only this – be able to identify himself with the moods and feelings of the poet.

⁴⁶ See Kuntaka, *Vakroktijivita*, p. 140 ff., and Sreekantaiya, *o.c.*, p. 72.

that it must be chiseled like a piece of work by an artisan. Nor did the experts in literary art, who as a rule paid much attention to the expression of poetic thought, overlook this fact either. A conception taking its rise in the poet's inspiration does not attain perfection at the very first flash. It will, at best, be like a precious stone when dug out of a mine, and hardly distinguishable from an ordinary chip of stone. A flash of inspiration too needs polishing before it can shine with full lustre and be an object of delight for the experts. To this it is subjected by clever poets in the process of expression, that is to say, when they couch their inspiration in "poetical terms" (*vakrokti*).⁴⁷ So far Kuntaka, *Vakroktijivita*, p. 9.

Thus another question of outstanding interest – and of which the Vedic poets must have been already fully aware – concerns the double aspect of the "activity" of the poet. The inspired artist does not only receive visions and inspirations, he is also the one who embodies them in appropriate words, the one who weaves his conceptions into an intelligible and attractive outward form. The problem of the creative moment in which the poet gives life and breath to his work attracted the attention of Ānandavardhana (IXth century), who in his *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 498; see above) observed that in the infinite sea of poetry the poet is the true and sole creator, and as it pleases him to create so the whole grows and is transformed. Intuitive perception (*prakhyā*) is, therefore, according to Abhinavagupta, to be followed by expression (*upākhyā*).⁴⁸ And a third authority teaches that the poet (*kavi*-) is a "seer" (*ṛṣi*-) and he is at once a seer and able to express in words that which he sees (*varṇanānīpuṇa*-): *darśanād varṇanāc ca kavis, tasya karma kāvyam*.⁴⁹ It may safely be assumed that Bhaṭṭa Tauta – as quoted by Hemacandra, *Kāvyānuś.*, p. 379⁵⁰ – did not defend a heterodox point of view when he asserted that "it is said that a *kaviḥ* is necessarily a seer, and one is a seer on the strength of vision. Vision is the power of disclosing intuitively the reality underlying the manifold objects of the universe and their qualities. To be termed *kaviḥ* in the authoritative texts it is enough if one possesses this vision of reality. But in common parlance the title *kaviḥ* becomes current on the ground of the possession of expression (description) as well as vision. Thus, although the *ādikaviḥ* (i.e. Vālmiki, the reputed author of

⁴⁷ Kuntaka insists that *vakrokti* – "figurative speech" is the very life of *kāvyam*, distinguishing it from the language of scientific works and any merely ordinary or natural mode of expressing facts of any sort.

⁴⁸ Abhinavagupta, *Dhvanyāl.*, Locana, *Invocat. stanza*.

⁴⁹ Hemacandra (1088-1172), *Kāvyānuśāsana*, ed. by R. C. Parikh (Bombay, 1938), I, p. 432.

⁵⁰ Edition H. P. Parab and W. L. Ś. Paṇṣīkar² (Bombay, 1934) (*Kāvyamālā* 70).

the Rāmāyaṇa), being a sage, ever possessed a very clear power of vision, he was among men not accorded the appellation of *kaviḥ* until his expression had arisen (i.e. before he composed the Rāmāyaṇa)": *nāṇṛṣiḥ kavir ity uktam ṛṣiś ca kila darśanāt | vicitrabhāvadharmāṇṣatattvapra-khyā ca darśanam || sa tattvadarśanād eva śāstreṣu paṭhitaḥ kaviḥ | darśanād varṇanāc cātha rūḍhā loke kaviśrutiḥ || tathā hi darśane svacche nitye 'py ādikaver muneḥ | noditā kavitā loke yāvaj jātā na varṇanā*.⁵¹

The *pratibhā* concept plays also an important rôle in the Vyākaraṇa school of thought⁵², the "linguistic philosophy" built upon Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya by Bhartṛhari († 651) and his followers, an interest which they had in common with the āgamic Shivaists. It is the fundamental thesis of the philosophic speculations of the grammarians that the Śabda-brahman⁵³ or Parā Vāk, the Highest Word, is the source of all existence. The term *śabdabrahman* turns up in the MaitriUp. 6, 22, where it is taught that "there are two brahmans to be known, the 'sound-brahman' and what is higher; those who are deeply versed in the 'sound-brahman' obtain the higher brahman", for "by sound alone sound – that is in this context the syllable *Om* – is revealed; ascending by it one comes to an end in the non-sound". "And so one says", the text continues, "this is the way, this is 'immortality', this is complete union, this is tranquillity".

Resuming the Vedic ideas of the transcendent Vāk which manifests itself in the phenomenal world and by virtue of which the seers and the inspired poets may penetrate into the great secret of the universe, of the creative power of the Word as the manifested or materialized Spirit,⁵⁴ the grammarians were convinced that the Eternal Word is Pure Being (*mahāsattā*), simple unity: Bhartṛhari, Vākyapadīya 1, 1 "Brahman, without beginning and end, the essence of the word, the imperishable, transforms itself as the objects; hence the production (procedure) of the world" (*anādinidhanam brahma śabdatattvam yad akṣaram | vivartate 'rthabhāvena prakriyā jagato yataḥ*).⁵⁵ To it belong an infinite number of "powers" (*śakti*-), which are in essence identical with it. Of these śaktis

⁵¹ Bhaṭṭa Tauta (who was the teacher of Abhinavagupta), quoted by Hemacandra, l.c.

⁵² See also D. S. Ruegg, *Contributions à l'histoire de la philosophie linguistique indienne* (Paris, 1959); Prabhatchandra Chakravarti, *The linguistic speculations of the Hindus*, (Calcutta 1933), p. 112 ff. (*pratibhā* is neither a sense-born acquisition nor does it result from common experience. It is a flash of divine light of a self-certifying character which dawns upon a being as an intellectual heritage).

⁵³ See Ruegg, *o.c.*, p. 64, n. 1. See e.g. JaimBr. 1, 178: *vāg vai brahma*.

⁵⁴ See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 96, 182, 188, 273.

⁵⁵ I am indebted to Śrī S. K. Varma, New Delhi, for procuring me a copy of this extremely rare text.

Avidyā ("Ignorance"), the power of veiling the Essence and of exhibiting the many, and Kāla ("Time"), i.e. the power of projecting the eternal partial manifestations of śabda-brahman in succession, can be said to be the most important. The world of phenomena, which owes its existence to the above manifestations, exhibits a perpetual flux. The Ultimate Source therefore has a twofold aspect: it is transcendent, beyond time – and then above all predication in thought and language – and it is immanent in time, and then subject as well as predicate of all judgments. The Grammatical School further assumes that the seeming self-division or self-multiplication of the Śabda-brahman involves the appearance of an infinite number of manifestations or universals, each of which has its own name and thought through which it is revealed. It is through name and thought that "creation in time" takes place. Naming and thinking being virtually an identical process this manifestation is identical with the revelation of the Veda, which is to be considered the body of the eternal name and thought in eternal relation to the universals.

Now, this self-revelation of the Śabda-brahman in the Veda, which reveals everything within it, at the same time is in reality synonymous with *pratibhā*. As far as we know, the first grammarian to use this term – "immediate intuitive illumination" – is Bhartṛhari.⁵⁶ It is used in a double meaning, or, rather, it may be considered from two points of view,⁵⁷ viz. 1) that of the speaker, i.e. as an experience on his part before he speaks; 2) that of the listener, i.e. as his experience after he has heard the words of the speaker.⁵⁸ It is clear that a study of *pratibhā* from the former point of view includes a discussion of the problem as to how the revelation is converted into speech units, into intelligible speech. Word or speech, Bhartṛhari holds, is essentially subtle and mental in character, expressing thought it is essentially identical with the *pratibhā*: 1, 118 *śabdeṣv evāśritā śaktir viśvāsyāsyā nibandhanī | yannetraḥ pratibhātmāyaṇ bhedarūpaḥ pratīyate* "the power belonging to the words is the cause of this all; the *pratibhā*, guided by this, is recognized as being differentiated in form". The grammatical school moreover takes the stand that the meaning of the sentence consists in *pratibhā* (ibid. 2, 145) *vicchedagrahaṇe*

⁵⁶ See the chapter of Bhartṛhari et le Vākyapadīya in D. S. Ruegg, *Contributions à l'histoire de la philosophie linguistique indienne*, p. 57 ff., and Gaurinath Sastri, *The philosophy of word and meaning* (Calcutta, 1959) (for the interchangeability of *pratibhā* and *sphoṭa*-, the 'essence' of speech utterances which is manifested by sound, eternally existent, indivisible and expressive of sense, see p. 89).

⁵⁷ Cf. also K. A. Subramanya Aiyar, "Pratibhā as the meaning of a sentence", in *Proc. and Trans. of the Xth All-India Oriental Conf. 1940* (Madras, 1941), p. 326 ff.

⁵⁸ Cf. also Ruegg, *o.c.*, p. 76, n. 1.

‘rithānām pratibhānyaiva jāyate / vākyārtha iti tām āhuḥ padārthair upapādītam. “When one takes the meaning analytically, there an ‘inspiration’ also comes into being; produced by the sense of the words it is declared to be the sense of the sentence”.⁵⁹ A study of the concept from the other point of view must attempt to give an account of its being occasioned by the words spoken by the speaker. Mentioning the term in Vāky. 2, 119 (*pratibhāhetuḥ śabdah*) Bhartṛhari takes it from the former point of view and his commentators Puṇyarāja and Vṛṣabhadeva identify it with *paśyantī*-, i.e. the second stage in the evolution of speech⁶⁰ (Vṛṣabhadeva: *pratibhām iti, yemaṁ samastāśabdārthakāraṇabhūtā buddhiḥ, yām paśyantīty āhuḥ*).

Since Bhartṛhari who speaks of three stages in this evolution – regarding the first as virtually identical with the śabdabrahman – the grammatical school of philosophy made this point one of its tenets, later authors assuming the existence of four stages, of which *parā* (“the highest”) or *sūkṣmā* (“the subtle”) was the highest⁶¹ and identical with the śabdabrahman; from this the second stage developed and so on. On the *paśyantī* niveau speech cannot express sound and meaning as distinct, nor is the essence of speech characterized by any idea of succession. It follows that *pratibhā* is likewise not only eternal and undivided, but also devoid of succession. That is to say, it is of the nature of a continuous intuition. As already appears from the name *paśyantī* (“the seeing” sc. *vāk*) this stage is characterized by luminosity. Thus *pratibhā* or *paśyantī* may be said to represent the inner light of the very nature of the Self (*svārūpajyotir evāntaḥ*), being above the ceaseless flux of the phenomenal world.⁶² Helārāja, one of the commentators on the Vākyapadīya⁶³ – who considers *pratibhā* to be of the nature of light or consciousness, “and when it dawns upon us the luminous Self shines in the mind in its supreme glory, striking it as a novel revelation of ‘greatness’ i.e. of freedom of mundane conditions” –, says that as soon as this celestial light dawns on the mind of the individual, this begins to enjoy the highest satisfaction as if from a taste

⁵⁹ See also Ruegg, *o.c.*, p. 26; 84.

⁶⁰ See Ruegg, *o.c.*, p. 80, n. 1, 81, 84 ff.

⁶¹ See also Ruegg, *o.c.*, p. 18 etc.

⁶² Cf. also Gopinath Kaviraj, *o.c.*, p. 14; J. Rudrappa, in *Quart. Journ. Mythic Soc.*, 45 (1955), p. 169 f.

⁶³ Vākyapadīya, kāṇḍa III, with Helārāja’s commentary, ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri and L. A. Ravi Varma, 2 vol. (Trivandrum, 1935 and 1942). The passage, quoted by Gaurināth Śāstri, *o.c.*, p. 9, n. 44, runs as follows: *yasmin saṁmukhatām prayāti ruciraṁ ko ’py antar ujyrbhate / nedīyān mahimā manasy abhinavaḥ puṁsaḥ prakāśātmanaḥ / tṛptiṁ yat paramaṁ tanoti viśayāsvādaṁ vinā śāsvatīm / dhāmānandasudhāmayor jītavapus tat pratibhām saṁstumah*.

of nectar. This satisfaction is perpetual and does not originate in contact with the objects of the senses, the consciousness of the divine majesty welling up from within in ever newer forms. It may be noticed that here the consciousness of the transcendent is referred to by the idea of celestial light. What is, in connection with our subject, of special importance is the view expressed by Puṇyarāja (on Vākyapadīya 1, 5) that the ancient ṛṣis who saw the sacred texts (*mantradṛśaḥ*), being fully conscious of the subtlety, eternity and supersensuousness of the *pratibhā* and having an intuitive perception of their duty and of the established order of things, have communicated it to their fellow-men and therefore expressed it in the form of the articulate language of Vedas and Vedāṅgas. Thus it also is the source of all arts and sciences. Being creative in nature it is the origin of all knowledge (*vidyā*) and sacred texts (mantras) and the matrix of all names and meanings.

Beside “the meaning” of “intuition” or “revelation” conveyed by *pratibhā*, the term may also be used so as to agree with the conception of “instinct”,⁶⁴ or “intuitive interest or inclination”. An impulse to withdraw from an object that is painful or to be attracted to an object that is pleasant is attributed to *pratibhā*, which may therefore be said to be the basis of our activities and the mainspring of our practical life. In this use also it is a flash from within which, in a mysterious way not always analysable by the intellect, revealing the truth, spontaneously determines the proper conduct of all creatures, animals as well as human beings. Though inexpressible in language, its existence and operation are incontestably experienced by everybody. It is one of the tenets of the grammatical school of philosophers that the *pratibhā*, “instinct” as well as unerring “intuition”, is really a far more potent faculty than the intellect or the senses.

Mention may finally be made of the interesting view held by adherents of the same school⁶⁵: words, through their constant employment to denote the same thing and without denoting any external object, produce a *pratibhā* in the mind of the listeners. Thus words cause a vague instinct or intuition which consists essentially in an urge to do something (Bhartṛhari, Vākyap. 1, p. 132: *sa cānantaram idaṁ kāryam ity upadarśanasvabhāvaḥ*; Kamalaśīla, l.c.: *niyatasāadhanāvachchinnakriyāpratipattyanukūlā prajñā pratibhā*). This *pratibhā* is something indefinable and indivisible, being devoid of any consciousness of parts. It is “just cognition or ex-

⁶⁴ Compare the observation made on *dhiḥ* à propos of RV. 9, 112, 1, see chapter II.

⁶⁵ The reader may be referred to Subramanya Aiyar, *o.c.*, p. 328, who refers to Kamalaśīla’s commentary on Śāntarakṣita’s Tattvasaṅgraha I, p. 286.

perience produced in us by words, especially sentences, apart from the object which may or may not figure in this cognition".⁶⁶

A most interesting distinction is made by Rājaśekhara (Kāvyam.,⁶⁷ p. 12): "the inspiration is double, creative and "encouraging" (*sā ca dvidhā kārayitrī bhāvayitrī ca*). Neither the translation "responsive imagination"⁶⁸ nor "inspiration réceptive"⁶⁹ seems adequate, first because of the explication given by the same authority in explaining the term *bhāvayitrī* (p. 13): *bhāvakasyopakurvāṇā bhāvayitrī. sā hi kaveḥ śramam abhiprāyaṃ ca bhāvayati, tayā khalu phalitāḥ kaver vyāpāratarur anyathā so 'vakeśī syāt* "the encouraging ('promotive') inspiration serves the person who 'promotes' (the product of literary art), i.e. of him who listens to it with sympathy and so as to further its effect.⁷⁰ It is this which encourages the poet in his exertion and intention. Through this the tree of the poet's activity bears fruit. Otherwise it would be barren". It should be borne in mind that the men of taste, the judges of literary art, the *sahṛdayāḥ*, are supposed to reproduce in themselves what the poet has produced: *yeṣāṃ kāvyānuśīlanābhyāsavaśād viśadībhūte manomukure varṇanī-yatanmayībhavanayogyatā te hṛdayasaṃvādabhājaḥ sahṛdayāḥ* (Abhinavagupta, Dhv., p. 11), aesthetic sensibility being the capacity to identify oneself with the heart of the poet (the same, AbhBh. II, p. 339). The *pratibhā kārayitrī* on the other hand is *kaver upakurvāṇā* "assisting or serving the poet". It is threefold, viz. innate (*sahajā*), acquired or "adventitious" (*āhāryā*), or dependent on instruction (*aupadeśikī*), the first type depending on accomplishments or "sacramental preparation" in previous births, the second on such a preparation in the present existence, the third on instruction by means of sacred formulas (mantras), works teaching special rites (tantras) etc. There are also three classes of poets, viz. those by the grace of Sarasvatī (the goddess of speech and learning), those whose art results from practice and those who owe their proficiency to instruction. The first are endowed with understanding and the gift of speech, which have come to them as a result of adequate preparations in their former lives.

⁶⁶ Subramanya Aiyar, *o.c.*, p. 331.

⁶⁷ Ed. C. D. Dalal and R. Anantakrishna (Baroda, 1916).

⁶⁸ Sreekantaiya, *o.c.*, p. 83.

⁶⁹ Renou, *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p. 60.

⁷⁰ For an analogous behaviour of the sympathetic audience in the theatre see my relevant remarks in "Ursprung und Wesen des indischen Dramas", in *Acta Orientalia*, 19 (Leiden, 1943), p. 435 ff. "The whole nature of the performance, the voice and the mimicry, the stimulus and the response of the audience means as much to the natives as the text" (B. Malinowski, *Myth in primitive psychology*, London, 1926, p. 35).

According to the famous Kashmir Shivaist philosopher and aesthetician Abhinavagupta⁷¹ (± 1000 A.D.), a man of acute intellect and an encyclopaedic scholar, (Tantrāloka, 13, 130 ff.; 210-254) there are three degrees of grace, the first or intense one being likewise threefold. Summarizing his views on the first degree, it may be said that the individual who receives the middlemost grace, immediately loses his ignorance and assumes the nature of a god; his earthly life however continues, but he becomes an eminent spiritual guide. His gnosis is called *mahājñāna* "great knowledge" or *pratibhā*, because it is "innate" and manifests itself spontaneously. That is why henceforth any religious act or initiation becomes a superfluity, because that which they aim at is acquired without any effort whatever. These *pratibhājñāninaḥ* are, as a matter of fact, *jīvanmuktāḥ*, emancipated in life. "Le mystique est, en effet, initié par ses propres organes de connaissance divinisés et ces divinités (*devī*- ou *devatā*-) font auprès de lui office de maîtres spirituels".⁷² The highest knowledge, the same philosopher argues, (Laghuvṛtti, p. 19, 10), is that of the heart, the initiation of the heart (*pratibhā*). It is granted by the "deities" of Bhairava (Śiva, God) who reside in the heart and whose vibrating and very subtle activity consists in causing the interior essence to expand. Whereas the *jñānam* (gnosis), which is dependent on a guru or an initiation, is not spontaneous, the *pratibhā* which is superior to it is the perfect illumination and as such spontaneous. It is the best method of realizing the identity with God (Tantrāl. 1, 233 ff.).⁷³ Elsewhere the same authority furnishes us in the formulation with much of what Indian theory has to say about *pratibhā* (Abhinavabhāratī on Bhar. Nāṭyaś. 1, p. 4 G.O.S.): *kaver api sahṛdayāyatanasatatoditapratibhābhīdhanaparavāgdevatānugrahotthitavicitrāpūrvanirmāṇaśaktiśālinaḥ prajāpater iva kāmajanitajagataḥ*: "like Prajāpati (the Creator) the poet creates himself a world according to his wish because he is amply furnished with the special power of creating manifold extraordinary things, a power originating in the favour of the deity, viz. Parā Vāk, which is called *pratibhā* and which continually proceeds from its place, viz. the poet's own heart".

Rasa, the aesthetic state of consciousness, which belongs, in reality, to the poet alone, fills him entirely with itself and is spontaneously "trans-

⁷¹ See e.g. M. Krishnamachariar, *History of classical Sanskrit literature* (Madras, 1937), p. 747 ff., 820 f.; P. V. Kane, *History of Sanskrit poetics* (Bombay, 1951), p. 226 ff.; L. Silburn, *Le Vijñāna Bhairava* (Paris, 1961), p. 24; 28 n.

⁷² L. Silburn, *Vātulanātha Sūtra* (Paris, 1959), p. 14.

⁷³ See also Silburn, *Le Paramārthasāra* (Paris, 1957), p. 49. In general: L. Renou, in L. R. et J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, I (Paris, 1947), p. 638.

lated" into poetic expression, like a liquid which overflows from a vase or like the natural manifestation of a state of mind (exclamations, interjections etc.)⁷⁴. "In other words, artistic creation is the direct or unconventional expression of a feeling or passion "generalized", that is, freed from all distinctions in time and space and therefore from all individual relationships and practical interests by an inner force within the poet himself, the creative and artistic intuition (*pratibhā*)."⁷⁵ This state of consciousness, expressed in the poem, is transferred to the reciter, actor and spectator, aesthetic sensibility (*sahṛdayatva*-) being the capacity to identify oneself with the heart of the poet.⁷⁶ "Born in the heart of the poet, it flowers, as it were, in the actor and bears fruit in the spectator."⁷⁷ All three, poet, performer, auditor fuse, in reality, together by the same sensations: *nāyakasya kaveḥ śrotuḥ samāno 'nubhavas tataḥ*.⁷⁸ The creative intuition (*pratibhā*) is the force which makes the conversion of the feelings or passions into *rasa* possible, freeing them from the limitations of space and time. Whereas in most men it does not succeed in shaking the limitations off, it burns, in the true poet, with a pure light, to shine out in all its fullness in the intuition of the saints.⁷⁹ This creative intuition is the same "consciousness", which gives life to the lifeless and is not essentially different from the activity of the creator. It is, according to Bhaṭṭa Tauta, a form of intuitive consciousness (*prajñā*) and an inexhaustible source of new forms (*prajñā navaṇavollekhaśālīnī pratibhā matā*). Artistic intuition may therefore be considered a particular hypostasis of the universal or total intuition, of the universal creative and restorative force manifesting itself in the universe. Thus Ānandavardhana (Dhv. p. 91) also argues that poetic intuition is a particular form of *pratibhā*, or according to Abhinavagupta's explication: "*pratibhā* is the intuitive knowledge which is suited to creating things which did not exist before; a particular form of it is the ability to produce poetry (*kāvya*)". According to the same school of thought aesthetic experience is the "tasting"

⁷⁴ Abhinavagupta (± 1000 A.D.) on Ānandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka, p. 86 (Chowkh. ed.): *rasaparipūrṇakumbhoccalanavac cittavṛttiniṣyandasvabhāvavāgvilāpādivac ca...*

⁷⁵ R. Gnoli, *The aesthetic experience according to Abhinavagupta* (Roma, 1956), p. XXVII f., following Abhinavagupta's *Abhinavabhāratī*, I, p. 346 (=Gaekwad Or. Ser., no. 36, Baroda, 1926).

⁷⁶ *Abhinavabhāratī*, II, p. 339.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Abhinavabhāratī*, I, p. 295.

⁷⁸ Bhaṭṭa Tauta, quoted by Abhinavagupta, *Comm. on the Dhvanyāl.*, p. 92.

⁷⁹ Cf. Gnoli, *o.c.*, p. XXIX, quoting Abhinavagupta, *Tantrāloka* (Bombay, 1918 ff.), XI, p. 60 ff.

of one's own consciousness and, therefore, of one's own beatitude.

"The poetic attitude", S. K. De⁸⁰ observes in a short dissertation on the Dhvani school of poetics, "is thus given as different from the naturalistic, and is explained as very akin to, but not identical with, the philosophic. It is like the state of the soul serenely contemplating the Absolute, with the difference that the state of detachment is not as complete or permanent. It is thus recognized that the poetic attitude is entirely spiritual, but the idealized artistic creation affords only a temporary release from the ills of life by enabling one to transcend, for the moment, his personal relations or practical interests, and restores equanimity of mind by leading him away, for the time being, from the natural world and offering him another in its place. For the poet it is also a release or escape in the sense that he passes in his poetic creation from the tyranny of personal emotion to the delight of impersonal realisation. It is an attitude of pure bliss, detached spiritual contemplation (*citsvabhāvā samvit*); it is very similar to, but not the same as, the state of true enlightenment,⁸¹ which comes only to the knower who, no longer on the empirical plane, transcends completely and permanently the sphere of pleasure and pain. As such, this state of aesthetic delectation is not capable of proof, because its cognition is inseparable from its existence; or, in other words, it is identical with the experience of itself. The only proof of its existence is its relish itself by the man of aesthetic sensibility, the *rasika*- or *sahṛdaya*-, the ideal connoisseur of poetry, to whom alone it is vouchsafed. The reader must reproduce in himself what the poet has produced".

In Hemacandra's Kāvyaṇuśāsana, p. 380⁸² a distinction is therefore made between discursive consciousness, consciousness of the general concepts the field of action of which is diversity, and direct consciousness which transcends the domain of language – which is only an obstacle pushing itself between the reality and our consciousness – and precedes the activity of the mind. "The object of direct perception (*pratyakṣa*-) is the particular; this is the object of the words of good poets, which arise from *pratibhā*" (*viśiṣṭam asya yad rūpaṃ tat pratyakṣasya gocaraḥ / sa eva satkavigirāṃ gocaraḥ pratibhābhuvām*). "The intuition (*pratibhā*) of a poet (*kaviḥ*) is therefore a form of *prajñā* (direct perception) which arises in a

⁸⁰ De, *Some problems*, p. 25 f.

⁸¹ Abhinavagupta's stanza (Dhvanyāl. p. 60) *yad unmīlanaśaktyaiva viśvāṃ unmīlati kṣaṇāt / svātmāyatanaviśrāntāṃ tāṃ vande pratibhāṃ śivāṃ* may be taken to describe the supreme power of Śiva revealing the entire creation in the process of self-revelation as well as the poet's imaginative vision to which the whole universe becomes manifest.

⁸² Ed. R. C. Parikh (Bombay, 1938).

moment from contact with the thing by itself (*in se*) (that is to say, before any mental construction), while the poet's mind is completely absorbed in a careful consideration of sound and sense in accordance with the *rasas*. Like Śiva by his third eye one perceives by virtue of *pratibhā* ("poetic intuition"), independently of discursive knowledge, every form of existence, past, present and future. The difference between poetical and ordinary language, Abhinavagupta elsewhere holds (Parātrimśikāvivaraṇa,⁸³ p. 202), consists in this that the former, like mantras on the religious plane,⁸⁴ is devoid of the logical and practical categories of language and therefore attains reality before its solidification into the modes of discursive thought.

In his commentary upon Vasugupta's Śivasūtra 1, 5, where it is argued that spiritual illumination and divinisation are simultaneous, Abhinavagupta's pupil, Kṣemarāja (XIth century), observes that the mystic exertion, "élan" or elevation (*udyama*) – which is not to be regarded as an act of the empirical consciousness – is of the nature of the emergence of the *pratibhā* which has the character of an elevation of consciousness, this elevation consisting of the acquisition of self-consciousness which is to continue uninterruptedly. "Quant à *pratibhā* il la définit comme l'illumination propre à ceux qui s'éclairent eux-mêmes car il n'est d'autre réalisation en définitive que celle du Soi par le Soi et dans le Soi."⁸⁵ This *pratibhā* is however creative in nature: it is in Śivaist metaphysics identified with the concept of consciousness as creative emission (*visarga*).

As is well known – and may also appear from the preceding pages – many statements of the authors on poetics and aesthetics can be traced to the doctrines of intuitive knowledge and allied subjects developed by different schools of Indian philosophy. It was in Kashmir that aesthetic thought reached its fullest height, and it is therefore not surprising that the works of Abhinavagupta who achieved eminence in both fields contain many statements regarding the nature of *pratibhā* in literary art which reflect the views of the Śaiva school of philosophy.

Whereas for the adherents of the grammatical school of philosophic thought the Supreme Reality is conceived as Vāk or Śabda-Brahman, Parā Vāk occupies in the Āgamic systems of the Śaiva-Śāktists a subordinate position, being considered the Power (Śakti) of the Supreme Reality or Parama-Śiva. That is to say, it is conceived as a power subordinate to the Highest Principle with which it is identical. It is the power

⁸³ Ed. *Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies* (Bombay, 1918).

⁸⁴ Gnoli, *o.c.*, p. XXXI f.

⁸⁵ Silburn, *Vātūlanātha Sūtra*, p. 38.

by which the divine self completely and eternally knows itself. One of the aspects under which it is spoken of is *vimarśa*-, the others being *sphurattā*- ("manifestation"), *aiśvarya*- ("lordship"), *svātantrya*- ("freedom"). Since this *vimarśa*- ("knowledge, intelligence") means self-revelation of the Lord, it is intelligible that it is identical with the *pratibhā* or *paśyantī*. Hence the identification of the *pratibhā* with the Highest Being, whose nature is infinite intelligence, indivisible and devoid of time limitations. It is unalterably and everywhere one, being the one light the reflection of which shines through every state of modal consciousness. The successful yogin who has also attained to other divine attributes possesses it as "omniscience". According to Vasugupta's Spandakārikā (VIIIth century), 4, 7, everything, however remote in time and removed in space, presents itself to him in any aspect in which he wants to see it present.

The Tripurā-Rahasya, expounding the tenets of the Tripurā school describes *pratibhā* as the supreme form of the Supreme Being, adding that it is on this, as on a mirror, that the universe is shining like a reflection (Trip. Rah., Jñānakh., 20, 31 ff.).

It may in this connection be recalled to memory that the term *drṣṭiḥ* "the eye (viz. of imagination)" was also very significantly used to denote the imagination of the poet. It occurs in an illuminating passage of Ānandavardhana's Dhvanyālokalocana (p. 227) from which it becomes evident that in his opinion imagination and intellect are equivalent tools, that they are the two spiritual eyes of a human being which he needs equally: *yā vyāpāravatī rasān rasayitum kācit kavīnām navā | drṣṭir yā pariniṣṭhītārthaviṣayameṣā ca vaipaścītī | te dve apy avalambya viśvam anīṣam nirvarṇayanto vāyam | śrāntā naiva ca labdham abdhīṣayana tvadbhaktitulyam sukham*; Abhinavagupta provides us with the note that *drṣṭiḥ* is *pratibhārūpā*.

It may therefore be safely assumed that not only most orthodox schools of thought but also the heterodox accepted a doctrine of *pratibhā* or whatever name they gave to supranormal intuitive (in)sight. They developed doctrines of *pratibhā* to explain the phenomenon of knowledge and insight gained by immediate "vision" without the help of the often inadequate intellect. It was mainly the adherents of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā who, denying the possibility of omniscience in general, were opposed to this doctrine. Basing themselves on the axiom of the eternity of the eternal and self-revealed Word (Śabda) or the Veda – Brahman in the form of sounds – as the only source of all knowledge, they could only consider the hypothesis of a personal all-knowing Being, either divine or human,

a redundancy.⁸⁶ An omniscient God whose existence cannot be proved by any reliable evidence is ignored by them.⁸⁷ Those passages of the Veda which declare "he knows" extol, they hold, the merits of the sacrificer. Nevertheless Kumārila (VIIIth century), whilst invoking, in the benediction prefacing his Ślokavārttika, God under the name of Mahādeva (Śiva), describes him as possessing the *divyacakṣuḥ* or Divine Eye in the form of the Vedas (*trivedīdivyacakṣuṣe*) and as possessing a body made of pure knowledge (*viśuddhajñānadehāya*). In the course of time the atheistic standpoint proved to be so unsatisfactory as to necessitate later authors to introduce the divine principle.

To conclude with a view pronounced by an eminent modern Indian poet: "My religion", Rabindranath Tagore declared, "is essentially a poet's religion. Its touch comes to me through the same unseen and trackless channels as does the inspiration of my music. All that I feel about it, is from vision and not from knowledge."⁸⁸

⁸⁶ See also Gopinath Kaviraj, *o.c.*, p. 121.

⁸⁷ Cf. for instance S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II (London, 1921 [1948]), p. 424.

⁸⁸ R. Tagore, in S. Radhakrishnan and J. H. Muirhead, *Contemp. Ind. Philosophy* (London, 1936), p. 32 f. – For the subject discussed in this chapter see also my paper "De inspiratie der Indische dichters", in *Forum der Letteren*, Leiden, 1963.

XVI THE ROOT VEN-

Although the root *ven-* and its derivatives have already given rise to a considerable number of notes and publications¹ it may be of some use to dwell for a moment upon their meaning. The root is, to all appearance, limited to Indo-Iranian, attempts to connect it with words in other languages failing to carry conviction.² That the central meaning of this word group is that of seeing is hardly open to doubt, and V. M. Apte was justly astonished at the variety of translations such as "to yearn, to be envious, to strive after, to cherish etc." proposed for R̥gvedic places in view of the meaning "to see" in Iranian. It remains however to be considered how this general meaning of "seeing"³ was qualified.⁴

Now the Iranian side of this problem is less ambiguous than the Indian. The verb *vaēnaiti* means, first, "to see" with the physical eye without any modification or connotation: OP. Dar. Beh. 2, 76; 4, 70; Av. Y. 5, 129; 9, 29. The word is however also, no doubt quite naturally, used when the context points to an uncommon visual power: Yt. 14, 31 to that of a stallion who even at night is able to distinguish between a hair of the mane and a hair of the tail; 14, 33. Letting alone some special uses which may in translating occasion a different equivalent, we find the verb also in Y. 31, 13 in connection with Ahura Mazda's

¹ For *ven-* and *vena-* see M. Lindenau, in *Zs. für Indol. und Iran.*, 1, p. 34 ff.; V. M. Apte, in *XIIth All India Or. Conf.* (Benares, 1943-44), Summary; the same, "An investigation into the nature of Venā, the deity of the R̥gvedic-hymn X, 123", in *Bull. Deccan College*, 6 (1944), p. 37 ff.; the same, "The root *ven-* and its verb-forms in the R̥gveda", in *Dhruva Comm. Vol. (Dhruva Smaraka Grantha)*, III (Ahmedabad, 1946), p. 1 ff. (*ven-* primarily "to see (in a physical sense)"; (secondarily) "to see with the mind's eye") (I could not consult these articles before writing this chapter); I. J. S. Taraporewala, "Some Vedic words viewed in the light of the Gāthās and other Avesta", *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 26, p. 121 ff.; Renou, *Ét. véd. et pān.*, IV (1958), p. 118.

² Thus A. Walde-J. Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der indogerm. Sprachen*, I (Berlin-Leipzig, 1930), p. 229, adopting an incorrect meaning ("erseht") which they for Indo-Iranian modify into "sehnsüchtig wonach schauen": AInd. *veti* "nimmt gern an, strebt zu usw."; Pokorny, *Indogerm. etymol. Wtb.*, (Bern, [1958]), p. 1123: Ved. *veviyate* "fliegt" (?); cf. also V. Pisani, in *Kuhn's Zs.*, 65, p. 121.

³ For "to see consciously" 10, 27, 6 *garbham... avenantam*.

⁴ It is useless to explain that the process of 'seeing' may be associated with a variety of emotions, sentiments or objectives; for 'staunendes Schauen' see for instance H. J. Mette, in *Glotta*, 39 (1960), p. 49 ff.

observing through justice (with truth) what is open or secret; in Y. 46, 2 "I cry to thee, look to it, O Ahura, affording the support which friend gives to friend"; in Yt. 10, 107 to denote a god's "seeing" (i.e. perceiving, having knowledge of) the doings of the wicked: (*Miθrō*) *vīspəm vaēnaiti družintəm*; in Yt. 13, 84 of the Aməša Spəntas of whom one casts a glance at the "soul" of the other; in Yt. 19, 94 of Astvaṛəta who will with the eyes of *īžā* – which in any case is a psycho-religious "Daseinsmacht"⁵ – see all creatures; Y. 30, 2 where the Ahuras are invoked to hear and to look with their mind; in Vid. 19, 3 to express that Zarathustra perceived or discovered in his mind (*manah-*) what his enemies were after; Y. 58, 6 of the author *cum suis* who want to see the creative light of the creator.

In attempting to establish the sense of the verb *ven-* in the R̥gveda we must bear in mind that the verb is, comparatively speaking, of infrequent occurrence. Although the words *uta mātā mahiṣam anv avenat* in 4, 18, 11 refer to a mythical event the sense of *anv avenat* simply is "to look after" or "to watch out for", not "to allure, entice" (Monier-Williams). Perhaps however the central meaning is tinged with a connotation "with interest, concern".⁶ This connotation is, if appearances are not deceptive, not absent in 1, 25, 6 *venantā na pra yuchataḥ | dhṛtavratāya dāśuṣe*. Geldner translates: "Sorgend werden sie (Mitra and Varuṇa) nicht gleichgültig gegen den Opferspender, der die Gebote hält", whereas Schmidt⁷ rightly prefers "aufmerksam", and Renou⁸ "voir avec intensité; guetter (avec vigilance)"; "attentive, observant, watchful" seems, indeed, to be the right sense. Hence no doubt also the nuance "to look away, to divert one's attention" expressed by *vi venati* in cases such as 5, 31, 2 *ā pra drava harivo mā vi venah... abhi nah sacasva* "komm eilig her, du Falbenlenker, wende dich nicht ab, halte zu uns..." (Geldner); "to be hostile or ill-disposed" (Monier-Williams) seems to overshoot the mark. Similarly 5, 36, 4 *pra... yaṃsi rāyaḥ... mā vi venah* "spende (o Indra) Reichtümer... wende deinen Blick nicht ab" (Geldner); 75, 7; 78, 1; 6, 44, 10. In 4, 33, 6 where Tvaṣṭar to his astonishment sees that the R̥bhus

⁵ "Streben, Eifer, frommer Glaubenseifer; Erfolg, Glück" (Bartholomae, *Wörterbuch*, 378); "zeal" (Smith, *Syntax of the Gathas*, p. 142); "Geist" (Lommel, *Yäšt's*, p. 185); "Milchlabespendung" (Humbach, *Gathas*, I, p. 145; cf. II, p. 81; "wie ved. *īlā-* nicht nur "Milchlab, Kraftlab, Kraft" im allgemeinen..., sondern auch speziell "Libation von Milchlab, rituelle Kraftspende, Opfergusz", the same, in *Indog. Forsch.*, 63, p. 41).

⁶ Similarly, V. M. Apte, in *Dhruva Smar. Gr.*, p. 11, who compares 9, 70, 4.

⁷ Schmidt, *Vedisch vratā*, p. 53.

⁸ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VII, p. 12.

had fashioned four cups out of one this fact "made him stare" (*avenat*)⁹: no doubt an interested and searching gaze.¹⁰ The word group *sadhrīcī-nena manasāvivenan* in 4, 24, 6 is of special interest: "with a concentrated mind, by no means inattentive". Cf. 4, 25, 3 where Geldner's "nicht unlustig" does not carry conviction. Elsewhere the full sense of the verb seems to be "to see in an interested way while being eager to discover or detect something, to scrutinize"¹¹: 8, 60, 7 *evā daha... yo asma-dhrug durmanmā kaś ca venati* "so versenge du (Agni), jeden, der uns übel will, der in böser Absicht scheel sieht" (Geldner). Whereas here the action of seeing is meant *in malam partem*, the poet of 1, 86, 8 uses it of those who whilst entertaining a desire look out for the Maruts: *vidā kāmasya venataḥ*. Moreover "to see" is, in this passage, "used of a mental or spiritual contact, of a desire for help in the form of inspiration". Nābhānediṣṭha is in 10, 61, 18 recorded to have as an institutor of a sacrifice (*sūriḥ*) and while receiving a *dhīh* (*dhiyaṃdhāḥ*) talked to his ancestor, the god Agni¹² looking out for him: again the implication of being eager to come, mentally, into contact with divine power.¹³ Compare also 10, 135, 1 where a son is, in connection with a dying father, stated to say: "where Yama (is)..., there our father watches out for his ancestors", that is to say: he looks for them being eager to find them and to come into touch with them (*anukāmayamānaḥ*, Bhāsk.). Similarly, st. 2. In 10, 123, 6 Soma – who is in st. 5 d called a *venah* "a seer" – is addressed: "when they saw thee fly as a bird to the sky, looking out with their hearts (*hṛdā venantaḥ*), (thee)..., the messenger of Varuṇa ...", again an eager and interested spying which, taking place in the heart where contact with the unseen powers is usually effected, must be of a visionary character.¹⁴ Here 10, 64, 2 may be subjoined: *kratūyanti kratavo hṛtsu dhītayo venanti venāḥ patayanti ā diśaḥ* "... die spähenden (Augen des Geistes)" – "derer, die mit dem Herzen schauen", 10, 123, 6 "sie fliegen nach allen Seiten" (Geldner). Here again the subject is much interested in the "object" which he wants to discover and with which it is his desire to come into touch, no doubt in order to be enlightened¹⁵: pāda d "my desires strive to reach the gods". The object of the verb is here and elsewhere not to be perceived with the physical eye. Geldner's translation of

⁹ Otherwise, Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 118,?

¹⁰ According to Apte, *o.c.*, p. 18 "(he) considered (the situation)".

¹¹ "to watch" (Apte, *o.c.*, p. 10).

¹² See Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 226 with n. 2.

¹³ "penetrating insight on the speaker's part rather than love" (Apte, *o.c.*, p. 18).

¹⁴ I would reject Apte's "reflecting" (*o.c.*, p. 16).

¹⁵ "(my) powers of vision visualize" (Apte).

9, 97, 22 hits the mark: *takṣad yadī manaso venato vāk* "so oft ihn (den Soma) die Rede aus dem Geiste des schauenden (Sehers) heraus formte". The verb is also used of a non-physical seeing which verges on knowing, the subject being the divine Soma: 1, 43, 9¹⁶ *yās te prajā amṛtasya...* / ... *soma vena ābhūṣantīḥ soma vedaḥ* "the children of thine, the immortal one, O Soma, thou must look out for them, thou must know that they bestow their strengthening favour¹⁷". – With regard to the expression *hrdā venantaḥ* Lindenau¹⁸ rightly observed that "mit dem Herzen schauen" "das Irrationale der Gotteserkenntnis vortrefflich ausdrückt"; cf. also ŚvUp. 4, 17.

In AV. 4, 8, 2 (cf. TB. 2, 7, 8, 1 etc.) – forming part of a text which is to accompany the consecration of a king (cf. KauśS. 17, 1 ff.; VaitS. 36, 7) – I would translate the words *abhi prehi māpa vena ugraś cettā sapatnahā* as follows: "go forward unto (it); do not look away, a stern attentive guardian, a slayer of rivals". Cf. RV. 5, 31, 2. Cf. also TBr. 3, 7, 13, 1... *yat te grāvā bāhucyuto acucyavuh | naro yat te duduhur dakṣiṇena | tat ta āpyāyatām tat te niṣṭyāyatām deva soma | yat te tvacaṃ bibhidur yac ca yonim | yad āsthānāt pracyuto venasi tmanā*.

One can however easily understand that the verb *venati* came to express a secondary meaning which may be indicated by "to be eager, to long for"; in cases such as 10, 123, 6 this connotation is in any case a possibility. Later interpreters may however have considered what was only an incidental connotation a more central sense. Hence *venati* as one of the 18 verbs for "longing, loving" in Nigh. 2, 6, and Nir. 10, 38 – followed by Sāyaṇa – *venaḥ venateḥ kāntikarmaṇaḥ*. However, the same root is also entered in the list of 120 roots expressing motion¹⁹ (Nigh. 2, 14) and included in a group of 44 roots described as *arcati-karmāṇaḥ* ("verbs of praising": 3, 14). It is hardly open to question that the meaning of the verb *ven-* considered in connection with the contexts in which it occurs included elements which could be indicated by the general ideas of "moving" or "praising". Compare also AiBr. 1, 20 *venanti: caranti*, comm. There is no doubt much correctness in the note to be found in Dhātupāṭha I, 902 (21, 13) *veṇṛ gatiḥ jñānacintāniśāmana-vādītragrahaṇeṣu* "ven- in the meaning of 'to go, move; to know, recog-

¹⁶ Cf. Lüders, o.c., p. 231 f.

¹⁷ See *Four studies*, p. 85.

¹⁸ M. Lindenau, in *Zs. f. Ind. u. Iran.*, 1, p. 35, n. 1.

¹⁹ To which belong, *inter alia*, *avati* "to favour, assist"; *yatate* "to endeavour to reach", *rajati* "to be affected, excited", *veti* "to approach, to seek to take eagerly etc."

nize, perceive; to reflect, consider; to observe; to play on an instrument²⁰; to seize hold".

The noun *vena-* is in the R̥gveda used in connection with gods as well as men. In 8, 3, 18 Indra is implored to listen, like a *venaḥ*, to the call of the eulogist (*veno na śṛṇudhī havam*): "höre wie ein Späher auf unseren Ruf!" (Geldner). Should we indeed think of a spy or scout? Or is there a difference worth mentioning between a *vena-* and a *spas-*? In many cases hearing is not characteristic of persons who look out eagerly. Does the term therefore also imply auditory contact? And does it, then, in this passage refer to a being which is possessed of the gift of supra-normal and praetersensual contact with other beings, and should we translate "hear our call like a (true) 'seer' "?, i.e. like a being who is able to see, hear, and observe, perceive and know without ordinary physical contact.²¹ "Watchmen" may be the sense of *venā-* in 1, 56, 2.

The term applies to Indra also in 8, 63, 1 *sa pūrvyo mahānām venaḥ kratubhir ānaje | yasya dvārā manuṣ pitā deveṣu dhiya ānaje* "that ancient 'seer' was anointed by the resourcefulness²² of the great ones, whose 'door' viz. 'vision' (door of 'vision') which gives access to the gods Father Manu had (already) anointed". Here both the god Indra and the "door of (his) vision" – this phrase must refer to Soma²³ – are said to be anointed, i.e. inducted to their office, function and power,²⁴ and the possession of that "door" is regarded as typical of a "seer". As Indra is also regarded as *dhīraḥ* and as a *kaviḥ* (7, 18, 2 etc.), the term *venaḥ* in all probability has a similar sense.²⁵ In 6, 44, 8 the same god is called *venya-*. It may be remembered that a ritual anointing is associated with enthronement, and that the authorities (cf. ŚB. 9, 4, 4, 8) are of the opinion that "when one offers in the fire, one thereby consecrates (anoints, *abhisīṇcati*) Agni, and that divine body of his being consecrated by Soma, becomes consecrated by the nectar of immortality": that is to say the unction is extended also to divine beings.

Places such as 1, 139, 10 would also be in favour of the above interpretation: here Bṛhaspati, the *venaḥ*, who is also called *sukratuḥ*, is said

²⁰ This is not clear to me.

²¹ Rather than Sāyaṇa's explication: *venatiḥ kāntikarmā, yathā kanto jātābhilāṣaḥ puruṣaḥ kāmāyitavyam aikāgryeṇa śṛṇoti tadvat*. According to Renou (*Ét. véd. et pān.*, I, p. 18, n. 1) "le *venā-*... est aussi une hypostase de la Parole mystique;... c'est la 'vision' poétique, transfigurée par le champ des représentations imagées du Veda".

²² The faculty of realizing intentions by practical ingenuity.

²³ Geldner, o.c., III, p. 385.

²⁴ For anointing see e.g. J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 147.

²⁵ Otherwise, but unconvincingly Apte, *Bull. Decc. Res. Inst.*, 6, p. 40.

to perform an act of worship with bulls. It will be remembered that Bṛhaspati is among the gods who inspire and further the words of the human seers and "poets". There is, in any case, no occasion to translate *vena-* by "spy". In 2, 24, 10 the same Bṛhaspati is given the epithet *venya-* which, as already observed, is also Indra's (6, 44, 8); here Geldner's "schauwürdig" is very questionable; compare, rather, *varuṇya-* "of the nature of Varuṇa".

RV. 8, 100, 5²⁶ is an interesting passage: in a dialogue between Indra and a eulogist (st. 3-5) the latter while stimulating his colleagues to praise Indra, makes mention of the scepticism with regard to the god's existence. The god himself appears (st. 4) stating that the directions of ṛta – this phrase must refer to the inspired and formulated words and directions of the priests and singers – make him grow (*ṛtasya mā pradiśo vardhayanti*) and continuing (st. 5) *ā yan mā venā aruham ṛtasya... / manas cin me hrda ā praty avocat*, not "als die Seher des rechten (Glaubens) zu mir aufgestiegen waren" (Geldner) or "als die verlangenden Gedanken der Wahrheit..." (Lüders), but perhaps rather²⁷ "when the eager 'glances' at (visionary contacts with) ṛta occurred (arrived) to me – compare also Geldner's note: "die Ahnungen, die inneren Gesichte, die Offenbarungen der Wahrheit" and Renou's²⁸ "Vena est à peu près 'révélation'" – ... my 'mind' announced my heart...".²⁹ The heart is the place in which the visions or, more generally, supernormal and praetersensual contact arise and are converted into "poems": 1, 60, 3; 67, 4; 2, 35, 2; 3, 26, 8 etc., but the heart is assisted by the "mind" (*manah*): 1, 171, 2. Here the *manah* informs the god who has received, into his heart, a vision, that his friends cried, – and now he has turned to them. If this interpretation be right, pāda b is not devoid of importance: the god has resorted to a lonely place (*ekam asīnam*) in order to receive visions.

Since the activity of the poets and eulogists is essential in the process of the clarification of soma the same term must in 9, 73, 2 also refer to these functionaries, to the inspired seers whose poems are recited: *sindhora ūrmāv adhi venā avīpan* "on the wave of the stream the *venāḥ* have set (him, the Soma) in motion (so as to be able to exert his inspiring function)". RV. 9, 64, 21 seems to be a parallel passage: *abhi venā*

²⁶ See Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 567.

²⁷ In spite of the accentuation, but see Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altind. Gramm.*, II, 2, p. 101.

²⁸ Renou, *l.c.*

²⁹ Otherwise Apte, *o.c.*, p. 41.

anūṣateyakṣanti pracetasah "the 'seers' have shouted to (him), prescient (or, "attentive") they endeavour to win (him) over".

In this connection a digression may be made on the adjective *pracetas-* which is translated by "weise, aufmerksam, aufmerkend" (Grassmann), "klug" (Geldner), "prévoyant" (Renou). It is not rarely used to characterize Agni, in connection with whom it is always appropriate³⁰: thus the god is in 10, 87, 9 invited to guard the sacrificial gift and to convey it to the gods, a function which no doubt required forethought and foresight; in 10, 79, 4 the adjective is used predicatively, the god being described as understanding phenomena which are above human understanding. This place may be compared to 7, 4, 4 stating that "the prescient, immortal Agni has been given a place among the mortal beings as the sage or wise (*kaviḥ*) among the unwise (*akaviṣu*)", that is: "as the one who really 'knows' among those who have no praeternormal knowledge". For the combination of *pracetas-* and *kavi-* see also 8, 84, 2: Agni is *pracetāḥ* like a *kaviḥ*: in 10, 110, 1 he is the messenger, the *kaviḥ*, the *pracetāḥ*; cf. also 3, 29, 5 *kavim... pracetasam*; 8, 102, 18. From these indications it is clear that this adjective was especially apt to characterize an inspired sage (*kaviḥ*). If it really denotes that aspect of "wisdom" which consists in prescience and in knowledge of facts which are hidden from the general public, it is not surprising that it should also apply to the gods in general, and to Varuṇa, to Indra, to Savitar and some others in particular.

Another significant epithet is, in 9, 85, 10, *madhujihva-*: the honey-tongued *venāḥ*³¹ are said to milk, on the back of the sky, the bull who is standing on the mountains. Whatever the correct interpretation of this difficult stanza, so much is clear that here also the *venāḥ*, the inspired seers, are engaged in the production of soma. That they must, in st. 10, be "seer" and "praiser" appears also from st. 11 *nāke suparṇam upapapativāmsam giro venānām akrpanta pūrvīḥ*.

The poet of 9, 21, 5 describes a golden "seer" (*piśaṅgam... venam*) who is to act as an admonisher for the niggardly.³² The phrase has been made to refer to the sun (Geldner) or, what is more probable, to the Soma itself (Renou: "Soma à forme de *venā-* 'être vigilant' qui surveille du haut du ciel et avertit"³³), and thus the stanza (*āsmiṇ piśaṅgam indavo*

³⁰ See *Epithets in the Rgveda*, p. 89 ff.

³¹ Not "Freundinnen" (Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 272).

³² For improbable interpretations: Oldenberg, *Rgveda. Noten*, II, p. 158; Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 24; Apte, in *Bull. Decc. Coll. Res. Inst.*, 6, p. 3 ff.

³³ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, VIII, p. 69. On this stanza there is a long but not in all respects convincing note by Bhawe, *Soma-hymns*, II, p. 21 ff.

dadhātā venam ādiśe) may be translated: "O Soma-juices, place in this soma (which is, here, being purified) a gold-coloured 'seer', who may admonish the man who is avaricious with respect to us."³⁴ In any case the *venah* is expected to see what is under normal circumstances hidden and to read man's thoughts. The next stanza amplifies the thought expressed in st. 5: "make (O juices) the state of mind (*keta-*, of the niggard) new...."

It is not surprising to find the term *venah* applied to Sūrya: 1, 83, 5 *tataḥ sūryo vratapā vena ājani*. The question however arises whether it emphasizes Sūrya's function as a watcher (cf. e.g. 1, 164, 44; 7, 66, 16),³⁵ or that as a "seer" or "sage" (*kaviḥ* 5, 44, 7). On the strength of *vratapāḥ* the first possibility is the more probable, but the chances are that the difference between both functions is not great, the main characteristic of a *venah* being his ability to see, eagerly and interestedly, what is inaccessible to the normal sense perception.

With regard to 10, 64, 2 *venanti venāḥ* Renou³⁶ observes: "ici 'les yeux de l'esprit qui épient' (Geldner); ou bien faut-il, dans cet encadrement, choisir une valeur plus abstraite, 'les visions (poétiques) voient = fonctionnent'?" In order to avoid a tautology — the words *kratūyanti kratavo hr̥tsu dhītayaḥ* — I would assume the sense of "eager looks in the spiritual sphere"³⁷ or translate the sentence "our powers of perception perceive". It is notwithstanding the following *patayanty ā diśaḥ* however difficult to decide whether these *venāḥ* were considered independent entities, functions, qualities or more or less personal beings. In 4, 58, 4 the term no doubt denotes a "seer": relating the threefold division of the *ghṛtam* of poetic and religious inspiration the author states: *venād ekaṃ svadhayā niṣṭataḥ* "eines haben sie aus dem Seher durch eigene Kraft herausgebildet" (Geldner): cf. st. 5 where the author expresses the conviction that he sees the streams of ghee (*ghṛtasya dhārā abhi cākaśīmi*). See also st. 6. The same sense is expressed 1, 61, 14 "invoking (him who is a help for the 'seer' (*venasya*)), may Nodhas (the poet)..."; there can be no doubt that Nodhas reckons himself to the *venāḥ* who enjoy Indra's favour.³⁸

The translation proposed by Whitney-Lanman for AV. 2, 1, 1 *venas tat paśyat paramaṃ guhā yad yatra viśvaṃ bhavaty ekarūpam*: "Vena

³⁴ I am not convinced by Apte, *Bull. Decc. Coll. Res. Inst.*, 6, p. 39 who identifies *venā-* with *kēta-* in st. 6.

³⁵ See also H. Lommel, in *Oriens*, 6, p. 328 ff.

³⁶ Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IV, p. 118.

³⁷ Not "Sehnsüchte" (Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 567, n. 2).

³⁸ Cf. Renou, *l.c.*?

(the longing one?) saw that which is highest in secret, where everything becomes of one form" is in all probability to be replaced by "the seer...", or "the Seer..." (if the archetype is meant), because it is typical of a seer to see what is indicated by the words of this line. The adjective *viśvaṃ* refers to the phenomenal world, the fundamental unity of which in the highest principle is seen by the seer. The same translation³⁹ may do duty in the variant VS. 32, 8 v. t. p. *nihitam g. sat y. v. bh. ekanīdam* "the seer (*paṇḍitaḥ viditavedāntarahasyaḥ*, comm.) beholds that being (*brahma*, comm.) which is placed in a hiding-place wherein all this has found only one dwelling" and in TĀ. 10, 1, 3; Mahanār. Up. 1, 3 *venas tat paśyan viśvā bhuvanāni vidvān y. v. bh. ekanīdam*. In AV. 2, 1, 2 the wish is expressed that the gandharva "who knows the immortal" (*amṛtasya vidvān*) may proclaim that highest abode which is in secret": the gandharva — in later times a celestial singer — no doubt is the archetype of the inspired poet who attempts to reveal the mystery.

The stanza AV. 4, 1, 1 which, on the other hand, occurs without a variant in numerous other texts, may be explained in the same way. Anyhow, the explication given by the commentator and by ŚatBr. 7, 4, 1, 14 (Vena = the sun) is highly improbable⁴⁰; Whitney's⁴¹ "the moon" is likewise implausible: *brahma jajñānaṃ prathamam purastād dhi sīmataḥ suruco vena āvaḥ* "the seer (Seer) has unveiled the brahman that had, of old, first come into existence from the well-shining boundary; he has revealed its fundamental (and) highest places, the womb of the existent and of the non-existent". It may be asked if this boundary refers to the borderland⁴² between the phenomenal and the transcendent which is momentarily crossed by the seer when the light of vision suddenly comes to him.

AV. 16, 3, 2 is not clear to me.

For identifications⁴³ of *vena-* or *Vena-* (= Indra, the ātman) see also KauṣBr. 8, 5 *venas codayat pr̥snigarbhā itīndra u vai vena aindram eva svāhākāram etābhīr anuvadati; tasyaikam utsrjati nāke suparṇam upa yat patantam iti, so 'yam ātmano 'tikāśas tām uttarāsu karoti teno sā-nantarhitā bhavaty, ubhayato venaṃ pāpuktasya pāvamānīr abhiṣṭuyād, ātmā vai venaḥ pavitraṃ vai pāvamānyaḥ punāty evainaṃ tad...* Compare

³⁹ Cf. also Lindenau, *l.c.*

⁴⁰ See also R. T. H. Griffith, *The White Yajurveda*² (Benares, 1927), p. 136.

⁴¹ Whitney-Lanman, *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā*, p. 143.

⁴² Cf. also J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, III (Oxford, 1894), p. 366 (note on 7, 4, 1, 14).

⁴³ The reader may also be referred to V. M. Apte's paper in the *Bulletin of the Deccan Coll. Res. Inst.*

AiBr. 1, 20; KauṣBr. 27, 4; TĀr. 3, 11, 2 *suvarṇaṃ gharmaṃ pariveda venam / indrasyātmānaṃ daśadhā carantam*. Other passages do not add much towards an understanding of the term. As is well known it occurs also as a mythological proper name.

The feminine noun *venā* is translated by "love, desire, Sehnsucht" etc., and Sāyaṇa, on ṚV. 1, 34, 2 takes *somasya venām* as *candrasya kamanīyāṃ* "the beloved of the moon"; "das wäre", Geldner remarks, "die Frau der Aśvin und Geliebte des Soma". Apte⁴⁴ prefers to think of the solar bias of the epithet.

⁴⁴ Apte, o.c., p. 40.

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